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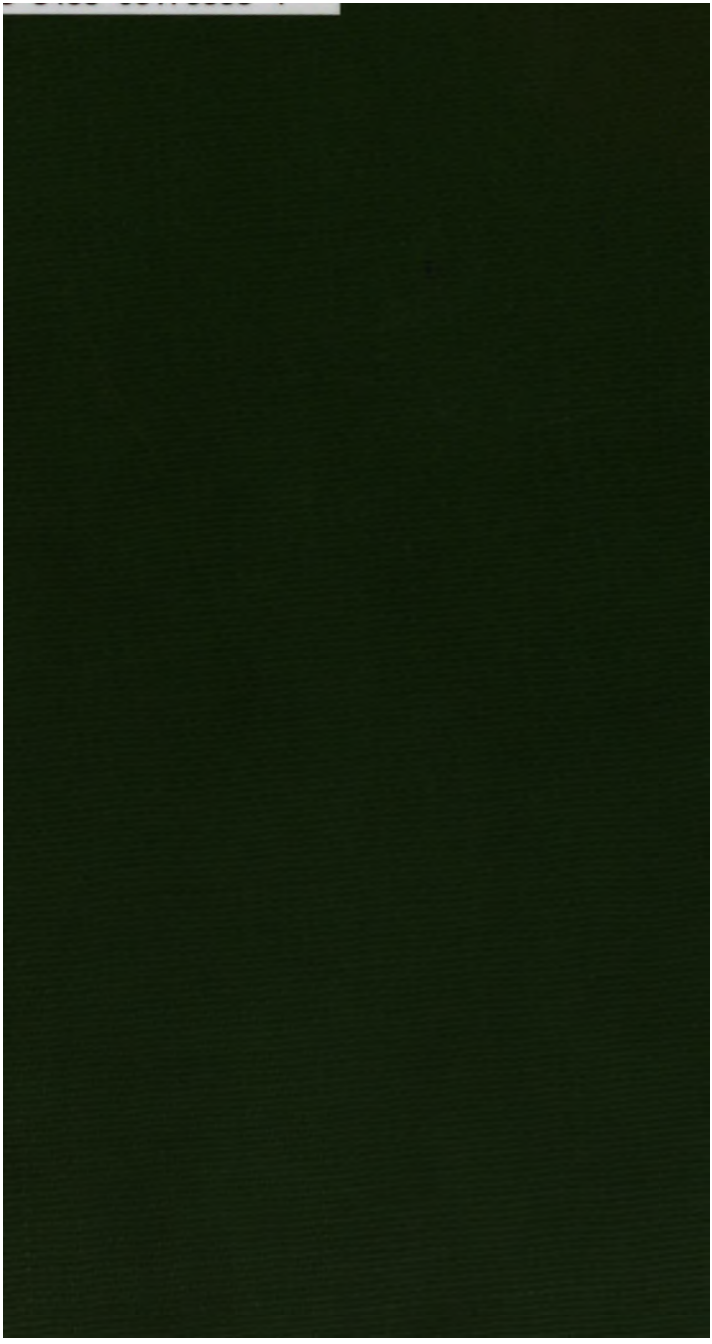

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THE

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VOL. XVI.

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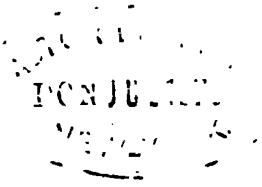

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THE

CHRISTIAN REVIEW.

No. LXIII.—JANUARY, 1851.

ART. I.—THE LAST FIFTY YEARS.

THE nineteenth century of the Christian era commenced on the first day of January, eighteen hundred and one; and the year which has just closed completed the first half of this eventful period of time. The Israelites were instructed in their religious books to celebrate the fiftieth year after an extraordinary manner. "Ye shall hallow the fiftieth year." "A jubilee shall that fiftieth year be unto you." Without commenting upon those peculiarities in the Jewish polity which demanded a special observance of the seventh sabbatical year, it must be admitted that the passage of half a century presents an occasion suggestive of many and profitable instructions. We propose in the following article to allude to some of the most interesting events which have transpired in the world during the last fifty years. We shall not confine ourselves to that which is strictly religious, in distinction from the secular, when the latter is obviously connected with the progress of Christian truth and human happiness. We often make distinctions between the religious and the secular which are atheistic, and so mislead and entangle the judgment. The word *secular* is derived from a Latin etymon which means the world, or an age of time, and, in common discourse, is employed to designate things worldly and temporal, in distinction from things sacred and spiritual. Christianity teaches us a better comprehension. This world is Christ's, as well as the world to come. Nothing is to be

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counted common or unclean which bears upon the well-being of man. It was a wise and beautiful conception of the ancients, that the Muse of History was the daughter of Jove. The sober conviction, which religion teaches us to cherish, is, that God presides over all the affairs of the world, the least as well as the greatest; and piety finds ample material for devout admiration in the study of those manifold agencies by which the purposes of the Most High are accomplished. The Son of God rebuked the Pharisees because they would not discern the "signs of the times;" and many an event, political or scientific, a revolution, a discovery, an invention, which some might overlook because it was secular, deserves a most important consideration, because of its relations to the kingdom of Jesus Christ. Man thinks not of God in his schemes of ambition, and pride, and self-aggrandizement; but God overrules even the wrath of man for his own praise.

There is an important advantage in taking a survey of a considerable period of time, as a whole or a half of a century. The movement of society is by actions and re-actions. It is not like the current of a rapid river, always running on in the same direction. Rather is it like the swing of the ocean when the tide is rising. A wave comes in, breaks, and rolls back. No one would imagine, from a single glance, that there was progress at all. Fix your eye steadily for half an hour on one point, and you will perceive, with all that flux and reflux of the waves, the progress of the tide is onwards and upwards. Just so is it with history. Examine it in small and detached portions, a year, five years, and it is like a single wave, which disappoints you by its recoil. Take fifty years, the flats and the sea-grass are out of sight, and you are struck with the difference between low ebb and a full tide. Important events require time for their own elucidation. You cannot judge of them by their first appearance; you must wait and see their ultimate effects. Events have roots, branches, and fruit. They do not ripen in a day. Sir James Mackintosh was not a weak and fickle man because of a difference of judgment in his earlier and later writings upon the French Revolution. This change of opinion was the necessary result of advancing time, and so was the proof of serene wisdom. Who can doubt that Edmund Burke, if now alive, would write very differently in this year 1851, on the effects of the French Revolution, from what he did in the year 1790? The progress of half a century gives an entirely new aspect to events which appear disastrous or hopeful in their first occurrence.

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Concerning the half century which has just been completed, if we should say that it was the most eventful of all that have elapsed, it might be set down to a prevalent self-complacency. "The present enlightened age," is an expression which has already attained to a cant currency; and many, so deftly rebuked by Douglas of Cavers, regard it with as much satisfaction, and the past with as much contempt, as if, like Love in Aristophanes, it had been hatched from the egg of Night, and all of a sudden had spread its radiant wings over the primeval darkness.* Other centuries have been marked by great events. We call events great only from the results to which they lead. Other men have labored, and we have entered into their labors. We and our children gather fruit from the trees which they planted with fear and trembling. The roots of those institutions which distinguish our own times lie back in other centuries. But there is one circumstance which gives to recent years, and the position from which we survey them, a decided pre-eminence. We understand the bearing of events better than in earlier epochs of the world. The older the world is, the more apparent becomes the design of its Maker. The comprehensive study of history is like the ascent up a mountain,—the higher you climb the more you see. It is like the progress of a drama,—the farther you advance the more you comprehend of the plot; as events thicken the better do you discern their bearing on the catastrophe. It is in this light that we pronounce the last half century the brightest and the best in the history of the world. Not that it has been the most prolific of great men; not that it has been distinguished by uninterrupted peace and progress; not that it has been without much which we deplore; but because in the advance of time we think we can see more and more of the glorious purpose of God to spread over all the earth the reign of liberty, truth, justice, and love.

The close of the last century was marked by the most astounding changes. It was a time of general war and convulsion. It seemed as if God had arisen to shake mightily the earth. Men's hearts were failing them for fear, and for looking for those things which were to come to pass. A great part of the eighteenth century is remarkable for the European wars of succession. Ere the century closes, wars of a very different description,—wars of principle, wars of social classes,—compared with which the contests of the house of Hapsburgh were children's squabbles, convulse the world. At the first

* Vide Douglas on the Advancement of Society.

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movement of the popular mind in France, the friends of humanity rejoiced. Great abuses were reformed, and good men were hopeful. But the huge mass set in motion could not be stayed. The detent was wanting, and everything whirled and whizzed to a premature and disastrous stoppage. Commotion, proscription, confiscation, bankruptcy, civil war, foreign war, revolutionary tribunals, guillotinades, blood, chaos, followed each other in rapid succession. A military despotism rises from the confusion and threatens the independence of every State of Europe. In Great Britain affairs were in a most alarming and critical state. The people were disaffected; taxation was enormous; means of subsistence precarious; the army in a state of mutiny; "societies" and "associations" of various names were organized to promote reform; martial law prevailed in Ireland; the act of Habeas Corpus was suspended from 1798 to 1803; the King was openly insulted on his way to Parliament, and the severest measures were adopted to restrict the press, and suppress seditious meetings. The national debt had reached the inconceivable sum of $1,225,000,000. At this very time the expenses of the Court were most extravagant, particularly in connection with the marriage of the Prince of Wales. The stability of the British Empire being mainly dependent on public credit, the measures adopted by William Pitt to sustain that credit necessarily involved a vast amount of human suffering. Suffering of an unparalleled description there must have been to have justified such a man as Robert Hall, when reviewing those times from so late a day as 1822, to use language like the following: "The memory of PITT will be identified in the recollection of posterity with accumulated taxes, augmented debt, extended pauperism, a debasement and prostration of the public mind, and a system of policy not only hostile to the cause of liberty at home, but prompt and eager to detect and tread out every spark of liberty in Europe; in a word, *with all those images of terror and destruction which the* NAME *imports.*"* The Peace of Amiens in 1802, between England, France, Spain, and the Bavarian Republic, secured a momentary lull in the storm. It lasted less than a year. The French army takes possession of Piedmont; England renews the war, and her people are terrified by the expectation of a French invasion. In the last year of the last century, Napoleon crossed the Alps, and conducted his brilliant campaigns in Italy. Though not crowned as Emperor till the year 1804,

* Letter to the Christian Guardian.

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yet, as the century opens, he was certainly the most remarkable personage in the world. His name was a terror in every English nursery. When politics ran high in our own country, in 1812, he was the "rock of offense," against which the waves beat and divided. A distinguished divine of New-England, in a public discourse from the pulpit, designated him as the "first-born son of the devil."* We have now reached a point of time when we can pronounce with some deliberation upon the general effects of his extraordinary career, and of that great revolution in the midst of which he emerged. There was too much of terror and of mystery in those events, at the time of their occurrence, to allow men to judge with calmness. There was then scarcely one honest friend of liberty whose ardor was not damped and whose faith in the high destinies of mankind was not shaken. It is now our deliberate opinion that the French Revolution, in spite of all its follies and crimes, its atrocities and sacrifices of human life, was a great blessing to the world. Deliverances were wrought, though amid plagues, and signs, and wonders. Demons were exorcised, even though they did rage and foam, rending and tearing their miserable victims. We pronounce no eulogium upon the Colossus of war who bestrode Europe, when we speak of the changes which God has wrought by his wrathful and ambitious agency. He was as a rod of iron, by which the Almighty dashed in pieces the old despotisms of the world, like potters' vessels. Nations were lifted up from under the heavy oppressions by which they had long been stifled. A revolutionary spirit was abroad all over the world. Mountains did not stay it, nor did seas stop it. A new idea was thrown into the heart of society, which, of necessity, produced explosions and the greatest of changes. That idea was the rights of subjects,—the inalienable freedom of man. The world had heard enough before, in all forms, of *the divine right of kings*. The "Rights of Man" was the title of the book published by Thomas Paine, then in England, in reply to Mr. Burke, who, in his Reflections on the French Revolution, was for defending old establishments, notwithstanding their abuses. But those establishments, political and ecclesiastical, went down as at the breath of God's nostrils. The spirit of liberty, of humanity, began to breathe; and we are reaping now the effects of those great commotions. The telescope was invented, and the laws of mathematical science discovered, in former centuries; but their use and application were

* Rev. David Osgood, D.D.

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reserved for us, the majority of the planets belonging to our system having been discovered within the last half century. Just so are we permitted to see the uses and results of events which promised little or nothing at the time of their occurrence. Daylight was admitted into the most dark and hopeless regions. Bodies which had been regarded dead as the mummies were magnetized with a new life. Wars were not confined to the English Channel or the Rhine; they were carried into the remote East, and were a day of resurrection to the slumbering nations. The French army invades Egypt. "Soldiers," says Napoleon to his troops, "from the summit of the pyramids forty centuries look down upon you!" The advancing column rolls over the plain of Esdraelon, and their flushed and excited commander looks out upon the strife from the top of Tabor, where our Lord was transfigured. The concussion is felt throughout the Ottoman Empire. Arabia, Persia, India, are involved in the general fray; and the English become masters of the whole of Southern India, excepting the Mahratta States. Soon after the French invasion of Spain in 1808, the Spanish colonies in Central and South America begin a series of struggles for independence. A large force is sent against them, and after a long and bloody contest the Spaniards are expelled, and their former possessions are created into many republics, of divers fortunes and prospects. The civilized world was thoroughly overturned and overturned, and society began to be organized on new principles, and pervaded by a new life.

It is true, there was a reaction. The spirit of popular liberty met with checks and rebuffs. The House of Bourbon is re-established. The battle of Waterloo restores exiled kings, prelates, and aristocracies. It infused new life into the Pope, who for years had not breathed freely. "The battle and its result," said Robert Hall, "seemed to me to put back the clock of the world six degrees." But it was only as the recession of a wave or two. The ocean was not dammed up. It was inevitable that other revolutions should come. In 1830 they came again, with less of cruelty, less of mistake. In this year the Belgians secure their independence, the house of Orange is excluded from the throne, and a new Constitution is formed by the representatives of the people according to which a new King is elected. In Switzerland an aristocratical government is exchanged for a democratical. At the same time political commotions arise in Germany, and constitutional charters are secured for Saxony, Hanover, and the electorate of Hesse. A general desire

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for liberty pervades Italy; and insurrections in Bologna, Modena, and Parma are suppressed by the Austrian army. By the Revolution of the three days the Papal priesthood of France is again overthrown. In the very same year a revolution occurs at Warsaw; troubles and dissensions break out in Greece; a new organization takes place of the relations between the nobility and burghers of Russia; a general desire of representative government prevails in Prussia; and the opposition in the British Parliament, backed by the people, are strenuous for those national reforms which were carried under the Grey Ministry, two years after. Nor was this the end. The striking events of the last three years are but reverberations of the first explosion. At each repetition of the struggle much has been gained, and former errors and excesses avoided. Louis the Sixteenth was beheaded, and his wife, the pride of courts, inhumanly murdered. Louis Philippe leaves the Tuilleries, the Queen on his arm, unmolested, a crowd of revolutionists opening to let them pass. In a few instances, Hungary and Italy, we have been disappointed as to results. But the end has not come yet. There has been a succession of changes in the right direction; and the face of the world to-day no more resembles what it was at the close of the last century, than the post-diluvian earth was like its appearance before the flood. There are more written constitutions defining and securing the rights of subjects, than ever existed in the whole history of the world before. The increasing intelligence of society has operated most beneficially upon the ruling powers. The greatest despotisms are forced to recede when they encounter national sentiments. The veil of separation which the Orientals wisely spread before their monarchs, and behind which they have remained like idols of dark origin and uncertain attributes, has, in continental Europe, been rent to the bottom, and kings are held answerable to law, justice, and humanity.

Perhaps the most striking change which has occurred, and this in connection with that revolution and that personage in France of whom we have spoken, is in the condition and prospects of the Papal Church. Recall that Church as it was, an incubus on the nations, a vast iron tyranny overshadowing Europe. Think of it as it was when kings stood barefoot at the gate of the Pontifical palace, or meekly held the stirrup of the Pope's palfrey; and nations forsook their own anointed and hereditary monarchs when censured and excommunicated by the successor of St. Peter. France became imbued with infidelity. That country which from the time

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of Charlemagne to the present hour has been most intimately allied to the risings and fallings of the Papal power,—that country whose *vocation*, according to Lacordaire,* is the defense and propagation of the Papal Church,—it was in France that the spirit of infidelity appeared which was destined to eat like a canker into the heart of the Papal domination. That infidelity began with opposition to Papal pretension and Papal cruelty. It was allied with the nascent spirit of liberty. Had it not been for this it would have passed away like the Deism of England without leaving any deep furrows in the soil of the country. But so it was that French infidelity was provoked into being by religious abuses, religious fooleries, and religious pretensions. The true secret of its power was in the zeal with which it espoused the cause of justice, freedom, and humanity; till in French literature, and French politics, humanity, justice, and freedom became identified with infidelity. The French language, at this time, was the medium of European intercourse. It was spoken at all the courts of the Continent, from the English Channel to the Bospborus. The infidelity of Paris thus met with a rapid and universal dissemination. It spread like the air over the whole of Europe. It was an assailant which no police could stop. Freedom from superstition was counted an honorable distinction, a frontlet of divine inspiration. By means of some inexplicable power, the altars of religion were deserted, the mysteries of religion were performed in vacant cathedrals, and the priests themselves smiled at their own credulity. At this juncture there arose out of the tumultuous elements of European society that great aspirant, whose military and political tactics were destined to complete what infidelity had begun. To the eye of Napoleon the Pope of Rome was little more than any other sovereign and man. He summons the Pontiff to Paris. The Pope threatens him with excommunication. Napoleon heeds it no more than a whiff of snow when crossing the St. Bernard. The bull of excommunication was issued. It was only the advertisement of Pontifical imbecility. When Gregory VII. excommunicated Henry IV. of

* C'était la nation franque, et la nation franque était la première nation catholique donnée par Dieu à son Eglise. Ce n'est pas moi qui décerne cette louange magnifique à ma patrie; c'est la papauté à qui il a plu, par justice, d'appeler nos rois *les fils ainés de l'Eglise*. De même que Dieu a dit à son Fils de toute éternité: Tu es mon premier né; la papauté a dit à la France: Tu es ma fille ainée. Elle a fait plus, s'il est possible; afin d'exprimer plus energiquement ce qu'elle pensait de nous, elle a créé un barbarisme sublime; elle a nommé la France le *Royaume christianissime*—"christianissimum regnum." (Conferences de Nôtre-Dame de Paris, p. 440.)

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Germany, his subjects felt themselves absolved from all allegiance to their sovereign, and fled from him as if he had been smitten with the pestilence. When Pius VII. excommunicated Napoleon, not a corporal left the French army. Undiverted from his purpose, the "man of destiny" strips the Pontiff of political power. The Papal dominions were annexed to France. The French flag waves from the castle of St. Angelo. The title *King of Rome* is conferred by the French Emperor upon his infant son; and he builds for him a sumptuous palace on the Quirinal hill. The Papacy was brought so low as to be an object of pity rather than hatred or dread. The time came for reaction, as might have been predicted. The Pope was reinstated by the allied sovereigns. Exiled prelates came back to Paris, and the form of the prostrate Church was lifted up. To the eye it has been recovering from its shame and depression. With all these admissions, with all which the Papal See has regained, it bears no resemblance to its ancient power. Its teeth of iron have been broken. Pius IX. has been exiled, not by foreign invasion, but by his own subjects. Had it not been for foreign protection, he would have been thrown into the Tiber by the inhabitants of his own metropolis. Faith in his pretensions has been shaken more effectually than ever, and the thin veil of religion will no more hide the odious features of tyranny. If a Pope is to continue to reign, it must be with some show of justice and freedom. He must be the patron and defender of human rights. If the Papal religion is to maintain its hold, it must be by appeals to truth and reason. Christian faith, which at the close of the last century was driven out from continental Europe, has returned with a better discrimination. Men may be skeptical as to the Papacy without renouncing belief in Christianity. Multitudes now deride and scorn the pretensions of the Roman Pontiff and his Church, without vaulting over into the deism of Robespierre or the frightful atheism of Clootz. In the latest revolution of Paris, the crucifix was borne in advance of the crowd, and Jesus Christ was hailed as the great apostle of Fraternity, Equality, and Humanity. The next action is already in progress, and millions will learn to discriminate between Christianity and Ecclesiastism, convinced that there is a religion which does not oppose reason and justice and progress, but is the grand ally and defender of all which concerns the true welfare of man. The old Papal Church has been dislodged from its moorings, and like an immense iceberg is floating down into the gulf-stream; and as surely as ice

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melts before the sun, will its antiquated claims be modified by the genial influences of modern life. That it should be subject to spasmodic revivals, that it should seem at times about to regain all which it ever lost, is not strange, for the general spirit of faith has come back after the revolutions of a disastrous infidelity, and the bad Church feels it as well as the good. Conversions from Protestantism, so far as they are worthy of notice, will be like the Trojan horse taken over the walls into the city. Trees cannot divest themselves of successive layers; men cannot unmake themselves, nor lose, even by violence, what education and thought and a free life have given to their intellectual constitution. For each and every change from Protestantism to Popery, we will adduce scores of conversions from Popery to Protestantism. The former transition excites attention and elicits remark, because it is so very strange, unnatural, and incomprehensible; while conversions the contrary way produce no excitement, inasmuch as they are to be expected in the noiseless and necessary progress of things. Were a man to go over the Falls of Niagara, every newspaper in the world would record the marvel. When such men as Dr. Newman and Henry Wilberforce renounce Protestantism, the prodigy is heralded throughout Christendom; but when hundreds and thousands by the genial influences of truth desert the errors of Popery, it is so much to be expected that it excites no more notice or surprise than the summer streams whose placid waters refresh the meadows, turn the mill-wheels, and reflect the heavens in their surface.

The sun of the last century went down amid murky clouds. Terrible signs flashed their lurid light across the darkened skies; hecatombs of human lives were sacrificed; but who can doubt, that as a consequence of these unusual commotions, the half century just closed has been distinguished above all its predecessors for the increase of liberty, the security of chartered rights, and as a necessary result, a greater amount, present and prospective, of intelligence, industry, peace, order, and prosperity. These convulsive events were as the tornado tearing up the old forests by the roots, or the ploughshare overturning the soil. It was the day of preparation; and now we turn to the seed-time and the harvest, the golden fruits which are now waving on a thousand fields.

It may be hazardous to attempt any generalization of those events which have given such unprecedented progress to civilized society since the beginning of the century. Perhaps

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they may be reduced to two general classes, the organized and designed, or the involuntary and providential.

A new power has been brought into operation in the principle of *voluntary association*. Men have clasped each other's hands, and by means of united strength have accomplished what before had been left to solitary hopes, and individual force. The world has not been wanting in good men in former centuries; but their agency, to a great extent, has been individual and independent. The noble divines of the seventeenth century, never to be named without the highest veneration, were distinguished for profound piety. But their piety was not aggressive. The wells of sacred philosophy were deep, but they were not yet made to send out their streams over all the earth. The time had not come, in God's good providence, for the universal diffusion of that truth which they had so carefully elaborated. There are traces in their writings of irrepressible longings after better opportunities for extending Christianity. They were hopeful of future facilities for propagating the gospel. Meanwhile, they garnered up in those thesauri of wisdom and truth, which are the more valued because of age, the materials for a later diffusion. No sooner had the great changes to which we have adverted taken place, than sagacious men felt the impulse to unite their services in the propagation of all truth, and the reform of all abuses. It is by no means true, as many seem to hold, that the missionary spirit is of recent birth; it is identical with pure religion. But it is true that until a recent period, there has been but little of organization, and system, and association for the promotion of good causes. In the year 1648—two centuries ago—a society was formed in London for propagating the gospel among the Indians on this continent. There was no cohesiveness among its members. In less than twelve years it was dissolved, and was never re-organized on its present basis until the eve of the present century. By this time the principle of voluntary association, in the prosecution of public measures, was discovered and tested, and it has done more to change the face of the world than any agent employed since the commencement of the Christian era. It is a power which has been employed for political reforms, and the removal of social evils and abuses. The *slave-trade* was the first enormity which fell before its irresistible opposition. Denmark and the United States have the honor of being the first actually to prohibit this traffic in human flesh; an ordinance to that effect having been enacted by the

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former in 1792, and by the latter in 1794. The few individuals who commenced the attack upon this atrocious evil in Great Britain, were derided for their Quixotic undertaking. The mercantile and so the political influence of the country were arraigned against the reform. But Clarkson works upon the convictions and sympathies of Wilberforce, and the two combined carry the convictions of Pitt and Fox. Others like-minded with themselves were taken into their counsels. Accretions of strength were rapidly gained. An African Society was formed, intelligence diffused, organizations multiplied, a public sentiment created; the sympathies of a nation were brought into action; and in the year 1806, on motion of Charles Fox in the House of Commons, and of Lord Grenville in the House of Lords, a resolution for the everlasting abolition of the slave-trade was adopted by the British Parliament. Bearing in mind that societies of both sexes and all ages were organized on the principle of abstaining from the use of sugar, the product of slave labor, we need not be surprised that, at a later period, the same Government was compelled to provide for the emancipation of the slaves themselves in the West Indian colonies.

Simultaneously with these philanthropic reforms, the same philosophy of charity was applied to the propagation of the gospel, by means of Christian missions. The peculiar organization of the Romish Church was favorable to missionary aggression, and it was often conducted with commendable zeal. Nor was Protestantism without its distinguished propagandists. Never was there a nobler missionary than John Eliot at Nonantum, Mayhew at Martha's Vineyard, or David Brainerd at the Forks of the Delaware. But they were single-handed and alone. The first Protestant mission of which we have an authentic record, was that of Michael, who, with some sort of royal patronage from Gustavus Vasa, went a solitary individual from Sweden to Lapland. Excepting the noble beginnings of the Moravians and Danes, there was, among Protestants, no efficient organization for the propagation of Christianity, till the eve of the present century. In this wise and glorious charity the Baptists of England were nobly in advance. It was an *Association* of ministers and churches at Nottingham, who set apart an hour on the first Monday evening of every month for extraordinary prayer for the extension of Christ's kingdom in the world. It was in the spring of 1792, that Carey, preaching before the Association, gave utterance to that noble senti-

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ment which has ever since been the watchword of the Christian Church: "EXPECT GREAT THINGS; ATTEMPT GREAT THINGS." The pious pastor of Kettering could not be backward in such an enterprise, and the scene of his labors was the fitting place in which Fuller, Ryland, Pearce, Carey, Hogg, Sutcliff and others, pledged themselves to one another and to God, in the modest language of their own resolution, to "*make a trial* for introducing the gospel amongst the heathen." Three years later (1795) was formed the London Missionary Society, by a convention of great numbers of different denominations. Rev. David Bogue was conspicuous in this organization; and its truly magnificent results in Africa and the South Seas, are but a small part of the good which the Dissenters of England have accomplished through this Missionary Association. The Edinburgh Missionary Society, with its numerous and efficient auxiliaries, was organized in 1797. "The Society of Missions to Africa and Asia," to which the noble Henry Martyn proffered his services, was next in the field in the year 1800,—an organization which we have supposed ripened into the Church Missionary Society in 1801—1804. The Rev. Samuel J. Mills, a young student in Williams College, and in the Theological Seminary at Andover, with a singular compound of modesty, energy and perseverance, possessed the remarkable talent of enlisting and employing the agency of other men, (himself the meantime almost invisible;) and to his indefatigable exertions are we indebted for the organization of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. This was instituted at Bradford, Mass., June, 1810, and held its first meeting at Farmington, Conn., the following September. So timid were the good and great men composing that organization, so doubtful as to the ability of the American Churches to support missions of their own, that the Rev. Mr. Judson, one of the young men at the Andover Seminary, whose consecration to the missionary service compelled, as it were, the action of the Massachusetts Association, was deputed to visit England, to inquire into the practicability and expediency of their receiving appointments from the London Missionary Society. The admirably wise and eloquent reply of George Burder to Samuel Worcester, encouraging the American Church, by the example of her own Eliot, Mayhew, and Brainerd, to go forward in independent, zealous, and efficient strength, was the signal for that advance which has since known neither stoppage nor disappointment. It forms no part of our plan to write the history of Christian

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Missions, or even to make a catalogue of the several societies, which, in so many religious denominations, and in so many countries, have been established for the common object of propagating the Christian faith. If this were our purpose, we should certainly assign a prominent place to the labors of the Wesleyan Methodists, those pioneers of Christian civilization in all the earth. We should frame a list of organizations in every Protestant country on the globe, which, for numbers and efficiency, might well astonish one who has not directed his attention to the subject. It would be difficult to find a respectable village in any part of Christendom which has not its organization of some sort, for the practical working of Christian charity; and the man who should write the history of this country without assigning a prominent place to voluntary and organized efforts to propagate Christianity, would prove himself as much unqualified for the task, as one who should describe the fifteenth century and make no mention of the maritime enterprise which discovered America. It has been instrumental in commissioning some two thousand intelligent missionaries to propagate Christian truth among the heathen. Thousands of churches, and hundreds of thousands of converts, are now computed in lands which, at the commencement of the century, were as the valley of the shadow of death. Two millions of dollars are now annually expended by the Protestant Missionary Societies of the world, where not a dollar was given sixty years ago. Nor let any one suppose that this movement is altogether religious, of no interest to any but ecclesiastics. The obligations of science and literature to Christian Missions is a topic of copious instruction. How many languages have been reduced to a written form by Protestant missionaries! What an amount of information imparted concerning the geography and ethnology of the world! An enthusiasm has been kindled to explore the history, language, customs, and religion of all tribes as preparatory to the spread of Christianity. More we believe has been accomplished in this way, *incidentally*, by intelligent missionaries of modern times, than by all the royal and national societies which have made geography and ethnology their exclusive pursuit. Such names as Buchanan, Carey, Marshman, Marsden, Martyn, Morrison, Ward, Leyden, Judson, Gordon Hall, Meigs, Bridgman, and Eli Smith, and a host of others, form no mean galaxy of talent and scholarship, independent of that renown which belongs to them as agents of the Christian Church. If, as it was once believed of the just, that they should again visit

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the earth in the latter days, and enjoy the fruits of that which in their first life they had planted in hope, and Andrew Fuller, William Carey, David Bogue, Charles Simeon, Dr. Coke, Adoniram Judson, Samuel Worcester, Samuel J. Mills, and their several coadjutors in their respective denominations, could now revisit the scenes of their labors, what gratitude and joy would dilate their souls at the truly vast results of their feeble beginnings. Whole groups of islands in the Pacific, converted from barbarism to an intelligent, industrious, and happy civilization. Colonies of educated Christians sparkling, like gems, here and there in the midnight gloom of Africa. China and India wide open to aggression, and Turkey actually incorporating into her legislation the principle of religious toleration. And all this is but preparatory. Cumulative and reproductive results will astonish the future. Much which has employed the time and talent of the leaders in this enterprise needs not to be repeated. Languages are written and acquired, schools established, and other generations will enjoy the fruit of past and primitive labors. Religious sympathies are already attached to remote parts of the world, and tribes and nations whose existence was barely known when the century dawned, are now within the acquaintance and intimacy of all Christendom.

Results yet more striking have been secured by associations for the circulation of the Word of God. Ten times as many Bibles have been printed since eighteen hundred and four, the year when the British and Foreign Bible Society was organized, as ever existed in all the previous centuries of the world together. This statement is not based on loose conjecture. The library of the late Duke of Sussex, containing a copy of nearly every edition of the Bible since the invention of the art of printing, furnished important data in authenticating this calculation. It is computed, that from the time of the Reformation to the organization of the British and Foreign Bible Society, (1804,) there were in existence between three and four millions of Bibles, and these in some forty different languages. Since that time, the beginning of organized effort for the spread of the Scriptures, more than thirty millions of Bibles and Testaments have been put in circulation, in more than one hundred and sixty languages; and this in addition to all which has been accomplished by private enterprise. A power-press striking off fifteen hundred copies of the New Testament in a single day, is no trifling thing in this world of ours. The Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society contains an amount of information as

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to the languages and dialects of the earth, not easily to be obtained from any other source. Fifty years ago the Word of God was translated into languages spoken by about two hundred millions. To-day the same holy book may be read by more than six hundred millions of the earth's population. Is not this result of associated charity of great historical importance? Has it no bearing on the intellect, the liberty, the life, the progress, and the prospects of the world?

The same organized power has been applied to other products of the press. The extent to which it has been rendered available baffles all calculation. Printing a good book is no longer confined to the presumption of an author or the enterprise of a publisher. The pastor of Kidderminster attains to an earthly ubiquity. Multitudes who could not think like Edwards, or write like Baxter, are associated for the multiplication and diffusion of the immortal works of these renowned men to a degree which outstrips the conjectures of former years. The number of readers has been multiplied; the opinions of all classes are formed by books; and institutions which were never intended for those who read and think are fast fading away. The limits of a single article will not allow us to mention all the various objects to which this power of association has been successfully applied. Consult the history of organized opposition to intemperance; the education of the young; the relief of the poor; the care of the mariner; the benefit of the criminal; the establishment of humane institutions; and in general the promotion of whatever affects the best interests of the human race. No recesses are suffered to remain unexplored; pretensions are questioned, claims investigated, and inquiry by its ceaseless and corrosive action is wearing away those fetters of the mind which kept its faculties dormant, and limited the range of its powers. Bishop Burnet greatly applauds the plan projected by Oliver Cromwell for instituting a council in opposition to the Propaganda Fide at Rome. But it has well been demonstrated that the power of voluntary association which combines the efforts of all who are favorable to a good cause, is mightier in its results than any influence which a single monarch could exert; and individuals every year accomplish far more splendid deeds than entered into the imagination of Cromwell in his truly noble conception. Twenty years ago Dr. Channing took occasion to write against this increasing power of association, lest it should impair individual freedom and responsibility. Wherever there is power caution should attend its use. It is a poetic fancy to suppose that all the beauty of private benefi-

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cence belongs to the days of Sir Roger de Coverley, English squires, and patriarchal estates. We believe there is more of private charity now, than there was before associated power began to change the face of the world. This is an influence which supplies the deficiencies of individuals and of governments, in attaining ends which they cannot reach. It is a greater discovery than the mariner's compass. There is no object, says Douglas, to which this power cannot adapt itself, no resources which it may not ultimately command; and a few individuals, instead of being isolated as were good men before, can lay the foundations of undertakings which would have baffled the might of those who reared the pyramids. The few who can divine the tendency of the age before it is obvious to others, may avail themselves of the current, and concentrate every breath that is favorable to their course. The exertions of a scanty number of individuals may swell into the resources of a large party, which, collecting at last all the national energies to its aid, and availing itself of the humane sympathies that are in its favor, may make the field of its labor and its triumph as wide as humanity itself. The elements being favorably disposed, a speck of cloud collects vapors from the four winds, which overshadow the heavens; and the power of voluntary association, scarcely tried as yet, is of the largest promise for the future. It is an influence most removed from the shock of accidents and the decay of earthly things, renewing its youth with renewed generations, and becoming immortal through the perpetuity of the race.*

Passing from these associated and organized movements to others more generally providential, the first and unquestionably the most important which arrests our notice, is the application of a new motive power for the purposes of intercourse and transportation. The isolation of nations in former ages was obviously intended by God. He defeated the purpose of those who sought to centralize power on the plains of Shinar. Diversities of language, a range of mountains, a river or a sea, separated and secluded tribes and nations. Quick and easy communication is a feature of these times of fraternity and humantiy. Little did the first observer who watched the rattle and play of the lid on a tea-kettle, from the power of confined steam, dream what changes would be wrought in the world by that new agent which then forced itself on his attention. Little did James Watt, the Duke of Bridge-

* Douglas on the Advancement of Society in Knowledge and Religion.

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water, Earl Stanhope, his eccentric sister Lady Hester, and Robert Fulton, when experimenting upon several scientific properties and practical uses of vapor, conceive that they were God's agents for bringing about some of the greatest moral revolutions of the world. When at last, in the year 1807, Fulton succeeded in getting under weigh the little steamboat Clermont, with her head up the Hudson,—many there are yet living who remember well the jeers and jests of the day,—highly gratified as he was with the success of his experiment, little did he imagine that he was giving to the world a providential agent, which, by the stroke of a piston, was to diffuse knowledge, liberty and religion over all the earth. Previous to 1801 there was not a steamboat or a railroad in the world, excepting, of the latter, a few scarcely worthy of the name, confined to the use of collieries, and such private establishments. The first Act of Parliament for the construction of a public railway was passed in the first year of this century. The number of both these means of transportation now in use throughout the world it would be difficult to compute. A recent writer in the *London Quarterly Review* records the fact as having occurred within his personal knowledge, before the use of steam, that, of the two members of a leading New-York firm in those days, one started for Albany and the other for England on the same day, each by sailing packet, and each being sixteen days on the voyage, the passage to Europe was actually accomplished in the same time with that between this commercial metropolis and our legislative capital.

Thirty-five years ago the adventurer who thought of ascending the Mississippi, prepared and equipped himself as now for the world's circumnavigation, and often tarried longer for repairs and provisions at some settlement on the banks, than he would now be in the entire passage from New Orleans to Pittsburg. If God had given to our country a second Hudson, running upwards, and another Ohio, Potomac, and Mississippi, whose currents set in an opposite direction from the present ones, it would not have been half so great a wonder as he has already wrought by the providential communication of that new motive power which heeds not currents or winds. Great and obvious as were the conveniences and benefits of inland navigation by this means, the most sanguine, till within a few years, never dreamed of its being available for anything more, with here and there a little cautious sallying out into sounds, bays and gulfs, within sight of the headlands of the coast. It was indeed learnedly demonstrated, and this by men most versed in the properties of the steam-engine, the tonnage

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and capacity of ships, and the drift of the sea, that the passage of the ocean by steamers was an impossibility. But the same power which had shortened the Hudson and Ohio, impatient of limits to its range, emboldened by success, has rushed forth upon the broad Atlantic, and reduced by more than half the long and perilous distance between the Old World and the New. How short a time has elapsed—how well we remember it!—it is worthy to be remembered as an important epoch in the world's history—since the first arrival of the Sirius and the Great Western from their adventurous passage across the astonished and incredulous ocean, into our own harbor. Who can recall the scene without a thrill of enthusiasm, when, after days of doubt, conjecture and uncertainty, the approach of the first transatlantic steamer was actually announced. A long train of black smoke was seen at the Narrows, towards which the eyes of thousands were eagerly turned. Presently the form of a huge ship dashes up the Bay—

> "Against the wind, against the tide,
> Steadying with upright keel,"—

a foreign ensign at the gaff, and at the fore a combination of the British and American, propitious sign of a friendly commingling of the old and the new! Her engines are at the topmost speed, the harbor is covered with boats, flags are waving from all the shipping, the docks and sea walls are crowded with spectators, and at length a long, loud, enthusiastic cheer breaks forth from ten thousand voices, rending the sky with joy at the triumph of science and enterprise, and the bestowal of a new power for the world's progress.

Read the almost plaintive words of Richard Baxter,—the scarcely uttered hope cherished by him that the time might come when access could be had to the Orient,—and say if God's hand is not in this unlooked-for propinquity of the nations. The passage from this port to Bombay, by way of Liverpool, Trieste, and the Red Sea, can now be made by steam in a shorter time than many a sailing vessel has consumed between London and Boston. Along the Bosphorus, this new agent is breaking down the rigidity and breaking up the apathy of the Turk. Doubling the Cape of Good Hope, it has startled the sleep of the Bengalese and Chinaman. By its unconscious working in the Mediterranean, the Black Sea, and the Baltic, it has done more to diffuse intelligence, liberty, and life than any other providential power whatever. It is a power which does not belong exclusively

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to commerce. Commerce! Why, it is itself God's agent. The great sea was not intended to be a mere manufactory of whale oil, or a road for the transportation of cotton and tobacco. It is a highway of emerald and sapphire for the footsteps of Christianity. Henceforth, nothing is done in a corner. Nothing is too remote to escape attention. The steamers which crowd their way through stormy seas, the roads of iron which bind whole continents together, the clicking wires which run their electric net-work through the air, are the great nerves of human sympathy, and are destined to the high office of uniting the whole race of man in a loving brotherhood.

Nothing which is familiar to us strikes us as wonderful. Were miracles repeated every day, we should come to glance at them very heedlessly. We get used to rainbows, and stars, and sunsets, and the flashing fires of the north. Surprise wears away in time from the greatest discoveries and inventions; and we send thought through the air, and ride in carriages without horses, and in ships against the wind, just as carelessly and composedly as though such things had always been. Fletcher, the old dramatist, was counted as half crazy when he put into the mouth of Arbaces this ranting promise:

> "He shall have chariots easier than air,
> Which I will have invented; and thyself,
> That art the messenger, shall ride before him
> On a horse cut out of an entire diamond,
> That shall be made to go with golden wheels,
> I know not how yet."

The wonder of the promise has long ago been realized; and if the poetry of the dream should yet come to pass, and locomotives cut from solid diamonds, and car-wheels wrought from gold, should become common, we should ride after them with as little surprise as now we walk beneath the azure and the gold of God's glorious firmament. Who can forget the feeling of *awe* which came over him, when for the first time he received a telegraphic dispatch from a distant city, transmitted from New-York to New-Orleans, actually in advance of time itself! This approaches spiritual power more nearly than anything we have seen and handled.

The times of which we are writing are remarkable for the extension of periodical literature, especially for the ubiquity of the *Newspaper*. The authors of the *Spectator*, the *Tattler*, the *Rambler*, had no conception of the modern newspaper. It seems like putting the gravity of our readers to the test when

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we name this as one of the most wonderful and powerful agents of our times. It is made of rags, ropes, rushes, and lampblack. Great pains are taken in fitting up the visitant to make a respectable appearance in our mansions; but in its best trim, its pretensions are very humble. It is dumb, yet it tells us of all which is done upon the earth. It bears in its own name the initials of the four points of the compass, N. E. W. S.—news. Reeking, in hot haste, as if out of breath, it delivers its message, and then is crumpled up and thrown into the waste-paper basket to ignite the morning's fire. Yet is there nothing more worthy of preservation; for it is the great dial-plate on the clock of time. Go to the archives of an Historical Society, and consult an old newspaper; let it be a file of the *Boston News Letter*, commenced in April, 1704, the first ever published on this Western continent, supposing it to be complete, and extended to the present time.* Read of African slaves in the town of Boston,—perhaps a fresh cargo of stout-limbed Guineamen have arrived in a Newport ship in Virginia; turn rapidly over the leaves of the volume; your eye catches a succession of great names and events,—Benjamin Franklin resisting the censorship of the press, and making the lightning of the skies a pastime for himself and his son,—the stripling surveyor, George Washington, roaming over the spurs of the Alleghanies and along the banks of the Shenandoah,—tribute money, unjust taxation, mutterings and rebellion, Lexington, Bunker Hill, Revolution, independence, confederacies and constitutions, Fulton's humbug, commerce, arts, peace, prosperity, enterprise, expansion. May we not rightly call the smutty chronicle the index finger of Providence pointing to the hours on the chronometer of history? An artist expends great time and labor in painting a panorama, and crowds find delight in gazing upon the canvas; yet is it of a limited space,—a ruin, a river, a city,—Thebes or Jerusalem, the Nile, the Hudson, or the Mississippi. But a newspaper is a daguerreotype of the whole world,—its warrings and diplomacies, its buyings and sellings, its governments and revolutions, its marryings, parturitions and dyings. A newspaper is a real microcosm,—the world made smaller, held in the hand, and brought under the eye. The huge telescope of Sir John Herschel is so swung that it reflects all the

* We copy the following advertisement from the *Boston Weekly News Letter*, of Nov. 13, 1732:—

"This day, at four o'c. in the afternoon, will be sold by Publick Vendue, at the Sun Tavern, a parcel of Red and Blue Muslins, Perpets, and threads, fit for the *Guiney* Trade; also three or four very likely Negroes, just arrived, all to be seen at the place of sale."

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distant wonders of the sky, which sweep across its lenses, upon a small horizontal table under the eye of the observer; and analogous to this, a newspaper brings all the occurrences of remote continents, incidents at the North Pole and the Antipodes, under the light of your reading-lamp, and within the space of your parlor table. The evening has come, the damp sheet is spread out before you, and with an ill-concealed impatience you sit down to see what new spectacle "Time, the scene shifter," has prepared for your astonished and delighted eye. The whole world is in motion before you. This is no small gossip about what took place under your own windows in Cock Lane; but as Isaiah, in the visions of prophecy, beheld the concourse from all quarters of the earth, the dromedaries from Midian and Ephah, the ships of Tarshish, and the forces of the Gentiles hastening to the rendezvous, so, in sober fact, the most remote and improbable agencies, from the four winds under heaven, are hurrying through the air and over the sea, to deliver their separate tidings in that small sheet of paper which you now hold in your hand. Camels, those "ships of the desert," are now traversing the arid wastes of Egypt and Arabia; steamers are now entering or leaving the harbors of Bombay, Odessa, Constantinople, Suez, Naples, Genoa, Hamburg, Cadiz, Southampton and Liverpool,—ponderous engines of speed and power "instinct with life,"

> "Tramp, tramp, along the land they ride,
> Splash, splash across the sea;"—

the Laplander with his deer, the Esquimaux with his dogs, the electric wires at Paris, Berlin and London, every instrument that can convey thought, every agent that can communicate intelligence, in every land, on every sea, in every city, and in every wilderness, on every road and every river, all are in motion, at the top of their speed, to open their budget, and entertain you, an humble looker-on at home, with the shifting panorama of the whole earth. Sometimes we weep, sometimes we laugh; we pity, we are indignant, we fear and we hope by turns, and are always wondering what will come to pass next.

Up by the North Pole, among seals, whales, and icebergs, we can just discern a scientific party endeavoring to force from Eternal Winter its ancient secret, and to ascertain if there be not a new way of getting round this small globe we inhabit. In Africa are as many more, quite as vigorous and persevering in seeking to discover whereabouts certain rivers

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take their rise. Away on the Tigris are others digging up old Nineveh, perhaps the bones of Tiglath Pileser himself; while that spot on the shores of the Pacific, resembling the life and activity of an ant-heap is a vast company of what Bunyan would call muck-rakes, scrambling for gold in California. We look again, and everything seems to be in commotion. Kings and queens are fleeing in all directions, lest they be buried beneath their toppling thrones. There is a man disguised in a slouched hat and a faded livery, occupying the place of a footman behind a carriage. It is THE POPE—God's Vicegerent, the Head of the Church Universal, running away from his own children. Behold another object—watch its movements. It is a man flying from his pursuers; he goes to Holland, Switzerland, England; he crosses the sea; he is an exile in America; he teaches school for a livelihood; he ventures back to his native land; he is elected a King; he reigns in splendor; he is accused of oppression; his throne sinks, and the monarch of France, disguised in a peasant's blouse, seeks a shelter in a foreign land, where, ere long, he disappears from our view, in the common resting-place of all—the grave. Trumpets are sounding, seals are opened, the world is in amaze: from a prison at Ham there creeps forth, in disguise, a *novus homo*, who exchanges places with the King; he is a republican President, and with the *name* of Napoleon, goes forth, to the admiration and gratitude of the world, on the noble mission of helping on the spirit of liberty, in the gentle way of subjugating a sister republic in Italy, bombarding its metropolis, and shooting down its enthusiastic defenders, for the sake of consistency and kindness; and for a climacteric of sublimity and courage, making war on those small islands in the Pacific, forcing Popery and French brandy down the throats of defenseless converts to Christianity! The Northern Bear, all in the way of friendship, is hugging out the insurrectionary spirit of freedom in Hungary, extremely anxious to take the persons of its chief abettors under his special protection; while he of the bow-string, the symbol of the old word-and-a-blow despotism, is all at once transformed into the patron of justice, and the advocate of hospitality. Nor is the scene made up of military tactics alone. Yonder is Professor Teufelsdröckh demonstrating to a gaping auditory, that "society is founded on clothes," that man is God, that it is better to walk on your head than feet, or any other conceit that bewildered logic may happen to play with. Are you fond of seeing harlequins, the daily journal will please your fancy. Do you like spring-vaulting

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and tumbling, politicians will surprise you with feats of agility. If you prefer legerdemain, the wire-pullers will show you enough of sleight of hand; and if tragedy is to your turn, the incendiarisms, the murders, the woes and the wars of this sad world call for no crocodile tears. And if you have learned to look at all things with the calm eye and sober judgment of a Christian, the thing which most interests and delights you, is the conviction that God presides over this great stage of life, and that events transpire under his direction. Though the actors are not automata, yet their several parts are all worked into one great design: scenes the most startling, disappointments the most depressing, follies the most extravagant, are all overruled by an All-wise Master, and are hastening on a catastrophe which will be so joyous and wonderful as to fill heaven and earth with grateful applause.

The newspaper, then, is the peculiarity of an age of intercommunication, an agent of human sympathy. What else lies at the bottom of this conception but a just idea of man's fraternal relations? It is the cheap correspondence carried on between all members of the human family. What a man puts into a newspaper on the other side of the globe, is on the supposition that it will interest the rest of the family on this continent. As we learn more of our fellow-men, we feel a kindlier interest in them. We rejoice in their prosperity, sympathize in their calamities, and cheer on their struggles for the right and the good. There are now too many newspapers abroad to allow a man to live like a snail. They enlarge the world to our knowledge and our love. Why is anything made public but on the belief that it will be of interest to many others? Why is it announced in your paper that Isaac and Rebecca were married on a certain day last week, but on the supposition that it will give you pleasure to know it? And when, lower down on the sheet, under that startling word *Deaths*, your eye runs along, always with apprehension lest it fall on some well-known name, and reads that the aged father, the young child, the beloved wife, the rich, the poor, the admired, the honored, and the beautiful are gone, is it not taken for granted that even strangers will heave a sigh for the afflicted, and the world respond in sympathy to the incursions of a common foe? Read in this light, the commonest advertisements which crowd our papers have a kindly odor about them. Say not with a cynic sneer, as though you were doubtful whether there was anything honest in the world, when a store-keeper advertises his wares, that it is all sheer selfishness; for if it is pleasant to one to an-

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nounce a fresh supply of tallow or wool, hardware or muslins, is it not just as pleasant to some other one who wishes to know it? When a brace of young partners in trade insert their virgin advertisement, informing the world how happy they shall be to wait on customers, can you read it without entering into their fresh hopes and giving them your blessing in their new career? Business advertisements! Waste paper! You know not what you say. Those ships which are to sail to every harbor in the world, those fabrics which have arrived from every commercial mart on earth, this iron from Russia, tea from China, wool from Smyrna, fruit from Malaga, coffee from Cuba, cotton from Georgia, sugar from Louisiana,—do they not preach to us at the corners of the streets, at the entering in of the gates, on our docks, and in our custom-houses and exchanges, sermons on the mutual dependence of mankind? Charles Lamb has a very humorous conception in a letter to an acquaintance at New South Wales, on the difficulty of corresponding in a free and friendly manner with one at so great a distance, comparing it to the effort of talking through a tube to the man in the moon. It was a playful conceit; for, in sober judgment, the facilities for communication between distant parts of the earth have destroyed the old confusion of ideas about longitudes, latitudes, and differences of time; the tubes are connected between the different apartments of our Father's house, as they are in our modern architecture, so that the freshness of sympathy and ardor of love are not lost in the great and dividing sea. Take an example. The whole civilized world has been informed through the newspapers of the uncertainty which overhangs the fate of Sir John Franklin and his exploring voyage to the North Pole. How much of interest and sympathy have been excited for him and his. His noble wife, who has spared neither money nor toil, who has never despaired when mariners have doubted, and Lords of Admiralty have desponded, and governments have abandoned hope—is there a home of civilized man between pole and pole in which her conduct has not elicited admiration and sympathy? Beats there a heart at this hour which does not pray, with the ardor of a personal interest, that this long-lost and intrepid mariner may be restored, if not for the sake of science, at least for the joy and reward of this brave and loving woman? How much time elapsed before the exploit of Leonidas at Thermopylæ was known west of the Tiber we cannot divine. But a printing press actually accompanied the American army into Mexico. Scarcely was the first blow struck for freedom by

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the Hungarians, before every eye was turned, every ear alert, every heart alive; for the daily visitant at our dwellings made all personal spectators and participators in the scene. The school-boy in Vermont and Ohio, in his weekly declamation, has rehearsed passages from the eloquent appeal by Kossuth, through Lord Palmerston, to the civilized world; and the form of the young republican has dilated with emotion as he has recited the noble sentiment of Blum on the morning of his savage execution:

> "Whether it be the scaffold high,
> Or in the battle's van,
> The proper place for man to die
> Is where he dies for man."

Patriots struggle not alone. What transpires on the Danube or the Tiber rouses the sympathies of all mankind. Nor do these expend themselves in useless emotion. They create a sentiment, and establish a law to which all actions must be referred and by which they must be judged. The more of ubiquity is given to what men do, the more certain is it that they will be held accountable for what they do. "They that be drunken are drunken in the night." The frantic cruelties of the world's Caligulas and Borgias were perpetrated in darkness; but as light spreads, and the conviction gains ground that what is done to-day in a closet will, ere the sun rises, be proclaimed upon the house-tops, that conviction must work for the suppression of cruelty, for the shame of tyranny, and the triumph of truth and goodness.

That freedom of opinion, of which the newspaper is the symbol, is looked upon by many with apprehension. There is no subject concerning which men are so slow of heart to believe as *liberty*. At first even good men are afraid of it. They handle it as they would an animal in a cage. They open the door by little and little. They are afraid to let the bolt fly clear back, and let go of the chain and the collar for ever. Had the band of Pilgrims who founded the Massachusetts colonies, who, for the sake of freedom of conscience, sacrificed homes, churches, and universities, foreseen the time when Catholic newspapers would be printed in the town of Boston; when papers advocating infidelity, agrarianism, Fourierism, prelacy, the wildest and the most arrogant follies of Church and State, would everywhere be tolerated, they would have started back aghast; and we know not but such an unexpected glimpse of the concealed purposes of Providence would have led them to hail the May-

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flower as she weighed her anchor, to take them back for shelter under the surplice of Archbishop Laud. In the year 1723 the newspaper called "*The New-England Courant*," established by James Franklin, as an organ of independent opinion, was censured, interdicted and stopped, "except it *first be supervised*." "I can well remember," writes Increase Mather, then more than fourscore years of age, "when the civil government would have taken an effectual course to suppress such a cursed libel." You cannot stop the sun at the horizon. If men are dazzled by liberty, the proper cure is liberty. Remand them not back to darkness and dungeons. There can be no true freedom for what is good, except there be freedom for what is bad. The best mode of refuting sophistry and mischievous opinions is to let them come forth to the light. We have no wish that enemies should sap our foundations in secret, and spring a mine on us stealthily. Let them think aloud. It is better to give vent to mephitic gases into the air than confine the explosive elements in subterranean galleries. If a man really intends to overturn and re-organize society, advocating community of property, the dissolution of the family, reducing the human race to a herd of animals in broadcloth, let him avow his purpose in a public newspaper, and if the result be not the complete frustration of his scheme, the demonstrated futility of his project, it will only be as there is no power in truth, and no right in equity. Truth never has suffered in a fair and open discussion. Weapons which seem to pierce her ethereal form through and through, leave her spiritual body unharmed. There is many a man with a conceit in his brain, for whom the best prescription would be that he should publish it. If the snake has a fang, thanks to a kind Providence, it has also a rattle. Great confidence have we in the common sense of mankind; greater still in all truth; and most of all in God's own Word. For the mischief done to the unwary we greatly deplore that so many vipers should be brought out from the kindling fires of freedom; but because of this, we cannot consent that the fires should be put out and we be left to freeze on desert islands. When the warm sun of summer is up, it brings all unclean and creeping things to life. The grass is full of all manner of vermin; so is the bark of great trees. The adder crawls out of his hole to bask in the glowing heat, but whole harvests of grain overtop and conceal the mischief; the forests are growing taller and taller, and fruits are ripening on every tree. Just so is it beneath the genial warmth of freedom. If incidental

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evils are developed, if the loathsome agencies of infidelity are warmed into life, do not forget that beneath the same vital heat the rich verdure of a continent is springing up higher and higher, and the trees of righteousness, the planting of the Lord, are striking their roots the deeper and spreading out their fruitful boughs to the ends of the earth. Sir Charles Lyell, in his recent work on America, refers with surprise to the fact that the Banks in the United States are so numerous that it is necessary every week to issue a *Bank Note Corrector*, to put the public on their guard against fraudulent bills. In no part of the world are there so many newspapers as in our own country; and a *Religious Newspaper*, an invention of our times, and of our land, may be compared to a bank-note reporter and corrector of counterfeit issues.* The just idea of a newspaper is that it should stand as a transcript of the leaves of Providence. To realize it, a religious spirit is the first requisite. Politicians think not of it,—warriors heed it not; the merchant may not believe it; the immigrant and mariner may not know it; but all the acts of cabinets and congresses, all the enterprise of commerce, all the ambition of military conquest, all the concupiscence of those who hunt and dig for gold, will be overruled by an All-wise and Almighty Spirit, for the wider extension and more glorious triumphs of Christian truth, Christian liberty, and human happiness.

Mr. Carlyle has said that the "best thing England ever did was Oliver Cromwell." Were we ambitious of imitating his mannerism, we should say, not vauntingly, which we despise, but in view of substantial evidence, the best thing the world has done the last half century is AMERICA. Until the latter part of the last century, the United States were colonial dependencies of the mother country, and so were regarded and treated. Immediately after their independence, the civilized world was too much occupied with the astounding revolutions and convulsions of the Old World to waste any notice upon the insignificance of the New. So that it is, in fact, during the present century that these independent States have given palpable intimation of the important part

* The Sandwich Islands, South Africa, Samoa, New Zealand, Burmah, the Karens, and the Cherokees, all have their newspapers established by Christian Missionaries.

Russia, with a population of 60,000,000, has 154 newspapers, about three to a million of souls; the British Empire proper, with a population of 26,000,000, has 500 newspapers and periodicals, which is one to every 52,000; while the United States, with a population of 20 or 22,000,000, have 1,600 newpapers, or one to every 12,000 inhabitants.

In 1801 there were but 17 daily newspapers in all the United States.

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they are destined to perform in the great drama of history. The unnatural war between England and America in 1812, deplored by all good men on both sides of the Atlantic, resulted in securing for this remote and infant Republic an immense amount of notice and respect. Her increasing commerce has added to this importance. It was, if we remember aright, about the year 1786 that a few bags of cotton of American growth were seized at the Custom House in Liverpool, as not being what the master of the vessel pretended they were, so incredible was it that cotton should come from the United States. The single invention of Whitney's cotton-gin has so far affected the commerce, agriculture, and manufactures of the world, that of this same suspected and contraband article several hundred millions of pounds are annually exported to Great Britain.

Whatever incidental events may have attracted attention to this young Republic, the one effect which it has accomplished by its silent success, is to re-establish the confidence of mankind in the possibility of self-government, the freedom of thought and religion. We speak of our land as a *young* Republic. Its age, compared with that of nations boasting of a line of kings which runs back to ancient centuries, is as a hand-breadth. Just as the last century was closing, the first President of the United States deceased,—that wonderful man whom "Providence appointed to be childless that a nation might call him Father." So young are we still, that with this exception, and one other who yet survives, every man elected as President of the Republic has died within the last twenty-five years. Notwithstanding its age is so brief, the influence of this new nation is beyond computation. It has settled by actual experiment the theories of ages concerning the most vital matters of human happiness. It has demonstrated the problem in which the faith of mankind had been so often shaken, that a people may govern themselves by conscience, law, and religion. Every year which has rolled over us has added new strength to this confidence; till now one might as well doubt the presence and power of the law of gravitation. Freedom and order at last have met; liberty and law embraced one another. Here the experiment has been performed to the eye of the world, that religion may be free, entirely free from coercion and from civil aid and alliance, and still grow in purity and power. Can such a light be hid? Now we see the bearing of those providential agencies in increased facilities for international intercourse on the prospects of the world. America is no longer the unknown and remote land it was

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when discovered by Columbus. It is near to all the world and all the world is accessible to it. Regarded as the home of hope and freedom, furnishing ample room in which stifled millions may breathe and live, immigration has set in like the tides of the sea. The immigrant, finding his most sanguine hopes surpassed, has reported to those behind what he has seen and accomplished. Millions on the Rhine have heard of it. France and Switzerland, Norway, Belgium, Holland, Ireland, Wales, England and Scotland, Italy and Hungary, Poland and Sweden, have all experienced that electric sympathy which has re-acted from the log-cabins which their emigrant population have reared in the new settlements of the New World. Not by diplomacy, not by fleets and armies has America been aiding in the struggles for civil and religious liberty in the Old World; but it is by the light of her success, and by the living sympathies of her immigrant population. These last are not beyond talking distance with their old homes. St. Louis is within ear-shot of Hamburg. The wires touch between New-York and Berlin. The Hungarian chief, exiled in disappointed hope to the prairies of Iowa, will not cease to act for his native land. Deep will answer unto deep, and the thrones of despotism will tremble yet at the noise of God's waterspouts. Behold here another illustration of the principle alluded to in the earlier portions of this article. We cannot judge of events by their first appearance. Look at the Puritans of England, when suffering under the Five-mile Act of King Charles, and you might esteem them the objects of Divine displeasure. But the world was not to come to an end until God had most gloriously vindicated his justice in the ultimate honor and prosperity of those who, for a time, were called to the endurance of suffering and hardship. These institutions which are now stretching away to the setting sun; these blessings which brighten and enlarge around us, are but a part of those results which Providence has connected with the fortitude and fidelity of the noble men who, ages ago, willingly suffered in testimony of truth. The extent of our territory, and the growth of our institutions, can surprise none more than ourselves. We do not wonder that the custom-house officers at Leghorn were so sorely embarrassed a short time since, when the master of an American vessel presented his ship-papers, made out at Cincinnati, a *port* some two thousand miles up the Mississippi, and on one of its branches. The incident astonishes ourselves. One cannot but be amused in reading a book on America, by an English, French, or German traveller, even though he aims at great

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accuracy; for before he can get home and pass his volume through the press, his statistics are all obsolete. A single jar changes the whole kaleidoscope. The second census of the United States was taken in 1800, and shows a population of 5,305,482. The present population is 22,000,000. The number of States then existing was sixteen,—Tennessee, the sixteenth, having been admitted to the Union in the year 1796. The number of the family is nearly reduplicated since then. Ohio became a State in 1802. From that time how rapidly have these sister communities been falling into their places,—Louisiana, Indiana, Mississippi, Illinois, Alabama, Maine, Missouri, Arkansas, Michigan, Florida, Wisconsin, Iowa, Texas, California,—with such a long perspective of others as falsifies the last year's geography. When an adventurer fifty years ago removed or travelled to the West, he was understood to refer to the Valley of the Mohawk, that little stream which meanders through our home garden. The axe had but just begun its work, where now stand the populous cities of Utica, Rochester, Buffalo, and Cincinnati. The Indian was the sole denizen of our more western territory. Already the feet of our children are on the shores of the Pacific! A nation has been born in a day; a populous State, inhabited by the young, the enterprising, the bold and energetic, looks out from the "Golden Gate" upon the astonished East; and this from a territory which four years ago was known by name to very few in the Republic, itself the abode of semi-civilized vagrants.

But the greatest of changes have been moral. The moral condition of the country, at the beginning of the century, was alarming. The effect of the Revolutionary War had been most disastrous on the morals of the country. The young soldier had learned in the camp to scoff at religion. Church edifices in city and country had been converted into barracks. Voltaire had said long before, "Put together all the vices of ages, and they will not come up to the mischiefs and enormities of a single campaign." Added to these common effects of war, French infidelity had been imported and the virus had spread universally. Most of the leading men of the country, politicians, editors, lawyers, were imbued with infidelity. The deistical writings of Ethan Allen and Thomas Paine had acquired an immense popularity, all the greater from the memory of Ticonderoga, with which the former, and the political treatise of "Common Sense," with which the name of the latter was associated. Consult the Theology of President Dwight, and you are struck with the evidence of the fact

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that, throughout his whole system, that able divine was battling against an educated infidelity, at that time in possession of the prominent places of influence in our country. The scale is now turned. The sentiment of the nation is decidedly in favor of Christianity. The secular press, to a great extent, recognizes and honors it. The old falsehood that infidelity is necessarily associated with freedom and progress is here abjured. That notion was imported from the French metropolis, from resistance to the Papal Church, that enemy of freedom; it does not apply here in the presence of a Protestant Church, which every day proves herself more and more the patron and ally of true liberty; so it has died out. Christianity has her ablest advocates in all departments of intellectual and physical science, her firmest believers among the intelligent friends of popular progress. Statesmen and merchants, men of thought and men of action, have gradually been working their way to the conviction that the Christian religion is the best aid and promoter of secular improvement, and whatever is done to give to its institutions a broader basis is a sure pledge of all national prosperity. By means of systematic efforts, the religious character of the several new States, as they have emerged into existence, has been decided in the right direction. It has been decided for Western New-York, for Ohio, for Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, and we believe it will be for all that shall follow.

Facilities for education have increased with our population. It describes the character of the first settlers of the country, that at so early a period they were careful to establish schools and colleges. The prominent men in each band of colonists had themselves been educated at the Universities of the Old World, and knew the value of scholarship. Harvard University, William and Mary in Virginia, and Yale College, were founded in the seventeenth century. Nassau Hall, Columbia, University of Pennsylvania, Brown University, Dartmouth, Rutgers, Dickinson, Charleston, University of Georgia, Vermont University, Chapel Hill, Williams, Bowdoin, Greenville, and Union, were established in the order now mentioned, during the progress of the eighteenth cetnury. The census of 1840 reports one hundred and seventy-three colleges; but as this includes professional schools, and many other institutions improperly called colleges, the number should be very much abridged. This is not the place to discuss the question whether colleges may not be multiplied to an excess, and whether it is not better that we should enlarge the endowments of a few central

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Universities, to be really what they import, rather than augment institutions with the mere name of colleges, without the necessary apparatus and arrangements for instruction. The older institutions are the most frequented. Colleges, so called, have sometimes been established from very unworthy motives—to advance a land speculation, to foster an ecclesiastical prejudice or promote a private ambition. With all these abatements, the zeal which has been displayed in multiplying the means of education, is a happy omen for the future. The protection and the ornaments of a Republic are intelligent minds and virtuous hearts.

The history of theological education in this country presents a topic too copious and too important to receive full justice at the close of an article. Happily for all concerned, it has been decided that the clergy of every denomination of our land should be thoroughly educated. The Theological Seminary at Andover was endowed in 1808. Immense has been the influence of that one institution in the education of the Christian ministry. The number of similar seminaries has rapidly increased; and the demands made of those who are trained as preachers have risen in proportion. It is no more regarded as an adequate qualification for ordination to have read this or that system of theology made up at second hand. A thorough knowledge of the original languages must be considered as indispensable. Theology is a science. Hermeneutics, Ecclesiastical History, Mental and Moral Philosophy, are each advancing their claims in the proper education of a Protestant theologian. The handsome compliment paid by Dr. Arnold in a letter to Archbishop Whately to the scholarly accomplishments of American missionaries, is testimony of a high order concerning the standard of theological training adopted in this country. The idea of theological education, after the curriculum of the academy and college, as represented in the best Theological Seminaries of the United States, finds no counterpart in the Established or Dissenting Church of England.

But we forbear. All the agencies for good which have been mentioned are yet in their infancy. Their power will be reduplicated in time to come. Progress for the future, under these organized and providential instrumentalities, must be vastly accelerated. It is the certainty of yet greater advancement which gives to our times the brightest aspect. What recoils and reactions may be thrown into intermediate history, we cannot predict. That such things should occur in our career accords with the general course of Divine

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procedure. It may be that by some unlooked-for shock and jolt, God will convince us and the world of the vast evil of slavery. This is a mystery which our short-sighted vision cannot penetrate. But episodes stop not the drama, nor eddies the current of the stream. The course of the world and of the church is onward and onward still. It will be for our children and our children's children to see the accomplishment of God's wonders in the earth, surpassing our most sanguine hopes. The boy, whose eye glances over these pages, who, fifty years hence, shall review the events of the whole century, will rehearse greater things than have now passed under our notice. On the 12th of October, 1755, John Adams, writing to a friend, records the remarkable prediction—remarkable the whole letter must be called, as proceeding from a young man not yet quite twenty—that "our people, according to the exactest computations, will in another century become more numerous than England itself." Five years from this—the time assigned—the prediction will be realized. Fifty years from this, the city of New-York will contain a population of two millions of souls. A hundred millions of people will occupy the soil of our extended territory. Remote deserts unknown to us in the solitudes of the West will be smiling under the culture of happy freemen. Flocks of sheep and herds of cattle will supplant the elk and the buffalo. Natural obstacles to intercourse will be removed; the Rocky Mountains will be tunnelled, and the two oceans will meet together. The banks of our rivers and the shores of our lakes will shine with opulent cities; commerce will whiten our waters; agriculture cover a continent with wheat and corn, and places now unknown to civilized man will resound with all the hum and stir of busy life. The school-house and the church, those engines and hopes of freemen, will be reared fast as the forest drops before the march of enterprise. The churches which we are now planting on our frontier, will then be strong and able to reproduce and return the benefits they have received farther and farther onward, and the missionary labors commenced in this generation, in the heart of Paganism, will develop we know not what results.

Our thoughts run forward to greet the men who shall stand in our pulpits to preach the gospel of Christ on the first Sabbath of the next century. We welcome them ere yet they may be born to the unspeakable privilege of living in such an epoch of time. We who write and read, now in adult life, will take no part on the earth in the worship of

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that day. Our children, now in the bud and promise of life will be in our places with heads silvered with the honors of age. On the morning of that Sabbath the familiar hymns which we now sing in our homes and sanctuaries, will be begun in the crowded cities of our sea-board, repeated by millions of a religious people in towns and cities through our extended interior, rolled onward with the progress of the hours farther and farther to the West, till, with the setting of the sun, they die away amid the soft murmurs of the Pacific. The islands of the sea will catch the strain, and as morning breaks again on the orient, there will be multitudes in swarthy India to re-echo the praise, and roll it onward again around the world. The day of universal jubilee will surely come. Every year bears the world nearer to its promised Sabbath. Generations pass from the earth, but time does not stop. Man and the world he inhabits are subject to change, but the Word of the Lord endureth for ever. The rocks may be worn away by the encroachments of the sea, the mountains levelled by the attrition of ages, the stars may lose their light and the sun his glory, but the promise of God standeth sure and changeless on its immovable foundations. "He shall come down like rain upon the mown grass: in His days shall the righteous flourish, and abundance of peace so long as the moon endureth. He shall have dominion from sea to sea, and from the river unto the ends of the earth. His name shall endure for ever; His name shall be continued so long as the sun: and all nations shall be blessed in Him. Blessed be the Lord God, the God of Israel, who only doeth wondrous things, and blessed be His glorious name for ever, and let the whole earth be filled with His glory. Amen and Amen."

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ART. II.—TENNYSON'S POEMS.

1. *Poems.* By ALFRED TENNYSON. In two volumes. Boston: Ticknor & Co. 1849.
2. *In Memoriam.* Boston: Ticknor & Co. 1850.

THE readers of Poetry have come to regard Mr. Tennyson as the first of the living English Poets. He, who so long had enjoyed this pre-eminence, has lately, in serene age, passed on to his rest; and Wordsworth sleeps among the hills and valleys of Westmoreland, which he has rendered immortal in song. That these and such as these are deemed the foremost among the Poets, is a fact to be accepted as a token of healthy and improved sentiment. We hear much said in depreciation of the moral tone of our current literature. There is doubtless a large place for improvement, and we wish that the books and other writings of the time were far better. But at the same time it compares, in this respect, favorably with the literature of any former period, and while it is criticised, it ought not to be slandered. We would like to address ourselves to the respectable persons who croak about our degeneracy, and invite them to a special examination of this topic; but we should be led aside from our immediate aim. We can only ask them to place the Poets of the present day by the side of the Poets of the day of Byron and Moore; the day of Pope and Dryden; the day of Johnson and Shakspeare; or, if they are versed in classical studies, with the Poets of the day of Terence, of Horace, or of Pindar. We ask the comparison to be made, not now with respect to Imagination or creative genius, but with respect to spiritual purity and elevation. The unhesitating verdict would exalt the Poetry of the present day. As is the Poet, so are the auditors; and the inference from the comparison, so far as the item of Poetry affords data for an inference, is favorable to the character and taste of the present time. The same conclusion would be drawn from the judgment which readers now render to Poets of past ages; from the increasing audience which the Poets, reverent to virtue, have gained in the living generation. It is less than a century since Dr. Johnson wrote his libellous, but then acceptable, Life of Milton. We now hear of no one who has not read, and of no one who

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censures "Paradise Lost." On the whole, the signs are hopeful. In the decline of the Byronic school, and of the demand for the morbid excitement of passion which it engendered; in the appreciation, the generous admiration that is awarded to the Poets who love the good and true as well as the beautiful, we see the dawn of a brighter era.

The growth of Tennyson's reputation, not hindered by the severe criticisms which his earlier Poems received from the Quarterlies, is partly to be ascribed to the fact that he is, with emphasis, a man of the present. Although not wanting in regard for antiquity, especially for the romance of antiquity, he is yet alive to the wants and claims and achievements of the generation that breathes around him. Hume, in one of his essays, remarks that the inspiration of Poets "is not a fire kindled from Heaven; it only runs along the earth, is caught from one breast to another, and burns brightest where the materials are best prepared and most happily disposed." It is no disparagement to the genius of our Poet to apply the remark to him; for it implies that in him glows warmest and clearest a flame that breathes and plays in the throbbing breast of humanity. We are sure he would be the last to adopt the conceit of Ovid, and to assert that "there is a God within the Poet, who breathes the divine fire by which he is animated." His sympathies are with the active spirits who are striving to advance, and never with the conservatives who strive to stand still. The idea of Progress, although it is made a hobby for quacks to ride, and a theme for cant, still animates the young age, proposing as its problem the relation of the present to the past and to the future. Only as we approach the practical solution of this problem, do we approach the attainment of a sound Philosophy. This idea of Progress possesses the mind of our Poet, stirs him to enthusiasm, and invigorates his verse. He cannot dwell content with the patrimony of the past; and proud as he is of the present, he is restless, and reaches forth to the future. Loving man, aside from the accidents that pertain to him, he is ever hopeful of the future, and gaining a height of vision, his soul exults at the prospect which he opens. His faith in the existence and working of a law of improvement, convinces him that nothing, however mysterious, is without its hidden uses, and renders him cheerful to the end. We could wish that his faith partook more of a confidence in God, and less of a confidence in man; but the attentive reader will note his high advance in religious sentiment since the composition of his earliest poems. Out of the mists that hover over and darken the up-

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ward pathway of our race, there looms to his eye a high and radiant goal that is ever near to the aspiring mind. The d duction of his philosophy becomes the picture of his fancy, and again the objective idol towards which he points. Thus vivid and present is his faith in human attainment; as, in "The Golden Year," when he has painted his vision of its peace and bliss, he says :—

——— "but well I know
That unto him who works and *feels he works*,
This same grand year is ever at the door."

Similar aspirations, calm even in their eagerness, are shadowed forth in "Ulysses," a poem which has been condemned by some critics as obscure and inexplicable, but which would alone entitle the author to the highest distinction. The old King, "matched with an aged wife," finds that he cannot rest from travel, that it is dull to pause, and that all experience is only

"an arch wherethro'
Gleams that untravell'd world, whose margin fades
For ever and for ever when I move."

He summons his old mariners, and with heroic purpose again sails toward the west, in the hope finally to reach the Happy Isles.

In the prologue to "The Princess," the description of Sir Walter Vivian's lawns, where

"The nineteenth century gambols on the grass,"

is given with the hearty feeling of one who is at home among the telegraphs and telescopes of the busy age.

In the noble poem of "Locksley Hall," Mr. Tennyson has best illustrated his confident belief in human progress. The poet begins by painting the scene where his youth was nourished, where the centuries reposed behind him, and in vision he dipt far into the future. He brings to mind his early passion for the lovely girl, who,

"Puppet to a father's threat and servile to a shrewish tongue,"

declined upon a coarse and narrower heart; and the pangs of disappointed love and of bitter indignation at her downward spiritual course struggle within him for the mastery. Tired of his agony, he resolves to mix in the action of life. He would willingly perish in battle,

"But the jingling of the guinea helps the hurt that honor feels,
And the nations do but murmur, snarling at each other's heels."

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He invokes Mother Age that he may feel the wild pulsation of his childhood—such a pulsation as is felt by the eager-hearted boy when he comes near London and beholds the throng of men:

"Men, my brothers, men the workers, ever reaping something new:
That which they have done, but earnest of the things that they shall do."

He goes on, in the vision of the future—

"Till the war-drum throbb'd no longer and the battle-flags were furl'd
In the Parliament of Man, the Federation of the world;"

where the Democratic idea is recognized and successful:

"There *the common sense of most* shall hold a fretful realm in awe,
And the kindly earth shall slumber, lapt in universal law."

The slow march of science and the discord of things do not disturb his faith that

"Thro' the ages one increasing purpose runs."

The idea of a tame life in the Orient for the moment charms his fancy, but soon he revolts at its illusive beauty:

"Mated with a squalid savage—what to me were sun or clime?
I, the heir of all the ages, in the foremost files of time—

"I, that rather held it better men should perish one by one,
Than that earth should stand at gaze like Joshua's moon in Ajalon!

"Not in vain the distance beacons. Forward, forward let us range.
Let the great world spin for ever down the ringing grooves of change.

"Thro' the shadow of the globe we sweep into the younger day:
Better fifty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay."

We have referred to the poem as indicating Mr. Tennyson's hopeful spirit, without alluding to its poetical merit. For strength of conception and poetic expression, Locksley Hall is hardly surpassed, if it is equalled, by any of his other productions.

In "The Two Voices" we have a colloquy between Skepticism, despairing and sometimes scoffing, and Faith, at first weak but struggling on until it grows firm and religious. In this condensed and philosophical poem, the chilling objections to the Divine veracity and goodness are answered. We cannot forbear to quote a few lines:—

"O dull, one-sided Voice, said I,
Wilt thou make everything a lie,
To flatter me that I may die?

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"I know that age to age succeeds,
Blowing a noise of tongues and deeds,
A dust of systems and of creeds.

"I cannot hide that some have striven,
Achieving calm, to whom was given
The joy that mixes man with Heaven.

* * * * *

"Which did accomplish their desire,
Bore and forbore, and did not tire,
Like Stephen, an unquenched fire.

"He heeded not reviling tones,
Nor sold his heart to idle moans,
Tho' curs'd, and scorn'd, and bruised with stones;

"But looking upward, full of grace,
He pray'd, and *from a happy place*
God's glory smote him on the face."

The "Two Voices" is not without the obscurity which the critics complain of in the Poet's other works—a quality that commonly springs from his compression of thoughts and his rigid economy of words. Mr. Tennyson is entirely exempt from the charge of wasting stationery. He condenses his thoughts into brief sayings, and concentrates an expression until it becomes strong and luminous. Tacitus is not more frugal of words than is our poet in his gravest pieces.

We may further illustrate Tennyson's bold and free love of men by quoting from that exquisite little poem entitled "Lady Clara Vere de Vere," and addressed by the farmer-boy to the lady who was wont to break country hearts for pastime:—

"Lady Clara Vere de Vere,
I know you proud to bear your name;
Your pride is yet no mate for mine,
Too proud to care from whence I came.
Nor would I break *for your sweet sake*
A heart that doats on truer charms;
A simple maiden, in her flower,
Is worth a hundred coats-of-arms.

* * * * *

"Trust me, Clara Vere de Vere,
From yon blue heavens above us bent
The grand old gardener and his wife
Smile at the claims of long descent.
Howe'er it be, it seems to me,
'Tis only noble to be good.
Kind hearts are more than coronets,
And simple faith than Norman blood.

* * * * *

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"Clara, Clara Vere de Vere,
If time be heavy on your hands,
Are there no beggars at your gate,
Nor any poor about your lands?
Oh! teach the orphan-boy to read,
Or teach the orphan-girl to sew;
Pray Heaven for a human heart,
And let the foolish yeoman go."

Mr. Tennyson is not a vulgar radical; but he has a hearty contempt for the pretensions of any species of aristocracy. We commend his Poetry to the great number in this country, who are now in an agony of effort to be great—some even emblazoning their equipage with lions and other brutes—an effort that now makes them ashamed of their grandmothers, and will one day, if their eyes are opened, make them ashamed of themselves.

If we except his earlier pieces,—chiefly remarkable, it must be owned, for their melody,—we are constantly reminded in reading Tennyson that he is a man of keen and commanding intellect. He is never in such a fervor that his reason is not cool. Those mystical and strange feelings which most men cannot detain to examine, he seizes and holds before him until he marks and fixes their outlines, and expresses them in carefully-culled words. A minute form or phenomenon of nature he observes, and will not let go, until he has detected its spiritual analogy. The shy figure, lurking under the material covert, is brought out to the light and glistens with fresh, unperceived beauty. He does not obtrude himself, a moody Manfred or licentious Juan, upon our notice; nor does he weave a web all whose fibres are within his brain. He leads us about in the objective world, though we cannot forget the keen and watchful guide who directs our steps. He is prominent because we see traces of a thinker on every page; and he is subjective while he does not allow us to lose sight of the active scene among which we live and move. Then, too, though loving the twilight beauties of the Past, how coolly he treats Antiquity, when she becomes conceited and arrogant. How sharply he gazes at the institutions about him, and how keenly and scornfully does he expose pretensions!

Yet, unless we err in judgment, Tennyson has high gifts, that are strictly poetic. His humor and pathos flow together, and often we can hardly tell whether he is sad or smiling. He stands on the line that divides the laughable from the serious side of life, and sometimes seems to look both ways. In some moods of feeling, his tears and smiles are in close

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company. He impresses a solemn lesson on your heart while you cannot forbear to laugh, so quaint is his manner. How delicate the fancy and how skilful the play of feeling in "The Death of the Old Year," which we would gladly quote entire, but can only bait our readers with the first stanza:—

> "Full knee-deep lies the wintry snow,
> And the winter winds are wearily sighing;
> Toll ye the church-bells sad and slow,
> And tread softly and speak low,
> For the Old Year lies a-dying.
> Old Year, you must not die;
> You came to us so readily,
> You lived with us so steadily,
> Old Year, you shall not die."

For pathos, so deep as to pervade the soul and so calm as to hold back from falling the tear that trembles on the brink of the eyelid; requiring such delicacy of thought and nicety in the choice of words as will hint but not fully tell the feeling; for this pathos, we ask the reader to turn to the "Lord of Burleigh," or to that poem, known to everybody and never wearisome, "The May Queen." The latter abounds with little touches of exquisite finish, which only an artist with a living heart could give; as when, in the second part, the "New Year's Eve," the dying girl speaks to her mother of her younger sister:—

> "She'll find my garden-tools upon the granary floor;
> Let her take 'em; they are hers; I shall never garden more:
> But tell her, when I'm gone, to train the rose-bush that I set
> About the parlor-window and the box of mignonette."

In these pieces, the language accords in simplicity with the natural feelings of which it is the expression. In this connection we may remind our readers of the maniac-song, "The Sisters," which is stern in its simplicity. The wild and disordered mind is disclosed by merely repeating in each stanza a single line:

> "The wind is raging in turret and tree."

While Tennyson looks with a Poet's eye upon external nature and his Poetry is stored with her imagery, he never, so to speak, *rests* in nature. He is not meditative, like Wordsworth or Bryant, and cannot spend days among material objects, holding with them a mystic communion. He does not, like Milton or Coleridge, fill us with awe by delineations of natural sublimity. But his view of nature, if it be rapid, is neither superficial nor narrow, and he often reveals, by a novel

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image, how well he has listened to her voices. He is not adventurous in the use of words, and seldom avails himself of the conceded license to invent or newly apply them. his curious felicity in the selection of terms, in the collocation of vowels, and the adaptation of his verse, are among his striking merits. Witness these lines from the choric song in "The Lotos Eaters":—

"There is sweet music here that softer falls
Than petals from blown roses on the grass,
Or night-dews on still waters between walls
Of shadowy granite, in a gleaming pass;
Music *that gentler on the spirit lies,*
Than tired eyelids upon tired eyes;
Music that brings sweet sleep down from the blissful skies."

These qualities are conspicuous in the "Morte d'Arthur." He introduces us to the Poem by a funny prologue describing a Christmas-eve, when the Parson and all the company have become drowsy, and he,

"though sleepy, like a horse
"That hears the corn-bin open, prick'd his ears,"

to hear his classmate recite the fragment of an epic.

Old King Arthur, who is wounded and near his death, reminds his last surviving Knight of the gift of his sword; and the stanza rolls on back to the scene described:

"Thou rememberest how
In those old days, one summer noon, an arm
Rose up from out the bosom of the lake,
Clothed in white samite, mystic, wonderful,
Holding the sword—and how I rowed across
And took it, and have worn it like a King."

Sir Bediren is commanded to hurl it into the middle of the mere.

"So saying, from the ruined shrine he stept,
And in the moon athwart the place of tombs,
Where lay the mighty bones of ancient men,
Old knights, and over them the sea-wind sang
Shrill, chill, with flakes of foam."

After thrice attempting and as often shrinking from the sacrifice of so goodly a weapon, the Knight is impelled by the solemn commands of the dying King to obey his last injunction:

"The great brand
Made lightnings in the splendor of the moon
And flashing round and round, whirl'd in an arch,
Shot like a streamer of the northern morn,
Seen where the moving isles of winter shock
By night, with noises of the northern sea."

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The arm rises, and, seizing the hilt, brandishes the blade and draws it under the wave. The gasping King is borne on the broad shoulders of Sir Bediren over the cliffs and slippery crags to the verge of the lake, where they see a barge whose "decks are dense with stately forms," and among them the three queens, with crowns of gold:

> "And from them rose
> A cry that shiver'd to the tingling stars,
> And, as it were one voice, an agony
> Of lamentation, *like a wind, that shrills*
> *All night in a waste land, where no one comes,*
> *Or hath come, since the making of the world.*"

Arthur is placed in the barge, with his head in the lap of the tallest queen—

> "So like a shattered column lay the King."

The old Knight upon the shore, the last of his race, mourns that he must go forth among strange faces, companionless. The King, slowly answering, consoles him with the thought that

> "The old order changeth, yielding place to new,
> And God fulfils himself in many ways,
> Lest one good custom should corrupt the world."

He exhorts him to pray:

> "More things are wrought by prayer
> Than this world dreams of;"

and pictures the island valley of the Avilion, whither

> "the barge with oar and sail
> Moved from the brink, like some full-breasted swan,
> That, fluting a wild carol ere her death,
> Ruffles her pure, cold plume, and takes the flood
> With swarthy webs."

The Christmas-party separate for the night, but in his sleep the Poet followed Arthur on his voyage, until the dawn,

> "when dreams
> Begin to feel the truth and stir of day."

Then in his thoughts he beheld King Arthur, coming

> "like a modern gentleman
> Of stateliest port."

The Poet is awakened by the clear bells of Christmas morn.

One secret of the interest of this poem, as the author himself

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hints, is in the modern touches that set off and adorn the antique. The spirit of the Past introduces the spirit of the Present and gracefully vanishes, leaving a better age instead of the age of feudal chivalry. The low, suppressed tone of the verse falls on the ear as a voice from afar.

The most elaborate and the best known of Mr. Tennyson's productions is "The Princess." The high anticipations which looked forward to its appearance, it is not too much to say, were at first disappointed. Something solid and artistic, worthy of his ripe years and acknowledged powers, had been confidently expected. The Poem is entitled "The Princess, a Medley." What right, cried the critics, had Mr. Tennyson to make a *medley?* Is this the production to stand the trial of time, and to abide with the great works of song which time has spared? To these rough questions, it was replied that the Poem offered no claims which it did not sustain. It was asserted, in the second place, that the Princess is a medley only in its sources or materials, and not at all in their combination. And it is true that the story is straight-forward and self-consistent. The events are not probable; but probability is not expected or desired. The finest poems in all languages are *improbable*, in the sense in which the word is now used; that is to say, their events never did nor ever will occur. If literal probability in external conditions is required, then Milton, Dante, Goethe, Shakspeare must be proscribed. It is the Poet's prerogative, in whose exercise his power is often most evident, to *create* beings, fairies it may be, or furies, and to invest them with appropriate conditions of action. It is for the reader to enter the new realm which the Poet has summoned into being, whether it be in the earth, the sea or the sky, and to make it, for the time, his ideal home. If one cannot visit a castle in the air without doubting the substantial strength of its walls, or descend to Pandemonium without puzzling himself with the inquiry how the spacious halls are heated, or soar to the Empyrean and not quake with fear lest gravitation should exert her suspended power, then he must seek for other pleasures than the pleasures of the Imagination.

Is there justice in the objections to the plot of the "Princess"? When the action of a Poem is subsidiary to the main design of evolving certain ideas, it ought to be free from any conditions, not poetical or unsuited to the enjoyment of the thought. Now the subject of woman's rights, that forms the ground of much of the action of the Poem, is so hackneyed a topic that, in the view of many, there is attached to it a certain

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vulgarity of association. How far the feeling is just, and to what extent the author is open to censure for this cause, we leave the reader to judge. But there can more fairly be brought against him the graver charge of incongruity between the scenes and sentiments of the Poem, growing indeed out of a want of dignity in the outward conditions. We admit the difficulty of assigning formal tests of incongruity in Poetry or in any department of Art. There is no incongruity in clothing the humblest condition of life with the deepest poetic interest. Hamlet learns wisdom from the grave-diggers. Wordsworth has endowed the lowliest lot with thrilling power. There is no painful incongruity in the occasional utterance of a good thought from the lips of a bad man. It sometimes has double power, because it is the voice of conscience, asserting her authority against clamorous usurpers; and, too, it is from an unexpected source—as we admire a flower that blooms in a desert. But let the bad man always talk well and we are tired of the incongruity. In the careless garrulity of Falstaff, there gleams here and there a moral sentiment, the more attractive because it presses forth from a heart that is incrusted with selfishness. It appears in fine contrast with the vile company in which it is found. But the character of Falstaff, difficult though it be to analyze it, has no contraries to destroy its self-consistency. It is only when the words have no perceived relations to the history and life that the unity of the person is violated. An epic, or any other poem, even a "medley," so far as it is dramatic, must fulfil the requirements of the Drama. Now the fault of the "Princess" seems to be, that the sentiments which are uttered by the various persons in the poem are too worthy and beautiful to be the natural sentiments of any persons who could figure in the scenes of the female institute. In reading the passages that describe the interviews of the Prince and the learned professors, both in the palace and on the battle-field, the eloquence of the sayings is contrasted with the half-comic scenes. It is such a fault as would be found with one who should provoke a laugh by his fantastic attire or odd gestures while he is endeavoring to enforce serious truth. Whatever precedents are pleaded, we cannot have due reverence for the thoughts of a man who stands before us in the dress of a female; and it is hard to associate the graces of woman with the leader of a man-hating seminary, surrounded by professors and hostlers of her own sex.

For these reasons the readers of the Princess love it more on the second or third perusal than on the first. They forget

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the plot, or regard it as subsidiary to the main design of introducing weighty thoughts and images of beauty. They find that the characters, though they stand in a queer attitude, are delineated with skill; that the Princess is merely possessed of temporary and unnatural traits which are induced by the efforts of surly blue-stockings who have "fed her with theories," and is really a lovely woman; and that the scene of the seminary is an episode in her life, as a dream unto herself. They see also, coming out of the novel incidents of the story, a noble lesson of the true spheres of the stronger and the gentler sex. They find the poem replete with gems of sparkling beauty, and see, behind the curtain, a quick observer of human nature and of the social tendencies of the age.

The "Princess" may be said to develop the author's theory of Love. It is a subject upon which he has elsewhere written much. It is worth while, by the way, to observe how the Dulcineas of the poets change, or at least change their names. The "Chloes" and the "Belindas" have long ago gone from the stage, to make room for "Isabels" and "Marianas." We only need remind the reader of the sportive fancy in "Eleanore," the burning passion in Fatima, the love of the classic "Œnone," and that favorite lay of lovers, "The Miller's Daughter." These persons deserve to rank with the "Genevieve" of Coleridge, or even with the moonlight scenes in which Lorenzo met Jessica and Juliet listened to Romeo. But they are chiefly marked by lively and playful elegance, amorous, bewitching sketches of external beauty, and a marvellous grace and melody in the verse. In some other poems, however, and especially in the "Princess," the pictures of female beauty are instinct with spiritual life. In the latter production, he unfolds the ground of love, basing it not on the inequalities, but on the distinct individualities of woman and man:

> "For woman is not undeveloped man,
> But diverse;"

so that the one, bound to the other by a holy tie, may grow more like the other,

> "Till at the last she set herself to man
> Like perfect music unto noble words."

They who are curious on this matter, would do well to

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peruse the closing pages of the poem, which the Prince thus brings to an end, saying to the Princess:

> "Accomplish thou my manhood and thyself,
> Lay thy sweet hand in mine and trust to me."

We offer a few remarks upon the latest work of Mr. Tennyson, the "In Memoriam." The design of the book is creditable to the character of the author. Arthur Hallam, the son of the historian, was betrothed to a sister of the Poet, and was his own nearest friend. To the grief which his death occasioned, we owe this touching and genial tribute. The poem comprises one hundred and twenty-seven elegiac pieces, forming together a funeral-wreath of perennial verdure. We are glad to perceive the religious spirit that pervades them, more trustful and dependent than is visible in any other of his productions. We are glad to observe the fidelity of a friendship that lives to erect so noble a monument to the departed. With slow step we trace the current of his grief, moving along, at first, in dark and turbid ways, until it emerges into a sunnier channel. It gives us pleasure to see at the close that the ardor of his hopefulness is not cooled by calamity, but that he is still the prophet of a better future.

The "In Memoriam" is not a book to while away a listless hour. Those persons who deem it to be the great aim of Poetry to amuse, and are averse to anything that demands close and even intense attention, need not attempt its perusal, for they would probably fail of success. Thoughts and feelings that lie deeper than the range of common contemplation will at first appear obscure, but on a longer survey, their truth and beauty will be recognized. Their studied brevity and the partial suppression of the emotion contribute to the obscurity of these verses. But the intellectual effort as well as the delay that are thus made necessary, instead of checking the flow of the feelings, rather quicken their flow; for we are constantly startled at the discovery of new gems in the mine of thought.

The poet's love for the dead is not a passion without reason. The delineations of him—the Lycidas of his verse—form some most pathetic passages of the poem. He tells his varied gifts:

> "And manhood, fused with female grace
> In such a sort, *the child would twine*
> *A trustful hand, unasked, in thine,*
> *And find his comfort in thy face.* (cvii.)

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"Peace, come away: the song of woe
Is after all an earthly song:
Peace, come away; we do him wrong
To sing so wildly; let us go.

* * * * * * *

"Yet in these ears, till hearing dies,
One set slow bell will seem to toll
The passing of the sweetest soul
That *ever looked with human eyes.*

"I hear it now, and o'er and o'er,
Eternal greetings to the dead;
And 'Ave, Ave, Ave,' said,
'Adieu, adieu,' for evermore!" (lvi.)

"He passed; a soul of nobler tone:
My spirit loved and loves him yet,
Like some poor girl *whose heart is set*
On one whose rank exceeds her own." (lviii.)

"I would the great world grew like thee,
Who grewest not alone in power
And knowledge, but from hour to hour
In reverence and in charity." (cxii.)

We can only draw the attention of the reader to the metrical perfection of the stanza, which is constructed with unsurpassed ease and skill.

The strong pillar of consolation to the poet is the truth, without which consolation is an unmeaning word, but which, believed with a vivid faith, wakes the soul to a new life and upholds all other weighty truths of Religion. It is a truth so momentous that the thought of it rebukes our weak faith, and too glorious to be summed in one word. It is the fact of Immortality. Thus the solemn themes of Life, Death, and Eternal Being come before the poet's mind in the days of sorrow. But he offers no ambitious pretensions.

"If these brief lays, of sorrow born,
Were taken to be such as closed
Grave doubts and answers here proposed,
Then these were such as men might scorn.

"Her care is not to part and prove;
She takes, when harsher moods remit,
What slender shade of doubt may flit,
And makes it vassal unto love:

"Nor dare she trust a larger lay,
But rather loosens from the lip
Short swallow-flights of song, *that dip*
Their wings in tears, and skim away." (xlvii.)

His friend is in a happy home, expanding his noble facul-

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ties; or a teacher in the heavenly world; or again, like a star, serenely watching the social convulsions of the time and seeing their good end in the future. Yet every lawn and landscape, all faces, the college halls and walks, the rolling sea, the setting sun, bring him back to his presence. He comes forth from the night of grief with sunlight on his brow, hearing a whisper that all is well, glad to love his friends and fellow-men, hopeful of the triumph of justice and the prevalence of peace. He is purified by communing with the dead:

> "How pure at heart and sound in head,
> With what divine affections bold,
> Should be the man whose thought would hold
> An hour's communion with the dead!" (xcii.)

The sorrowful owe a debt of thanks for the "In Memoriam." Here they may find the sentiments of a sensitive and manly spirit, as it slowly passes through the vale of grief over a path where so many are compelled to tread. Here are the select thoughts of a Poet, who reveres truth and God, upon the destiny of the soul; musings upon that world, far and yet near to the eye of Faith, where are clustered all the hopes of mortals, but a world which, with the mortal eye, we vainly strive to penetrate. Here is real sympathy, and not

> "the common-place
> And vacant chaff, well meant for grain."

But our article is already too long. We have wished to pay a tribute, exaggerated it may seem to some, though we deem it to be deserved, to one who has strengthened our belief in the capacities of man and quickened us in the love of the beautiful and the good. Mr. Tennyson has gained high fame as a poet, and is no unworthy companion of the greatest who have borne this noble title. He is too—and this is his best praise—among the foremost of those, who, in different lands and dissimilar spheres of life, and repeating dissonant creeds, are working with their might to lead on mankind to the attainment of their true destiny. In this day of clashing opinions and of tumult among the ostensible friends as well as enemies of Religion, we give welcome to the man who not only embodies the finest conceptions in the purest verse, but who also grasps the sublime verities of our holy Faith, which have been the props of Piety in all Christian ages, and holds them steadily forth before the eyes alike of the skeptic and the believer.

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Art. IV.—UPHAM'S LIFE OF MADAME GUYON.

Life and Religious Opinions and Experience of Madame De La Mothe Guyon: together with some Account of the Personal History and Religious Opinions of Fénélon, Archbishop of Cambray. By Thomas C. Upham, Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy in Bowdoin College. In 2 vols., pp. 431, 380. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1847.

It cannot be denied that these volumes, with several others by the same writer, such as The Life of Catharine Adorna, The Interior Life, and The Life of Faith, are beginning to be somewhat extensively read in the churches; nor can we say that we regret it. Works so eminently spiritual cannot be supposed to have a very bad effect on the piety of Christians. No one can doubt that, were the churches full of Madame Guyons and Fénélons, they would have a moral power, not in themselves, but in Christ, of which it is difficult to form a conception. But greater yet would be their power, were they full of Pauls, and Peters, and Phebes; that is, if the churches had the holiness of Madame Guyon and St. Catharine without their mysticism. One's piety may be great, yet passing through some idiosyncrasy of the subject, either inherited or occasioned by disease, or by too frequent contact with the world, or by excessive seclusion from the world, or by communion with unsafe writings of past generations, may lose, or rather never acquire, the healthful, vigorous simplicity of apostolic piety.

We confess, therefore, that we are not without some anxiety lest the works to which we have referred do some evil while doing much good. We would not, if we could, check their circulation,—we would promote it; but we earnestly desire that they may be read with discrimination. We would circulate as widely among those who are in need of any caution, the necessary antidote to the errors which they contain. We propose, therefore, after giving a rapid sketch of the life of Madame Guyon, as portrayed in the volumes of Professor Upham, to indicate a few of the difficulties which we feel with the work, and generally with the other works with which it is naturally connected.

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Madame Guyon was born in Montargis, France, on the 13th of April, 1648. Her maiden name was Jeanne Maria Bouvières De La Mothe. She was educated a member of the Roman Catholic Church, and continued such till the day of her death.

At about fifteen years of age she was sought in marriage by M. Jacques Guyon, a gentleman of great wealth, and son of the individual who, in the reign of Louis XIII., completed the celebrated canal of Briare, which connects the Loire with the Seine. This marriage might easily have been foreseen as likely to be unfortunate. M. Guyon was thirty-eight; Mademoiselle De La Mothe but sixteen. M. Guyon, though highly respected by those in whose society he moved, was not of a reflective mind, nor a man of literary tastes; Mademoiselle De La Mothe, for those times, was eminently so. M. Guyon and the father arranged between themselves the articles of marriage; Mademoiselle De La Mothe was required to sign them without being permitted to know what they were. In addition to what the father might have foreseen, Madame Guyon soon found that her mother-in-law, a resident of the family, was a penurious, jealous, insulting woman, perpetually watching her, and reporting to her husband whatever she imagined to be wrong.

These trials, with the death of her mother and a half-sister, were the means of deepening that interest in religion which had been awakened in her heart at the early age of thirteen. Her conversion, which is attributed by Professor Upham to the instrumentality of a pious Franciscan, is referred by the same authority to the period of her twentieth year. Her religious character assumed a very marked and decisive form. She abandoned parties of pleasure, places of amusement, and romances, of which last she had been especially fond, and gave herself to meditation and prayer. Nor did she neglect her fellow-beings. The poor and the sick found in her an ardent and a practical sympathizer.

In two or three years she fell under the seductive influence of Parisian society, which caused her for a time to release her hold upon Christ. This spiritual decline was ere long followed by deep compunction, and by a new, more thorough, and a final consecration of herself to God.

She was soon visited by severe trials. Her beauty, which was great, was smitten by the small pox. Her youngest son, whom she most tenderly loved, was cut down by death. Her mother-in-law became yet more vexatious, and her husband yet more suspicious. It was under these influences, in

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connection with religious interviews held with two or three eminently pious persons, that she declares *her will to have become free from sin as to its operations, while she laments that it was not so as to its nature.*

In the year 1676 her husband died, leaving her, at the age of twenty-eight, with three children. After what we have learned of her domestic trials, it is pleasant to be assured that M. Guyon appeared to become conscious of his error in the treatment of his wife, and to rely in his death on the only way of salvation.

In 1680 she was released from what she was accustomed to denominate her state of *desolation.* "The peace which I now possessed," she says, "was all holy, heavenly, and inexpressible." From this time she considered the life of nature, as she expressed it, slain. "All was done in God and for God; and it was done quietly, freely, naturally, continually." From this time onward Madame Guyon professed to have a heart entirely free from selfishness; a heart "which loves God with all its power of love." Nor did she restrict her love within her own heart. Her sympathies for the poor and distressed were still active. During the great scarcity in Paris, in 1680, "she distributed some hundreds of loaves of bread at her house every week, besides charities of a more private nature. In addition to this, she made arrangements for a number of poor boys and girls, and kept them at work."

We now come to a new and important era in her life. Leaving Paris in 1681 privately, lest her friends, who were opposed to her design, should prevent her from carrying it into execution, she dwelt successively in the towns of Gex, Thonon, and Turin; visiting on her circuitous route from Turin to Paris, Grenoble, Marseilles, Nice, Genoa, Verceil, and yet again Grenoble. During her entire absence from Paris, her life was a scene of unwearied industry, and her efforts were crowned with what we should regard, even in this day, as wonderful spiritual results. She aided in the establishment of two hospitals for the sick, besides the efforts which she bestowed upon that class of her fellow-beings in private. In some places her room was continually visited by persons, members, like herself, of the Roman Catholic Church, who came to receive her instructions in respect to the way of life. Nor did she hesitate to inculcate, in direct opposition to the current notions of her Church, the absolute distinction between the religion of rites and ceremonies, and the religion of the heart.

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By these efforts many of the unregenerate were brought to repentance, and many, who for years had been oppressed by the conviction that forms and austerities were insufficient, yet were ignorant of a better way, were filled with faith, and peace, and joy. Among the number were not a few who held ecclesiastical stations of influence in the limited localities where they resided.

But Madame Guyon was denounced as a heretic. Her character was assailed. The dwelling which, a part of the time, she occupied at Gex, was attacked; the windows were dashed in pieces by stones, some of which fell at her feet; the little garden attached to the house was torn up; the bower and the trees were overturned; while hideous noises were made in the night about her dwelling, and hideous images were thrust into her sleeping chamber.

In addition to all her other labors, she performed an astonishing amount of work with her pen. At Thonon she wrote a book on religious experience, in which she likened Christians of different spiritual attainments to different mountain torrents, and hence entitled the book, SPIRITUAL TORRENTS. At Grenoble she commenced a practical and experimental commentary on the Bible. This work includes no less than twenty small octavo volumes. Here also she wrote a little book which excited much controversy at a later period of her life, entitled, A SHORT METHOD OF PRAYER. Her correspondence, also, was very abundant. Her letters were written to persons greatly differing in condition and intelligence; to the low and uninformed, to a Baron, to a Marquis, to an Archbishop, to Duchesses and Dukes. Her entire works, including her life, consist of forty volumes.

Returning to Paris on the 22d of July, 1686, she was again brought into contact with persons of the highest refinement and intelligence. Dukes and Duchesses were her companions. The ladies referred to, themselves deeply interested in the subject of living by faith, were accustomed, with Madame Guyon, to hold social meetings for the express purpose of conversing upon experimental themes. It was soon found that she was exerting in this silent manner a very powerful influence. A party was formed against her. Her own half-brother, a priest, Father La Mothe, was one of its most active leaders. Her case being brought before the King, Louis XIV., he condemned her to be imprisoned in the convent of St. Marie. Notwithstanding the harsh treatment which she received at the hand of her keeper, and the untiring malice of her accusers, she spent the eight months of her

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imprisonment, a few days excepted, in great peace and even joy.

After her release, we find her forming and maintaining an intimate acquaintance with that most remarkable man, FENELON. Fénélon, the teacher of the young Duke of Burgundy, who was grandson of the King, and heir apparent to the French throne; the author of Telemachus, and of the well-known fables and dialogues, the latter two certainly, and the former probably, written for the special benefit of the impetuous pupil; the learned and eloquent Archbishop, the only man in France, who, all things considered, was capable of measuring lances in a theological combat with the great orator, BOSSUET; Fénélon, the gentle and the pious, was an intimate friend of Madame Guyon.

Nor was this all. Madame Guyon was instrumental, not in first calling his attention to the subject of sanctification by faith, but in exciting within him a very strong desire to become acquainted with the doctrine by personal experience. For this purpose they corresponded and conversed, and the adoption by Fénélon of the substance of Madame Guyon's views was the result. Not far from the beginning of Fénélon's acquaintance with Madame Guyon, a deep religious interest was in progress in the town of Dijon, caused in part by the little work on Prayer already referred to. By order of certain ecclesiastics, *three hundred copies of that book were publicly burned.* Madame Guyon was also instrumental in awakening a general interest in the subject of personal holiness among the young ladies of the seminary of St. Cyr.

In consequence, partly, of these labors, public attention was again directed to her as the teacher of false doctrine. "The outcries were loud, deep, and revengeful." By the instigation of others, one of her servants poisoned her; from the effects of this diabolical act she did not recover for seven years. To avert the impending storm, her friends drew up a memorial to the King, but she, fearing lest it should seem like an attempt to forestall Providence, was unwilling that it should be sent in.

Allusion has already been made to Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux, and justly regarded as not only the greatest pulpit orator of France, but as the theological champion of the Roman Church. It is not surprising that he felt himself called upon to prepare for a battle with the new "spirituality." Among other means of preparation, he held extended conversations with Madame Guyon, in which Professor Upham, we must admit, makes the latter appear to very good advantage

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in explaining the terms and phrases which she had employed in her published works.

Public opinion still assailing both her doctrine and her character, the King, at her own request, appointed three distinguished commissioners to sit in judgment upon her case. Bossuet, M. Thonon, Superior of the Seminary of St. Sulpitius, and the Bishop of Chalons, afterwards Cardinal, were the persons appointed. The examination, though not satisfactory, did not then result in her condemnation. After her examination, she voluntarily put herself under the supervision of Bossuet, living within the limits of his diocese as an inmate of the convent.

At the expiration of six months she returned to Paris. The excitement produced in the city by this step was intense. She was soon seized by the police and thrown into the castle of Vincennes. Her faithful servant, La Gautière, who had imbibed her principles, was imprisoned at the same time. "I passed my time," says Madame Guyon, "in great peace, content to spend the remainder of my life there, if such should be the will of God. I employed part of my time in writing religious songs. I and my maid La Gautière, who was with me in prison, committed them to heart as fast as I made them. Together we sang praises to thee, O our God. It sometimes seemed to me as if I were a little bird whom the Lord had placed in a cage, and that I had nothing to do now but to sing. The joy of my heart gave a brightness to the objects around me. The stones of my prison looked in my eyes like rubies."

While she was thus praising God in the castle of Vincennes, a mighty conflict was raging without. Bossuet, the eagle-eyed, had seized the pen and given to the world the result of his reflections on the new movement in his INSTRUCTIONS ON PRAYER. Fénélon soon followed with his MAXIMS OF THE SAINTS. Bossuet aimed another shaft in his TRADITIONARY HISTORY OF NEW MYSTICS; and yet another in his five distinct articles addressed to Fénélon on the Maxims. Fénélon replied in four letters. Bossuet gave to the world A SUMMARY OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF CAMBRAY. Fénélon replied with great power. Bossuet again dipped his pen, and men were found reading THE HISTORY OF QUIETISM. Fénélon rose in his might, unaided by the King, forsaken by the mass, and struck a blow by his ANSWER TO THE HISTORY OF QUIETISM, which sent astonishment through the religious mind of France. For two years did these men struggle in the controversy.

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It required the Pope to silence the battery of either party. His Holiness referred the opinions of Fénélon to twelve *Consultors*, who, after twelve sessions, were unable to agree. He referred them again to a select body of twelve Cardinals. But neither so did their witness agree together. He referred them to a new body of Cardinals. Fifty-two times did they meet before they could agree to censure. Thirty-seven times more did they meet before they could agree on the form of censure. These discussions, carried on in the infallible Church, under the eye of its infallible head, Innocent Twelfth, were extended through no less a period than two years! Said Innocent, "The Archbishop of Cambray may have erred from excess in the love of God, but the Bishop of Meaux has sinned by a defect of the love of his neighbor."* The Pope, however, was at length induced to issue a decree condemnatory of Fénélon's Maxims.

Madame Guyon was still in confinement. During the controversy between Fénélon and Bossuet, she was transferred to the prison of Vaugirard. While here an event occurred which showed the desperateness of the efforts to which her enemies had recourse. The Archbishop one day called at the prison, and read her a letter purporting to be from her old friend, the pious Father La Combe. In this she was reminded of *certain irregularities* into which they had both fallen, and was exhorted to repent. Father La Combe, who had long been a great sufferer in prison for advocating doctrines similar to those held by Madame Guyon, had become so reduced in body and mind as not to be regarded as accountable for his acts. It was under these circumstances that the enemies of Madame Guyon prepared the letter referred to, and caused a man to sign it, *who was then on his way to a lunatic asylum!* The Archbishop—in justice to his memory let it be said—was not aware of these facts when the letter was put into his hand. Madame Guyon instantly pronounced the letter a forgery, or to have been obtained from Father La Combe without his knowing what he was about. What terms can express the atrocity of such an act?

Failing in this, her enemies succeeded in persuading the King to order her transfer from Vaugirard to the Bastile. Here, having taken the customary oath never to divulge what she might there see, hear, or suffer, she was compelled to endure solitary confinement within walls twelve feet thick, for four years. In 1702, at the age of fifty-four, she was released,

* Sir James Mackintosh's Ethical Philosophy, p. 97.

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but was soon banished for life to the city of Blois, one hundred miles southwest from Paris. Having lived in Blois fourteen years in the enjoyment of great faith and peace, she died in triumph at half-past eleven o'clock, on the night of the ninth of June, 1717. "No cloud rested upon her vision; no doubt perplexed the fulness of her hope and joy."

We do not propose to attempt an extended examination, much less a formal refutation, of the errors which we believe to exist in the volumes from which this sketch has been formed. The most that we can do is to throw out a few hints, that shall serve, it may be, to quicken the circumspection of at least so many of the younger members of the churches as may be excited by the present sketch to read the volumes.

We beg leave, then, at the threshold, to object to the method which Prof. Upham adopted in the preparation of the work. In his preface he says:—"In translating passages where she speaks of herself and her opinions, I have aimed rather to give the sentiments than the precise mode of expression. In some cases, in order to complete the statement and make it consistent with itself, I have combined what is said in one place with what is said in another. It is sometimes the case, also, that in the original, something, instead of being brought out prominently to notice, is merely *involved* in what is said, or indistinctly, but yet really intimated, which it has been necessary, in order to give a clear idea of the subject, to develop in distinct propositions, and to make a part of the statement, whatever it may be. So that sometimes, instead of a mere rendering of word for word, a *mere* translation, in the ordinary sense of the terms, I give what may be termed, perhaps, an *interpreted* translation; that is to say, a translation of the spirit rather than of the letter."

On page 188, Vol. I., we find the following:—"My object has not been to give a literal translation of her writings just as they stand, which, under all the circumstances of the case, would have been doing great injustice to her; but by studying their spirit, by readjusting their arrangement, by the separation of what is essential and what is non-essential, and by a judicious combination, to give the true picture, so far as can now be done, of what she was, her thought, her feeling and action, her trials and triumphs."

In the same volume, Prof. Upham gives us the substance of Fénélon's Maxims of the Saints. In relation to this part of the book, the Professor has the following language:—"In what follows, I propose to give the substance of these maxims. As they are drawn in part from the mystic writers, we meet

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frequently with expressions which are peculiar to those writers. A literal translation, therefore, would fail to convey the precise idea to the Protestant mind, which is trained to somewhat different modes of thought and forms of expression. What we propose, therefore, is to give the *substance* of them, that is to say, the true meaning, as it would be likely to be understood by religious Protestants, in as few words as possible."

Against this mode of preparing a work of this kind, we have reason, it appears to us, to object. Without questioning the purity of the author's intention, we must be allowed to express the conviction, that a work so prepared does *not* give us "the true picture." It does not leave us sufficiently free to judge for ourselves what was the character and what were the opinions of the subject described. Any man has the right to persuade us, if he can, that Madame Guyon, and the mystic writers generally, taught doctrines in accordance with "Protestant modes of thought," but we cannot think that he has the right so to commingle his own "interpretations" with the thoughts of Madame Guyon and others of the class to which she belonged, as to make it impossible to discriminate, in several very important instances, between the translation proper and the author's "interpreted translations."

Madame Guyon, and the mystics generally, used terms and phrases which it cannot be, or ought not to be, doubted, were alike unphilosophical and unscriptural. Aware of this, Prof. Upham seems anxious, amidst his admiration of their acknowledged excellences of character, so to modify their language as to commend their doctrines to "Protestant modes of thought." We are not disposed to deny that much, perhaps all of the language referred to is capable of being forced into agreement with the teachings of the Scriptures; but can less be said of the language employed by the Tractarians? Is it not quite as easy to interpret the sentiments of Dr. Pusey's sermon on the Eucharist in accordance with the correct orthodox views, as to interpret the language of the mystics in accordance with the inspired Word? May not the same be said of the sentiments of the Fathers even with reference to the monastic institute? The author of "Ancient Christianity" contends that in order to expose the folly of the Oxford divines in their laudations of the piety of the Nicene age, there is no other course left but to give *an exact translation* of the more exceptionable writings of the Fathers.

We cannot proceed to indicate what we regard as defects in Madame Guyon's character, without first expressing the

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conviction—a conviction which deepens at every new examination of her life—that Madame Guyon was an eminently holy woman. It is our earnest desire, that many of the features of her religious character may be imitated by all who may acquaint themselves with the volumes which we are noticing. If read with discrimination, her Life cannot fail to enlighten most of us in relation to the nature and the obligations of a holy life. With the idea that she was insane we have not the least sympathy. That her enemies, and even some of her irreligious relatives, regarded, or pretended to regard her as laboring under mental derangement, is not at all to be wondered at. If Madame Guyon was insane, we have no hesitation in pronouncing as also insane, Louis, Father La Mothe, and her enemies generally. It has always been more common to suspect a person of insanity who has shown unusual zeal in the service of Christ, than one who has shown unusual zeal in the service of the devil.

Yet, deep though the piety of Madame Guyon was, it appears to us *to have been too much under the control of mere impressions.* In evidence, note her decision, and the circumstances in which it was made, to leave the vicinity of Paris for Savoy. She had been left a widow with three young children. Unless, therefore, some very decided providences indicated otherwise, it would seem to have been her duty to devote herself chiefly, for a few years, to the superintendence of her children's morals and education. Not only were there no such providences, but there was no special providence calling her to Savoy. She went without having before her any prescribed course of action, and, for some time after her arrival, so little opportunity presented itself for the exercise of her high intellectual endowments, that she seriously thought of devoting herself to the preparation of ointment for the poor. Add to these facts one more, which, though stated last, occurred first. One evening, when she entered an unlighted church, the confessor, whom, on account of the darkness, she knew not,—he for the same reason not knowing her,—said: "I feel a strong inward motion to exhort you to do what the Lord has made known to you that he requires of you. I have nothing else to say." Here was a priest, and, for aught that appears, a graceless priest, guided only by an impression, cherishing the impression that had already arisen in Madame Guyon's mind, that she could not serve God without breaking away from her children and going to some distant and unknown part of the country.

Several other illustrations of the point in hand may be seen

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in the memoir, such as refusing to let her friends send in a petition to the King, lest it should seem like forestalling Providence; declining to use a little pomatum sent by her friends to lessen the effects of the small-pox on her face, as if the deeper the pits the deeper her humility; and, after her restoration to health, walking through one of the fashionable promenades of Paris that her pride might be thoroughly humbled.

Her views of spiritual converse appear to us anything but reasonable and Scriptural. She represents herself as being able to read the thoughts of Father La Combe when separated from him at the distance of many miles, and as being able, when in the same room with Fenelon, to hold conversation with him, without the medium of language or any external signs whatever. They could sit in perfect silence, and carry on conversation with each other with mutual understanding and profit! This is too much like the *clairvoyance* of modern days, to be justly attributable to the operations of the Holy Spirit. Something very much like it may be seen in a book written three or four years ago by one of the Messrs. Fowler, of New-York, on Religion, one of the most barefaced, irreverent and dangerous books that the New-York press has thrown off under the garb of science. We regret that Prof. Upham has given to the world such unphilosophical and unscriptural notions, unaccompanied with a rebuke.

Madame Guyon represents *union with God* as consisting, in its highest degree, in the union of the human will *as to its nature*, with God's will *as to its nature*. Even under the charitable moulding of her language by the admiring compiler, she speaks as if she believed the soul's *essence* to be absorbed and lost in the essence of God. It will be replied that we do not understand her; that she did not intend to convey any such impression. We would say, then, as Bossuet hinted in one of his interviews with her respecting another point, if she does not mean so, why does she say so? Whether she means so or not, here is the language thrown out among the churches in all its liability to misinterpretation. A few quotations will show that we do not deal unfairly with her:—

"When the soul loses the limit of selfishness,—a limit which fixes the soul in itself,—it has no limit but in God, who is without limit." "When by the loss of *ourselves* we have passed into God, and have become in some sense divine by returning spiritually to that from which we came, then it is obvious that our will is made one and the same with the will of God." "The soul, passing out of itself by dying to itself, necessarily passes into its divine object. * * * My spirit,

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disenthralled from selfishness, became united with, and lost in God, its Sovereign, who attached it more and more to himself. And this was so much the case, that I could seem to see and know God only, and not myself. My soul at first seemed to pass into him, and then to be lost in him, like the waters of a river which passes into the ocean, and after a short time are so entirely united as to become one with it. It was thus that my soul was lost in God, who communicated to it his qualities, having drawn it out of all that it had of its own."

It is difficult for one to convince himself that Madame Guyon really believed the doctrine which these words express. Prof. Upham evidently yields his approval to the language, and we have no reason to doubt that he approves the sentiment which the language, fairly interpreted, expresses, for he publishes it to the churches without a word of dissent.

The memoir has much in it in relation to *the loss of desire* in him who is perfectly holy. This phrase, and phrases synonymous, are explained by Fenelon to mean, ceasing to desire what is not in accordance with God's will. But, as in the case just noticed, why, if this was the meaning of Madame Guyon, did she not say so? Are such expressions as non-desire, and ceasing to desire, precise, natural expressions for the Scriptural thought that our desires should be in agreement with the will of God? "My state," says Madame Guyon, "has become simple and without any variations. It is a profound annihilation. I find nothing in myself I can give a name." She also affirms that she desires nothing but what she has, and this state, we understand her to affirm, is one of the necessary elements of perfect holiness. To say nothing of the obvious truth that *desire* is an original element in the constitution of every moral and intellectual being, whether holy or unholy, it is enough to say that we find nothing of Madame Guyon's language or doctrine in the Scriptures.

But we have a more serious difficulty with the volumes before us—a difficulty which we have felt respecting all the works named in the first sentence of this paper, but felt most deeply in reading the Life of Madame Guyon, and the Life of Catharine Adorna. Sufficient prominence, we think, is not given to the duty of faith in Christ AS A PROPITIATORY VICTIM. We doubt not that the author most fully believes in the propitiatory nature of Christ's death, nor do we affirm that the doctrine is not stated in the writings referred to, but we think that the references to it are too few and faint. It is not enough that a man seek holiness; he must seek it in the right way. It is not enough that he seek it with faith in the ability and

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willingness of Christ to aid him by his Spirit; he must seek it with faith in Christ *as his atoning sacrifice.* This must underlie all his desires for holiness. Why? Why, so far as respects his growth in grace? Because, otherwise, he indulges in a habit of self-reproach, of melancholy self-reproach, in consequence of being yet imperfect, and, thus inducing a morbid state of the affections, must fail of securing the object desired. An imperfect being cannot be successful in his attempts however sincere and however earnest, to bring every thought into captivity to the obedience of Christ, unless his mind is settled in relation to the question whether Jesus Christ died for him as a distinct individual. We fear that there are many in the churches whose perception of this point is quite indistinct; many who are hungering and thirsting after righteousness in a spirit of habitual melancholy, and who therefore need to go back to the very elements of the gospel of Christ. To such we would say, Get rid of your down-cast visage and your gloominess of spirit, not by attempting to become holy, but by BELIEVING IN THE ATONEMENT. With faith in the atonement, you will have the stronger faith in the ability and willingness of Christ to aid you in overcoming your personal sins. The memoir of Madame Guyon has a tendency, we think, to cherish the mistake which such persons have committed.

We should be exceedingly sorry, if the few thoughts which we have suggested relative to the errors of Madame Guyon in particular, and of the religious works of Prof. Upham generally, shall tend to alienate any of our readers from the subject of personal holiness. Believing that these works will be and ought to be read, and believing that they may accomplish, if read with caution, a very necessary change in the character of believers, we have spoken as we have. We believe that there are many popular errors in the churches respecting the duty of holy living, which such works are eminently calculated to remove, but let not other errors be grafted in their place.

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ART. V.—THE ANTIGONE OF SOPHOCLES.

The Antigone of Sophocles, with Notes, for the use of Colleges in the United States. By T. D. WOOLSEY, Professor of Greek in Yale College. Third Edition, revised. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1841.

WE have just risen from a perusal of this interesting play, and we cannot forbear taking the opportunity to express our thanks to the accomplished editor of the American edition for the invaluable assistance which he has rendered in our pleasing but not very easy task. It is an encouraging omen for classical study that the head of the most popular institution of learning in our country finds time and inclination to devote a portion of his energies to the elucidation of the ancient authors, and thus utters his earnest condemnation of the narrow, utilitarian views of those who would curtail, or exclude from our schools altogether the study of the finest compositions of the human mind. Thwarted be the efforts of those who would substitute science for philology, on the false pretense that science alone is useful. Rather let science and philology go hand in hand, not arrayed in an unnatural and forced hostility, but with that amity and mutual service which they gladly render to each other. It is a false issue to place them in antagonism, and no good can result from it, but only evil. Nor do they ever produce their best fruits, except when they borrow light and warmth from each other. It is for this reason that we rejoice exceedingly when we find in this country, where scientific pursuits are so much in advance of classical learning, some of the best minds engaged in commending and promoting the study of ancient literature. May they not relax, or grow weary in their endeavors, because they have so few fellow-laborers.

In this country especially are we prepared to understand and appreciate the character of the Athenians when viewed in its true light. The similarity of their institutions to our own, the intense love of individual and national freedom which pervaded all ranks of society, render the study of Athenian life of more than ordinary interest to the American citizen. To become acquainted with Athens, we must study not only her laws and her political history, but we must

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become conversant with her poets, her historians, her philosophers, and her orators. We must contemplate with unprejudiced minds the character of her leading men, neither branding with hasty reproach "the leather-dresser" Cleon, nor that much-abused class of men called Sophists, the popular professors of the age;* nor, on the other hand, receiving without examination the indiscriminate praise even of Aristides and of Socrates. Too long has it been the practice to receive at second-hand our ideas of the Athenians; to adopt the opinion of those English and German writers who have little sympathy with a republic, and who understand Athens—her government, her social life, her principal men, and even the moving spirit of her literature—as imperfectly as they understand America. It is time that we had read and thought for ourselves, and from our incomparably superior point of view had surveyed minutely that metropolis from which Europe and America have derived the peculiar type of their civilization.

To the American citizen, above all others, is it important that he become familiar with the history of Athens. No State that has ever existed has presented so many features of resemblance to our own government and people; and the history of no State furnishes so many valuable suggestions, and holds forth so many warnings, to which we do well if we take heed. That brief yet brilliant experiment of a popular government which was made under the direction chiefly of Solon, Clisthenes, and Pericles, inspired, as it would seem, by the goddess of wisdom, kindled a light which has pierced through the darkness of many centuries, and has not yet altogether faded away. There the important rights of jury trial and *habeas corpus*† were acknowledged and respected scarcely less than in our own country; there the greatest liberty of speech was combined with the most remarkable respect for law;‡ there, too, under the Athenian institutions, as if by magic, there grew up with the most astonishing rapidity that body of literature which in all ages and all countries has been pronounced the master-piece of the human

* For some new views respecting the character of the Sophists, see Grote's History of Greece, vol. viii., ch. lxvii.; and for a new estimate of the public services of Cleon, see ch. liv.

† See Grote, ch. xi., on the Seisactheia of Solon. For a very clear and full exposition of the Athenian system of jury trial, see Grote, ch. xlvi., Constitutional and Judicial Changes at Athens under Pericles.

‡ We are aware that very different opinions have prevailed respecting the Athenians; but those who will take the trouble to examine Grote's History, may find something new and interesting on this subject in almost every chapter, from the age of Solon downwards.

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mind, and which, though in mutilated fragments, still gives us some idea of its surpassing beauty and living energy. It is to the study of this that we are invited for the improvement of our taste, the enlargement of our views, and especially for the quickening of our enthusiasm in literary pursuits.

Among the many species of composition in which Athens excelled, the tragic drama holds a conspicuous place. The astonishing rapidity of its growth, from its rude beginnings in the days of Thespis to its lofty elevation in the age of Pericles, can be compared to nothing but the growth of Athens itself. We are not less surprised at the great number of successful composers* whose works have either perished entirely or have come down to us only in fragments, and also at the great number of plays which the principal poets individually are said to have written.† While it is sad to reflect that so much which might have delighted and instructed mankind is irretrievably lost, it is interesting to know that the same soil which produced the Prometheus Bound, the Œdipus Tyrannus, and the Medea, was not exhausted by the mighty growth of a few productions; that the creative energy of the most gifted minds never shows signs of weariness and exhaustion.

In studying the drama of the Athenians, it is necessary to notice the important points wherein it differs from the modern drama. In the first place, it was always with the Greeks a religious service—a sort of liturgy. The whole State was invited to participate in the worship, and the vast theatre—not for a moment to be compared with the dens which in modern times pass by the same name—was sufficiently capacious to accommodate a whole city, assembled at early dawn in the free air of heaven, with no roof but the delightful sky of Greece. The day is sacred to the god Dionysus; and the service begins with a sacrifice to him. It is a day of joy and festivity, but of festivity tempered and subdued by the imposing spectacle of gods and heroes talking and acting before mortal eyes. The sacrifice ended, the curtain falls, and discloses the dwelling of those who had lived and acted centuries before. The persons of the drama, of heroic stature, then appear at successive stages. The chorus, a

* "Philocles, who gained the prize even over the Œdipus Tyrannus of Sophocles; Euphorion, son of Æschylus, Xenocles and Nicomachus, all known to have triumphed over Euripides; Neophron, Achæus, Ion, Agathon, and many more." Grote, vol. viii., p. 437. For a more complete list, see Theatre of the Greeks, p. 61.

† Boeckh estimates the number of tragedies composed by Sophocles to have been one hundred and nine; and the number of dramas ascribed to Euripides is sometimes sixty-two, sometimes seventy-five. Grote, vol. viii., p. 437.

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company of dignified persons, the connecting link between the gods or heroes on the stage and the awe-struck beholders in the theatre, enter the orchestra, chanting at intervals some of the sublimest odes, and occasionally with eager interest taking the part of an actor. As the plot unfolds, some great moral struggle is discovered to be going on. Some invincible will, perhaps in the breast of a delicate maiden, or in the huge form of an awe-inspiring Titan, contends with conscious rectitude against a mightier power. The right suffers, but still endures. The unjust power menaces and bears with intolerable weight on the sufferer. The trial is too great for his virtue, but not for his will. Mutual wrongs are committed and mutual guilt is incurred. The divine ruler, "who never sleeps, nor grows old, on whom the unwearied mouths of the gods have no power,"* finally asserts his supremacy. The storm which had long delayed now bursts with terrific fury on the heads of the guilty. The scene is too awful for mortal eyes. The curtain rises and the vision vanishes. But it has left its impression. Virtue, though weak and deserted, has triumphed. It may have gone to the land of shadows, but there it meets its reward in the society of the good and the loved on earth, and in the favor of the gods. The wicked, though powerful, have been vanquished. Their lives may be spared, but only to endure horrors worse than death. Such in general are the leading points of the Antigone. The fundamental idea is the antagonism of human and divine law in respect to the burial of Polynices. Creon the despot proclaims that he shall be left unburied. All the persons in the State obey the decree, save one. This one is Antigone, the sister of Polynices. Over her the fear of death—the penalty of disobeying the decree of Creon—has no power. One thought alone possesses her—the obligation to bury her brother. In this character the principal interest of the play is centred. The other characters serve chiefly to heighten the interest in this one. Ismene, the affectionate and timid sister of Antigone, Hæmon, the dutiful son of Creon, but the true-hearted lover of Antigone, even the rough guard who brings Antigone before Creon, all conspire to throw interest around the principal person of the play. In the collision between Antigone and Creon, both are betrayed by the intensity of their feeling into errors, but Creon especially loses all self-control, and is led to defy the gods to whom Antigone appeals. This brings

* Antigone, v. 606.

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down upon him their special displeasure. Woe after woe falls upon his devoted head, and at length, after it is too late, he becomes conscious of his folly and madness.

Though such representations must have been impressive in the highest degree to the Grecian mind, and must have inspired reverence for the great Power which controls the destinies of men, it may admit of a question how far the moral and religious ideas of the drama were salutary to the hearts of the Greeks. We have without doubt in these compositions some of the loftiest conceptions of truth to which the Hellenic mind attained; but how low and feeble, how mixed with error are these conceptions, compared with the teachings of revelation! It is not our object to present the Grecian drama, any more than we would present the English, as containing a faultless morality. Our interest rests chiefly on other grounds. It is as a work of art, and as an index to the Grecian mind, that we recommend the study of Sophocles and the contemporary poets. In perfect dramatic propriety, yet representing the most violent ebullitions of human passion, no compositions are superior. The tragical effect is overpowering, and an analysis of the constituent elements by which this effect is produced, cannot but improve the æsthetic faculties. The drama is also a most important auxiliary to a correct and full knowledge of that brilliant period, the fifth century before the Christian era. The wide range of emotions which were called into play, and the many questions of duty which were raised by the tragic poets, as they were in part the offspring, so in turn they became the parent of the ethical study which constituted a marked peculiarity of the age. The inquiring mind would not leave undecided questions of practical duty, though the poet might choose to leave them so; and thus new combinations of circumstances, which the inventive genius of the poet continually created, led to wider generalizations in ethics. Again, the many conflicting interests which are everywhere presented, and which are supported by the most varied arguments, fostered the study of rhetoric and dialectics, which attained such surprising maturity a century afterwards in the persons of Aristotle as a dialectician, and Demosthenes as an orator. Viewed in this light, which is not the least interesting, the drama appears as the transition stage in the literary history of the Greeks, from the epic and lyric poetry as well as the aphoristic philosophy of an early period, to the more expanded system of ethics and the finished perfection of oratory, which constituted the last and the crowning glory of Grecian intellectual achievement.

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It is difficult to compare impartially the ancient with the modern drama. No one who has the least capacity for poetic enjoyment, and the least poetic discrimination, can be unconscious of the transcendent genius and the inimitable versatility of Shakspeare, the prince of modern dramatists. Yet with all this unqualified acknowledgment, one fact is not to be disguised, (and it is not less surprising than true,) that in respect to delicacy and purity of thought, the Attic tragedians stand at the greatest remove from Shakspeare. Vulgarity is as rare in the former as it is common in the latter. While one might read in any company with perfect propriety almost every Athenian tragedy which has come down to us, what single play in Shakspeare could be selected of which the same could be said? In this respect ancient tragedy deserves to be held up continually as a model, not less on account of its own absolute purity, than on account of the striking and pleasing contrast which it forms to the corrupt and indelicate scenes of modern plays.

Another point of difference between the ancient and modern drama, relating chiefly to artistic structure, is found in the severe simplicity of the former.* While in a modern play the scene may shift from London to Rochester, from Rochester to Markworth, from Markworth to Eastcheap, and so on, as often and as many times as the poet pleases, in the ancient plays the scene generally remains the same. In the modern drama, too, a much greater number of actors and variety of incident are admitted to the eyes of the spectators. Now-a-days it is quite proper that Medea should slay her children, and the infamous Atreus boil human limbs before the eyes of the people.† To see a man murdered is no strange sight. The stage effect is greatly heightened by such spectacles. But formerly such things must only be related,

* Much has been written by critics respecting the three unities. Perhaps we cannot better represent the value of such discussions than by quoting what Schlegel says on this point: "These famous three Unities, which have given rise to a whole Iliad of battles among the critics, are Unity of *Action*, of *Time*, and of *Place*. The validity of the first is unanimously acknowledged; but then its meaning is a contested point, and I add, it is in fact no easy matter to come to an understanding on the subject. The unities of Place and Time some consider quite a subordinate matter, while others lay the greatest stress on them, and maintain that without the pale of these unities there is no salvation for the dramatic poet. * * * It is pleasant enough that Aristotle has been obliged, without ceremony, to lend his name to these three Unities, considering that he speaks only of the Unity of Action at any length, merely throws out an indefinite hint about the Unity of Time, and of the Unity of Place says not a syllable." For much more on this topic, see Theatre of the Greeks, p. 400 et seq., and for a word respecting the division of a drama into five acts, see id. p. 411.

† Hor. Ep. ad Pisones, v. 185.

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and not acted. It is not necessary for us to suggest which would have the best, or rather the least pernicious, moral effect. On the other hand, we are not prepared to say that the scenic uniformity, and the great predominance of dialogue and narration over action in the ancient drama as compared with the modern, was really an excellence. It was more in keeping with the religious objects of the drama at that time, but would not probably be so well suited to the very different objects of the modern stage.

We have extended these introductory remarks much farther than we designed; for it was not our object to write an essay on the Grecian drama,* but simply to present some points which have been suggested in reading Woolsey's Antigone. This work passed to a third edition several years ago, and we understand that a fourth edition will soon be needed, notwithstanding the limited demand for a book which is read only in the highest schools in the country. We regard the fact as a gratifying proof that there exists among us some appreciation of what is excellent. In respect to critical learning combined with an extensive knowledge of antiquity, no editions of the ancient authors which have been published in this country rank higher than those of President Woolsey. This is in truth very faint praise, for we have ever regarded these books as models, almost faultless, and worthy to be compared with the labors of the best German scholars. We trust, therefore, that in the criticisms on the Antigone which follow, no one will misunderstand us because we have not pointed out what in our judgment are excellences as well as defects. The former task would be perhaps more difficult, and require a careful comparison, much beyond our present limits, of the work in question with the best editions of the Antigone now in use. One point however has so often forced itself on our attention, that we cannot forbear alluding to it:—the remarkable freedom in all of President Woolsey's works from everything like dogmatism. How pleasing a contrast do they present in this respect to many of the works of English scholars. To illustrate our meaning, we quote the following from Donaldson's Antigone:—"289, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα . . . ἐμέ. In these lines there are several points which *previous Editors have overlooked.* * * * The adverb δικαίως is used here in a sense *which has escaped the commentators*," etc. Much of the same kind, yet more dogmatical, is found in Bloomfield's

* Those who desire may find much information on the subject of the ancient drama in Müller's Hist. Gr. Lit.; in the Theatre of the Greeks; in Grote's Hist. ch. lvii.; and in an interesting article of the Bibliotheca Sacra, Feb., 1849.

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Thucydides. We cannot tell how convincing such annotations may be to others, but for ourselves we are involuntarily led to inquire, Who is Mr. Donaldson, that his opinion should exclude the possibility of any other person's being in the right? Is he exempted from the common liability of humanity?

ἀνθρώποισι γὰρ
τοῖς πᾶσι κοινόν ἐστι τοὐξαμαρτάνειν. Ant. 1023.

The task which we have proposed to ourselves may seem as unnecessary as it is uncommon, nor should we have been guilty of this temerity were it not for the conviction that the work which we are examining will, as it deserves, long continue to be used, and that a free expression of doubts or even of different views—how shallow soever—may not be prejudicial to sound criticism.

In respect to typographical execution, the text is almost faultless. So also in the commentary, we have discovered scarcely an error which would occasion any trouble to the learner. In minor points we have observed a few things which can easily be corrected in a subsequent edition. When an oxytone is followed by English words from which it is not separated by any pause, the usage is not fixed. On p. 74 we have the expression, "γάρ may be rendered," etc.; but on the next page, "γὰρ shows that," etc. On page 79 we have ταχύς and ταχὺς in the same position. On p. 78 ταυτὸν should be ταὐτὸν, and on p. 80 τινος should be τινός. On p. 66 τινα should be τινά, and on p. 97 "τί" should be "τὶ." We have noticed a few other instances of the same kind. In the text, we find πᾶς', v. 776, instead of πᾶσ'; and v. 632, ψῆφον for ψῆφον. These two are the only mistakes which we have observed in the text, although we have examined it with some care.

We regret that the artificial divisions of the choral odes are not made more conspicuous than by the numerals at the bottom of the page. In this respect we like the execution of Donaldson's Antigone better than any other edition thatw have seen. The interpretation of the odes is so much facilitated by an attention to these divisions, that they should be plainly indicated.

In perusing the commentary, we have noticed the following points:—

62—64. ὡς πρὸς ἄνδρας οὐ μαχουμένα, *as though not meaning to contend with men*, (i. e. we should think of ourselves as women, and as such not contend with men.)

We should give a slightly different turn to ὡς . . . μαχουμένα,

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as if not intended (*not meant* rather than *not meaning*) *to fight with men.* On the construction of the 64th verse, we venture to propose something different from the ordinary explanations. We adopt the ordinary distinction between ταῦτα and τάδε; and suppose the ellipsis of ἐστί. The sole wish of Ismene is to dissuade Antigone from the execution of her purpose to bury her brother. The apprehension of a terrible retribution, should Antigone disobey the decree, filled her mind with foreboding. Accordingly, after briefly enumerating the past calamities of their house, and presenting the possibility of their own miserable end in case of their disobedience, she adds: We must consider that we are women, not made for such deeds, *and then forasmuch as we are governed by those who are superior in power, these things also* (the things which you are talking about) *are still more painful in the recital* (ἀκούειν, lit. *more painful to bear*) *than the present woes* (the woes already pressing upon them).

71. The text reads ἀλλ' ἴσθ' ὁποῖά σοι δοκεῖ. With this reading ὁποῖά is the neut. plur. accus. and ἴσθι is from οἶδα in the sense of γιγνώσκω. So the passage is explained in the note. This is certainly a very rare signification for ἴσθι. Hermann says—"ἴσθι non significat γίγνωσκε," and the opinion of Hermann on such a point is very weighty. It would seem to us far more probable that Sophocles wrote ἀλλ' ἴσθ' ὁποίᾳ (as Hermann, Boeckh and Donaldson read) σοι δοκεῖ, *Be such as seems good to you*, etc. The scholiast translates both ways.

In the 76th v. we hardly suppose the comma was intended to be written after σοὶ δ'.

103. χρυσέας, *bright, refulgent.*

Could we not translate the metaphor, and say with entire propriety, *the golden day?*

117. We cannot suppose a change of the figure at the beginning of the antistrophe without a fuller indication of it, although the word γέννς is less naturally spoken of a bird than of a beast. The phrase στὰς ὑπὲρ μελάθρων is certainly as applicable to αἰετὸς as it could be to δράκων, and to our minds the picture is more striking. Consequently, below, 125-6, we understand (with Hermann, Wunder, Ellendt, and others) the word δράκοντι to be spoken of the Thebans. *So great a clang of war difficult for him to subdue was raised behind him by his dragon foe.*

235. δεδραγμένος, κ. τ. λ., *seizing on the hope that I cannot suffer any other thing than that which is fated.* This seems to be half comic, as though he meant to say, that he had no hope whatever of escaping unpunished.

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We should rather translate, *seizing on the hope that I may not suffer*, etc. (τὸ μὴ παθεῖν). Comic and singular as this language appears and really is, we often hear something very similar. The drowning man who thought he should reach the shore because he was made to be hung, might have used the same words with the guard, provided he had understood Greek. But without any comic air, and with good reason, we are often supported by the conviction that nothing can befall us which is not appointed to us as our lot.

We think the editor has hit the exact idea of the 241st verse, although the other commentators, as far as we have examined, explain it differently.

251. χέρσος ἀβρῶξ, *unbroken, waste land.* Hermann considers χέρσος an adjective.

The former part of this note is liable to confuse the student, inasmuch as by the comma after χέρσος in the text the editor seems to adopt Hermann's explanation.

289. The order is, ἀλλὰ ἄνδρες πόλεως, μόλις φέροντες, καὶ πάλαι ἐβρόθουν ταῦτα ἐμοί. ταῦτα refers to what the chorus had said, viz.: that the gods favored the burial of Polynices.

We cannot view the sentence thus, but understand ταῦτα (meaning the enactment of Creon) as the object of φέροντες. The arrangement of the sentence, added to the fact that φέρω is commonly transitive and ῥοθέω intransitive, renders the construction clear to us. The editor at the end of his note (the whole of which we have not quoted) states that others differ from himself in the interpretation of this sentence.

366. ὑπὲρ ἐλπίδ', *beyond his* (previous) *expectation.*

Were the expression ὑπὲρ τὴν ἐλπίδ', we should translate it in this manner, but as it stands we take it in a more general sense: *beyond expectation, beyond what might be expected* (by man himself or by any other being).

390. ἐξηύχουν ἄν, *I should have thought.*

This seems to us an inadequate expression for the Greek. Would it be too positive to translate it, "I should have protested?"

404. The Greeks sometimes put the antecedent after the relative in apposition with it, in the second clause instead of the first.

Does the word "sometimes" give a correct impression of the actual usage of the Greek writers? Buttmann says, "very frequently," in explaining this construction. §143, 2, Robinson's Trans.

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411. It seems to us that the force of ἐκ is not fully apparent unless we consider its connection with ὑπήνεμοι as well as καθήμεθα. We understand the line to mean, *we went and sat down under the lee of* (ἐκ) *the highest hills* (*the tops of the hills*).

419. αἰκίζων, *laying waste, tearing off.*

Would not the common meaning of this word, *treating rudely*, be appropriate and even more expressive as containing a metaphor?

431. στέφει, *decks, adorns.*

Why then στέφει rather than κοσμεῖ? Is there no reason aside from the metre? We think στέφει is preferred on rhetorical grounds, being more specific. *She crowns*, (see Lidd. and Scott *sub voce*,) or perhaps without the metaphor as we are inclined to understand it, *she encircles, she makes the libations to flow completely round*; not *she sprinkles in a circle* (κύκλῳ περιῤῥαίνει,) as the scholiast explains it.

435. καθιστατο ἄπαρνος . . . ἀπηρνεῖτο.

Does not καθίστατο denote the composure and resoluteness of Antigone? Thus, *she stood composed denying nothing.*

439. λαβεῖν depends on ἧσσω, *less to receive*, i. e., *to be received.* Comp. Electra, 1016.

Would it not be a simpler grammatical construction to take πάντα as the object of λαβεῖν and πέφυκε as used impersonally. *It is my nature to take all this as inferior to my own safety.*

457. ζῇ, *are in force.* Comp. Œd. Rex., 482.

Would it be improper so to translate ζῇ as to retain the expressive metaphor? *These things are not of to-day and yesterday, but ever live*, etc.

493. ἐν σκότῳ is translated *in secret.* Would it not be more exact and equally appropriate in the connection to say, *in darkness?*

528—530. The sense is *a cloud* (of grief) *over her brows, by bedewing her fair cheek, mars the beauty of her blood-red face.*

Hermann explains αἱματόεν by ὥστε αἱματόεν γενέσθαι, which expresses the idea more justly, as we conceive, since we should scarcely speak of the beauty of a blood-red face. Cf. the editor's note on vv. 25 and 571.

537. τῆς αἰτίας. The case is often determined by the more remote of two verbs.

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Would not φέρω, even though συμμετίσχω were not expressed, naturally take the genitive τῆς αἰτίας, in the sense, *I bear a share of the blame?*

564. We understand μένει and ἐξίσταται not in the figurative but in the literal sense: *for when we are in adversity even the mind that is born in us, whatever it be, does not remain but withdraws.*

In 565, with σοὶ γοῦν, supply ἐξίσταται, κ. τ. λ.

It is not strictly true that ἐξίσταται is to be supplied with σοὶ γοῦν, but rather ἐξίστατο, which is suggested by ἐξίσταται.

635. καὶ σύ μοι, κ. τ. λ. The sense is perhaps, *and thou, if thou hast good counsels for me, controllest me, for these* (counsels) *I will follow.*

This passage has been interpreted in different ways by different critics. Indeed we are not to overlook the fact that an intentional ambiguity on the part of the poet would be quite natural here. The ambiguity lies in the participles ἔχων and ἡγουμένου, which may denote either time, cause, or condition; and also in the form ἀπορθοῖς, which may be either indic., subjunct., or optat.

639, 640. οὕτω διὰ στέρνων ἔχειν, *so to feel.*—ἑστάναι πάντα ὀπισθεν, *that all things are to stand behind,* be placed below, *thy father's will.*

This translation would suppose the ellipsis of ὥστε. We understand the passage thus: *Right! my son, for thus* (i. e. in accordance with the principles just avowed) *it is necessary to keep in mind that all things stand second to your father's counsel. To keep in mind,* διὰ στέρνων ἔχειν. Cf. διὰ στομάτων ἔχειν, Hdt. 6, 136.

687. Donaldson translates this line,

Howbeit that task might well beseem another.

This supposes for the subject of γένοιτο, λέγειν ὅπως σὺ μὴ λέγεις ὀρθῶς τάδε. We were at first quite inclined to consider this the true interpretation, as agreeing best with the context, besides being the most simple and natural, but we could not dispose of the καὶ before ἑτέρῳ. We think, whatever might be the impression of the Athenian on hearing the beginning of the line, the word καὶ would so modify and fix the idea, that no ambiguity would remain; no more than with the reading λέγοιτο adopted by Wunder. Translating as literally as we are able, the line would read thus: *and yet there might be even in another* (or *in another also*) *that which is well.*

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762. ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς is for the instrumental dative without ἐν, the preposition being used because the power of seeing is in the eyes.

We cannot see any reason for departing from the ordinary interpretation of this phrase: Latin, *in oculis*, before the eyes, Lidd. and Scott; "vor Augen," Boeckh's translation of the Antig. In like manner Pape, τὰ ἐν ὀφθαλμοις, das was vor Augen offen daliegt, Theat. 174, c.

In v. 765 the sense is, *that you may rave in the presence of those of your friends who wish* (to be with you, and not in mine).

It does not seem natural to give ὡς this signification after προσόψει; you shall nowhere look upon me *that you may rave*, etc. We should interpret it, you shall nowhere look upon me, *since while among those who desire to be of your friends you rave as a madman.*

In v. 840, we think ἀλλυμέναν presents a difficulty in the way of the learner which he would hardly know how to surmount. The connection obviously requires the perfect instead of the present; and Wunder cites two examples from Euripides to prove that ἀλλύμενος, like οἴχομαι and θνήσκειν, may be perfect in signification. These citations are not very decisive, as the reading in both passages is disputed. The common reading is ὀλομέναν, which Hermann (editio tertia) adopts. Boeckh and Donaldson read οἰλομέναν, which must be understood quite out of its ordinary signification. The only objection to ὀλομέναν is found in the metre, and this difficulty Hermann attempts to remove. We think the weight of the objection lies against ἀλλυμέναν and οἰλυμέναν.

910. εἰ τοῦδ' ἥμπλακον, *if I failed of marrying this one*, i. e. *the first.*

We do not understand the idea of the editor. We suppose the clause means, *if I lost this one* (τοῦδε, sc. παιδός).

1001. βεβαρβαρωμένῳ, schol. ἀτάκτῳ, wild.

So it is understood by Ellendt. Another schol. says ἑρμηνευθῆναι μὴ δυναμένῳ. Boeckh says, in verworrner Wuth. Donaldson renders it *inarticulate.* So Lidd. and Scott. The truth is both are right, as the word includes both ideas, but we think the notion *inarticulate* is made more prominent by the connection.

1018. γόνου must, I think, be joined with πλήρεις.

βορᾶς we understand to limit πλήρεις, and γόνου to limit βορᾶς.

1035. There seems to be some discrepancy between the note and the text.

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In the notes upon the last three hundred lines, we had marked some passages, but our time and space forbid that we should add to these already too extended criticisms.

It should be remarked by way of explanation, that in quoting from the editor's commentary, we have seldom transcribed a note entire, but only that portion of it respecting which we had some scruple. We should be very sorry, however, if by so doing we had in any case misrepresented the idea.

The above criticisms are made with a full consciousness that many or even all of them may be founded in error, yet with a sincere desire that a friendly and unreserved expression of different opinions may become as common in our country as it is now rare.* Fault-finding is ever easy, and as thankless as it is easy. Not so with fair criticism. If we have escaped the former and approximated the latter, it may appear that we have not studied in vain the admirable manner and spirit of the editor whose work we have been examining.

Art. V.—ELEMENTS OF WESTERN CHARACTER.

BY J. M. PECK, OF ROCK SPRING, ILL.

The vast country lying upon the "Great River,"† and its thousand tributaries, heretofore called the "*Western Valley*," and by people in the Atlantic States, the "*Far West*," will soon be called the Central Valley of the United States.

It extends through thirty degrees of longitude, and twenty-nine degrees of latitude; is nearly one thousand five hundred miles square, and has an area of about two millions of square miles, or one thousand two hundred and eighty millions of acres.

In no part of the globe, with such a variety of climate, can so great an amount of arable soil be found for cultivation, yielding in such variety and abundance all the necessaries and most of the luxuries of life. Making a very liberal deduction for desert plains and uninhabitable mountain tracts,

* This article was written before President Woolsey's review of Champlin's Æschines had appeared.

† This is the literal translation of the aboriginal name, written variously by the early journalists. Marquette spells it "Missoissippy;" Hennepin, "Meschasipi." *Sape* is river—running water. The prefix means "great," "big."

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there will remain one million seven hundred and fifty thousand square miles, or eleven hundred and twenty millions of acres of fertile land, for the subsistence of an immense population, in a state of high civilization.

Let this vast Valley become as populous as the State of Ohio now is, with forty thousand square miles and two millions of people, (fifty to a square mile,) and it will contain eighty-seven millions five hundred thousand persons. Let it contain the same population as Illinois now does, estimated at eight hundred thousand, or fifteen to each square mile of land, and it will have twenty-six millions two hundred and fifty thousand.

Massachusetts, by a recent census, is rated at nine hundred and fifty thousand. It has but seven thousand eight hundred square miles; giving a population of one hundred and twenty to each square mile of territory. Let this Central Valley become as populous in its habitable portions, and the number will be two hundred and ten millions. Is there anything incredible in this? Will not this ratio be attained in a less period than that in which Massachusetts has been gathering its nine hundred and fifty thousand? And of what amazing importance to the whole world—to the cause of Christianity, literature, science, free institutions, and human progress—will be the elements of character which shall be developed in that immense population.

Throughout this Central Valley of the United States society is now in a forming condition. The venerable maxim, "*Know thyself,*" is not less applicable to communities than to individuals. Without correct knowledge of the natural resources of our country; the genius and tendency of our social, political, literary, and religious institutions; of the remote influences that tend to the formation of our national character, and of those principles that control its development, we cannot cherish the good and successfully cast out the evil. Nations not only differ from each other in elements of character, but sections of the same nation exhibit diversities in manners, customs, habits, and modes of thinking and feeling. There are peculiarities in the elements of character which distinguish between the Northern and the Southern—between the Eastern and Central Valley States. And those elements which are to descend along the line of continuous generations, are now in process of fusion amongst the people in this great Valley. The habits that are now forming,—the customs we now adopt,—the schools and colleges founded in this generation,—the political dogmas now proclaimed from the stump, and

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shaped into resolutions, and reiterated in the halls of legislation,—the doctrines and duties of religion enunciated from the pulpit,—the ideas, thoughts, and feelings sent forth in the daily and weekly periodicals, or stereotyped in the more permanent volume,—the electric fluid that passes along the wires of the telegraph,—the living example of the humblest individual who occupies the most obscure position of society,—all are concerned in forming the character and determining the destiny of future ages.

Our whole nation has a duty to perform, a destiny to fulfil, beyond that of any nation on earth. And however chimerical the idea might have been regarded a generation past, it has become the sober conviction of far-reaching minds, that this Central Valley has a most important part to perform in this vast development of Providence. If this nation is to take the lead in the moral and political regeneration of the world, it is obvious that this great work must be consummated through the agency of the population on the waters of the Mississippi. Here is a vast territory of the most fertile soil, capable of sustaining a number equal to the present population of the globe. Here will be the *people*, the *wealth*, and the *political power* for mighty achievements in a brief period of time. The commerce and manufactures of the Atlantic States, for a period, may give some peculiar advantages to that section. But in this Valley is to be the central power of this nation, and, with the blessing of Heaven, it will affect in a high degree the freedom, intelligence, morals, and religious character of the world.

In view of these facts we are led to an investigation of THE ELEMENTS OF WESTERN CHARACTER;—*their origin, progress, and present aspect.*

To have clear and correct ideas of this subject, it is necessary to trace some portions of the history of our ancestors, and the remote causes that have operated in producing modifications of character in different sections of our country.

The people of European extraction, in this Central Valley, originated from several sources. The two principal streams are of Anglo-Saxon origin. They proceeded from the old country through New-England on the north, and through Virginia and the Carolinas on the south. New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland have sent out streams which have commingled with the others. Colonies of French at remote periods were planted on the banks of the Mississippi, and have left a few traces of their peculiarities. Germans of the olden stock from Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina have spread their descendants over this Valley. Large

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accessions of an improved class of Germans have more recently settled amongst us, and every succeeding year adds many thousands to their numbers. The warm-hearted, impulsive Irishman is here, and Wales, likewise, has had no small influence in the formation of our national character. All these classes have been modified from the circumstances under which they have been placed, and from commingling with each other.

No influence strikes as deep, and makes as permanent impressions on the character of a people, as religion. Next in effect are political institutions. To these may be added systems and modes of education. Let us analyze these elements of character as they are peculiar to each class.

As a distinct class, the PURITANS, whom in this connection we are first to consider, had their origin in the middle of the sixteenth century, under Queen Elizabeth, though their principles had been diffused through the kingdom with various success for two and a half centuries. During the reign of Elizabeth the Protestants were divided into two parties: those who adhered to the liturgy and ceremonies of the Episcopal Church, as established in the reign of Edward, and those who desired to introduce a more simple, and, as they considered it, a purer form of worship. The Queen and a majority of the clergy were tenacious of the liturgy and the ecclesiastical forms. The fancied efficacy of baptism for the removal of original sin, and the virtue of the Holy Eucharist in sustaining spiritual life in the soul, lay at the foundation of High Church Episcopacy. The priestly office, derived by apostolical succession, gave efficacy to these rites, and produced a radical change in the unconscious babe when brought to the baptismal font. The party who dissented from these views were called Puritans. They objected to the hierarchy as unscriptural—to kneeling at the sacraments—to the sign of the cross in baptism—bowing at the name of Jesus—wearing the surplice and other vestments in divine service. The name *Puritan* was also applied to all those religionists who were conscientiously strict in morals, and favored the principles of civil and religious liberty.

Elizabeth, her ministers and judges, treated the Puritans with great harshness and rigor during her long reign. On the accession of James I. they expected more indulgence, but disappointment soon came. The arbitrary and despotic power of the Stuarts prevailed, and many of the most zealous Puritans fled, first to Holland and then to New-England, where they laid the foundations of free institutions

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on this continent. They brought with them, however, an error which long survived and wrought incalculable mischief. The mistake of the New-England Puritans, for which they were indebted to that peculiarity of Calvinism, consisted in taking the Jewish theocracy as their model for Church and State. Their civil polity was a species of theocracy.* God was to govern *his people* who were communicants in the church, the special objects of Divine favor, and in covenant relationship with Heaven and one another. Hence regular church membership was an indispensable qualification to citizenship in the State. The menial servant, or bond slave, who was a member of the Church, had the right of suffrage. Thus an aristocracy, not of wealth but of religion, was the basis of this New-England colony. Other States have restricted political rights to the opulent, to freeholders, to the first-born; but the Puritans of Massachusetts established the commonwealth on the visible church, and recognized those only as citizens who gave evidence that they were in covenant with God. Moses and Aaron—the magistrate and the priest—occupied separate departments in the same government. Hence in conformity to their model the laws of the Jewish theocracy were enacted to regulate the duties of men to God. Human legislation, both mandatory and prohibitory, fixed the obligations and defined the duties of the first table of the Decalogue.

To many persons there appears to be a singular contradiction in the character of these "pilgrim fathers." Their principles of civil liberty were high-toned and firm, and yet they persecuted and banished those who entertained opinions and followed practices in religion different from their own. It has been urged in their defense that it was "the spirit of the age,"—that but a limited toleration was permitted in any government,—that they had left their native land, braved the dangers of the ocean, and entered an untrodden wilderness, to enjoy their peculiar religious opinions, and that it was right therefore for them to exclude from their social compact those whose erroneous principles might corrupt and disorganize their confederacy. This defense is wholly untenable. It assumes that men may enact and execute laws concerning the worship of God. The "spirit of the age" is no excuse for intolerance in New-England, for these

* This applies more directly to the colony of Massachusetts in distinction from the Plymouth colony. The Plymouth colonists were Independents, or "Brownists;" the former had been connected with the State Church in England, and were less scrupulous on this subject.

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Puritans knew it to have been declared, "*My kingdom is not of this world: if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight*"—*use force to protect me.*

The Puritans held democratic views, and their earliest and most simple form of government was a democracy. Their church government was congregational; in some instances independent; but they committed the fatal blunder in their legislation concerning the first table of the Decalogue. Of *true religious freedom* they had no just conceptions. They supposed men should enjoy freedom of conscience when they were *right*, not when they were *wrong*; they, the Puritans, being at all times the judges. Both Catholics and Churchmen, in the most intolerant times, would have been content to reason thus.*

The true glory of the Puritans is found in their system of education. Every child was reared by the genius of their institutions. Domestic discipline, though rigid, was generally judicious and effective. Schools sprang up by the side of their first temples of worship,—as open and free as they,—and here were gathered the entire generation of children. That feature has been the mark and boast of Puritanism through successive ages, and has stamped a distinctive character on the New-England family, how broadly soever diffused. Patient, frugal, laborious, enterprising, and of pure morals, they were destined to bear a noble part in peopling a continent, and working out the problem of its civilization. They have spread over the State of New-York, and entered the great Valley by the Lake country and the Ohio river.

* When Roger Williams announced that the magistrate had no power to legislate concerning the first table of the Law,—of man's duty to God,—the Puritans were amazed at the heresy of the minister. He made the distinction which is now clear as the sun. He, though then a pædobaptist, caught the grand idea, the true and only principle of religious liberty. Mr. Bancroft eloquently says:—

He was a Puritan, and a fugitive from English persecution; but his wrongs had not clouded his accurate understanding. In the capacious recesses of his mind he had revolved the nature of intolerance, and he, and he alone, had arrived at the great principle which is its sole and effectual remedy. He announced his discovery under the simple proposition of the sanctity of conscience. The civil magistrate should restrain crime, but never control opinion; should punish guilt, but never violate the freedom of the soul.

The doctrine contained within itself an entire reformation of theological jurisprudence. It would blot from the statute book the felony of nonconformity; would quench the fires that persecution had so long kept burning; would repeal every law compelling attendance on public worship; would abolish all tithes and all forced contributions to the maintenance of religion; would give an equal protection to every form of religious faith; and never suffer the civil government to be enlisted against the mosque of the Mussulman, or the altar of the Fire-worshipper,—against the Jewish Synagogue or the Roman Cathedral. (Bancroft's United States, vol. I. p. 367.)

These principles led Roger Williams into collision with the Puritan clergy and the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. He could hold no communion with intolerance; for, said he, "the doctrine of persecution for cause of conscience is most evidently and lamentably contrary to the doctrine of Christ Jesus."

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And where is the State or the county in the Union where they are not to be found?

The second great stream of Anglo-Saxon emigrants into which we must search for elements of Western character, for lack of a more convenient term, we will denominate the CAVALIER. This class originated from the "High Church" party of Queen Elizabeth's reign, possessing none of the peculiarities of the Puritans. These were the colonists of the Southern States. Those who imagine that the existence of African slavery in the South has given the distinctive elements of character which there prevail, have overlooked the facts of history, or have exceedingly vague and indistinct ideas of those elements. The peculiar features that distinguish the South from the North—the Virginian as a type from the New-England Puritan—must be sought for in the age of feudalism and in the institution of chivalry in Europe.

During the golden age of chivalry we behold a cluster of virtues in the character of a true knight, which commands our admiration. His deportment was manly, and at the same time condescending and gracious. His word was inviolable, and he chastised that falsehood in others which was the object of his abhorrence. Probity, affability, generosity, and hospitality were characteristic virtues. Personal bravery, a keen sense of honor, and the conviction that it was his duty to defend himself and revenge personal insults, especially impeachment of his veracity, established, if it did not lead to, the practice of duelling, or "trial by single combat."

These traits of character, so far as they were separated from severe religious ideas, were suppressed and destroyed by the feelings and convictions of the Puritans. In England the Cavalier party in the reign of Elizabeth were High Churchmen and zealous Loyalists; but it is a curious and interesting fact that, in less than half a century, a residence in the woods of Virginia, Carolina, and Maryland converted them into sturdy Republicans. They remained zealous Churchmen a century longer. The English Parliament and the oppressive misrule of Governor Berkley wrought wonders in the transformation of the Virginia planters. Bancroft says:—

The pressure of increasing grievances began to excite open discontent. Men gathered together in the gloom of the forests to talk of their hardships. The common people, half conscious of the rightful remedy, half conscious of their wrongs, were ripe for insurrection. A collision between prerogative and popular opinion; between aristocracy allied with

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royalty and the great mass of numbers resting on popular rights; between the old monarchical system and the American popular system, was at hand. American freedom had then the principle of life, but was unconscious of its vitality.*

Just one hundred years later American independence was proclaimed. High-Churchism in Virginia perished, as the principles of popular liberty arose.

The elements of character of the Cavalier class that settled Virginia, when unrestrained by any higher religious principles than its early Church establishment produced, were gayety, gallantry, fondness for amusement, keen sensitiveness of honor, passionate fondness for the country of their birth and the honors of family distinction, hospitality, and generosity. They were fast in their friendships, but implacable as enemies. Bravery and magnanimity were prominent virtues.

There are some peculiarities of character in South Carolina which differ from those of Virginia or any other State. These peculiar elements, which have found their way in a modified form into the lower States of this Valley, are of Huguenot origin.

Under the persecutions of Louis XIV. of France, who, in advanced life, became a superstitious bigot, and a dupe of the priests and the infamous Madame de Maintenon, the Huguenots, one of the branches of the great Calvinistic family, suffered severe persecutions. Many escaped to the American colonies. A few Huguenot families settled in New-England, more in New-York and the Middle States, but by far the largest number went to South Carolina, and gave a peculiar tinge to the character of that colony. They possessed the exalted faith, the indomitable patience under persecutions, and the deep-toned piety and religious reverence of the Puritans. But with these were blended many of the elements of character which are found in the Cavaliers. The enthusiasm, the high sense of honor, and the profuse hospitality of the latter belonged to the Huguenots of the South.

Another circumstance has had its influence in moulding the character of South Carolina. In all the other colonies, the introduction of African slavery was gradual, and in most cases, as in Virginia, it met with resistance in the remonstrances of the colonial Legislatures. But in South Carolina its existence is coeval with the first plantations on Ashley

* Vol. II. p. 214. The historical facts of this wonderful change are recorded in the preceding and subsequent pages of this popular history.

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and Cooper rivers. "Of the original thirteen States, South Carolina alone was from its cradle a planting State with slave labor."* And to this day her statesmen plead for the institution as a desirable appendage to a republican government.

Another element in South Carolina character was derived from Scottish exiles, and a third from Dutch emigrants from New-York and Holland. And at a later period some colonies of Welsh gave another element to her character. Emigrants from this State have crossed the mountain range to Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas; but these original elements are becoming modified by being mixed with others in these Southwestern States.

North Carolina has some shades of character diverse from its immediate neighbors. Its population was early modified by settlements of New-England Puritans along the shores of Albemarle Sound and Cape Fear river, and by numerous Friends or Quakers in the midland district. Its low swamps and pine barrens have produced some changes in the elements of character of its native population, which have passed through another modification consequent on emigration to Tennessee and other Western States. From the same hive swarms have gone to southern Illinois, Missouri, and Arkansas.

Perhaps this is the proper place to draw some contrast between the characteristics of the North and the South,—the elements of the PURITAN and the elements of the CAVALIER. It is a difficult and delicate task, but it is necessary to our purpose. We have generous and liberal readers, and will make the adventure.

If the Puritan had the crime of sectarian intolerance, the Cavalier had the vices of dissoluteness. If the Cavalier was brave from gallantry of spirit, the Puritan was dauntless from the fear of God. Chivalry did honor to monarchs and nobles, whose smiles it courted, and whose frown it dreaded as disgrace. Puritanism, disdaining all ceremony not sanctioned by the Word of God, would not bow the knee to the name of Jesus in the liturgy, nor bend the body to any earthly power. Chivalry would lose its life rather than equivocate in language, or deviate a hair's breadth from the strict line of honor. The Cavaliers were proud of their loyalty; the Puritans boasted of their love of liberty. Chivalry delighted in outward show, sought after pleasure, multiplied amusements, and regarded privileged classes as essential to society. Puri-

* Bancroft, vol. II. p. 170.

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tanism bridled the passions, and developed the virtues of self-denial and philanthropy. The former valued courtesy; the latter, justice. Chivalry was patriotic, and adorned society with graceful refinements. Puritanism founded national glory in the diffusion of universal education. The Cavalier is moved by a sense of honor; the Puritan is influenced by a consciousness of duty. Is the Cavalier open, frank, and undisguised in all his actions? The Puritan is too often influenced by policy, and carries his measures by calculation. Is the Puritan saving, industrious, and economical? The Cavalier is liberal, hospitable, and profuse.

These contrarieties of character have met, and are becoming commingled in the character of the people in the Central Valley.

As illustrating how trivial circumstances produce lasting effects on the manners and sympathies of continuous generations, we mention one more fact and its results. The Puritans chiefly came from the towns and villages of the mother country. The Cavaliers came from the country, and their posterity to this day are fond of rural life, and live on plantations, or farms, surrounded with retainers.*

But of the influences that are at work amongst us we must not overlook the *German character*. The German is patient, plodding, industrious, frugal to parsimony, thrifty in his affairs, and has the singular faculty of *minding his own business*. He never frets under disappointment, nor becomes discouraged from difficulties. He says little, but thinks the more. All Germans read, all reflect, and all soon find out whatever it is for their interest to know. The German explores hidden things,—enters into the internal man, and deduces conclusions from the workings of the mind. Hence the studious, literary German philosophizes for everything, and runs into reveries; the illiterate discovers witches, spirits, and the potency of charms in his investigations. No people equal

* This difference is very striking between the habits of the people of the Northern and Southern States. It originated in elements of character far behind African slavery. If a traveller in the Northern States looks for intelligence, refinement, wealth, and liberality, he finds it in and contiguous to the towns and cities. The reverse exists in the Southern States, and to a very large extent in this Central Valley. Merchants and lawyers, who have their warehouses, stores, and offices in the towns and cities, which they attend during business hours, have their family residences in the country. Hence there are so few towns in the South, and these the abodes of the less refined, less wealthy, and less intelligent classes. This diversity of character is strikingly manifest in Illinois. The northern section, in their mode of settlement and living, have a multitude of thriving towns. In the middle and southern sections, a majority of the population being from the Cavalier stock, this trait in the Cavalier prevails. The better class of people, unless business compels them to reside in a town, are found at their country residences.

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the Germans in patient, plodding, prolonged investigations, whether in history, science, metaphysics, or theology, and none are more profound antiquarians. But we must not trust a German to draw inferences. We may take his statements, but his deductions are to be received with studious caution.

The German immigrants to this Valley are of two classes: those from the old Pennsylvania stock, and the later immigrations from Europe. The Germans who came to America before the Revolutionary War were more illiterate and far less enterprising than modern immigrants. The people of all the countries of Europe that speak the German language have advanced greatly in intelligence during the last half century. Education and knowledge have been diffused amongst the masses in Germany, since the French Revolution. The early German immigrants of Pennsylvania, whose descendants have spread over all the Valley States, were generally illiterate. They settled in Pennsylvania in colonies, had little direct intercourse with the Anglo-American race, kept their own language and customs for three or four generations, and remained *Germans*.

The immigrants from Germany now pouring like a flood through this Valley are rapidly becoming *Americanized*. They amalgamate with the native population, learn our language, adopt our habits, and manifest a deep interest in all that concerns our country. The next generation will be thoroughly incorporated with our people, modifying to some extent the elements of character in succeeding generations.

To the *French* we allude as the explorers and colonists of the country on the Mississippi. They first came to this country from Canada, by the Lakes and Illinois river, but in the early part of the eighteenth century they came by the Gulf of Mexico. For some years their principal landing was Biloxi, below Mobile, but after the founding of New-Orleans, that became the port to which ocean ships were navigated.

The characteristics of the French are vivacity, gayety, and contentment. The leaders in the early French colonies were gentlemen of education and fortune, while the majority were illiterate, possessing little property and less enterprise. They were a contented race, unambitious, ignorant of the prolific resources of the country, and destitute of the least perception of its future destiny. They never troubled themselves with the affairs of government, nor showed the least inclination for political domination. They were a frank, unsuspecting, joyous people, and careless about the acquisition of property.

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Hence they have engraven no very deep lines on the character of the West.

The impress of the *Irish* proper on the character of this Valley has not yet appeared in any very distinct form; but the *Scotch-Irish* have made their mark here. In religion they are more commonly found among some of the subdivisions of Presbyterians, though occasionally, from intermarriages in former generations, they are Roman Catholics. All who have the appellative *Mac* to the family name are of *Scotch-Irish* stock.

But though scarcely noticed by any writers, for some of the most prominent lines of our national character, and those which in a peculiar sense distinguish us from all other people, we are indebted to *Wales*, the country of the descendants of the ancient Britons. Those readers who have not examined the subject, would scarcely suspect how large a proportion of our population are from this stock.* The Clay family Kentucky, though bearing a Scotch name, by the maternal side through three successive generations have a large admixture of Welsh blood. The elements of Welsh character are seen in a strong and vigorous intellect, indomitable energy, great courage, an elevated faith, high moral sentiments, deep emotion, with vivacity, zeal, and benevolence.

With Welsh character is commingled the industry, enterprise, and piety of the Puritan, and the chivalry of the Cavalier. The Welsh are impulsive, yet prudent and cautious; firm even to obstinacy, yet courteous. They are fixed in their friendships, but implacable as foes. Their elements of character are infused largely throughout our nation, but in no part to a greater extent than in this Central Valley. Their strong attachment to civil liberty is only excelled by their stern devotion to religious freedom. For nearly seven hundred years they resisted the Saxons and Normans, defending with patriotic heroism their mountain fastnesses; and it was not until the thirteenth century that they submitted to the throne of England under Edward I. From that date the elements of Welsh character began to exert a transforming influence on the phlegmatic Anglo-Saxons, and the chivalric Normans. Our American idea of perfect *religious liberty* as a feature of civil government is an original Welsh idea. Jesus Christ taught the principle as a

* The following family names indicate Welsh origin: Avard, Abrahams, Bowen, Catesby, Davis, Davids, Davey, Dewees, Evans, Edwards, Griffith, Howell, Hughes, Jenkins, Jones, Johns, Keith, Lewellyn, Lowell, Matthews, Matthias, Morgan, Miles, Morris, Phillips, Powell, Rhees, Roberts, Rodgers, Seward, Sewall, Pawling, Paulding, Peters, Thomas, Vassar, Williams, Wyngate, and Wycliffe.

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distinctive feature of the gospel: "*My kingdom is not of this world. If my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight.*" All force in propagating Christianity is prohibited by this declaration. In its introduction into every pagan nation, Christianity has met with determined hostility from the priesthood and the State, except in ancient Britain. Welsh historians declare that by the Druids the sentiment was taught that the *mind* should receive no coercion. "*Truth against the world,*" was the expressive form in which they uttered this sentiment; and certainly, from the earliest introduction of Christianity, the ancient Britons never persecuted the disciples of Christ.*

From Wales many colonies came to New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and other States, in the latter part of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century. The Baptists in the United States properly originated from Wales, and descendants of this singular people are to be found in our churches throughout the Valley States.

The true principles of religious freedom, of the genuine Roger Williams type, have ever prevailed in this section of the United States. None of our statute books have been disgraced by laws regulating man's duty to God. No person was ever fined for non-attendance on religious worship, or for violation of the sanctity of the Sabbath; and not a particle of legal support has been granted by any State to encourage and promote religious instruction. And in no country, reclaimed in so short a period from an entire wilderness, and now containing a population of nearly twelve millions, has the experiment been so auspicious to the interests of pure Christianity and sound morals, as in the States of this great Valley. Laws are enacted to protect man from the aggressions of his fellow-man, but in no case to regulate the duties man owes to God. By the voluntary labors of Christian ministers and Christian churches, thus left entirely free to act, while protected by mild and wholesome laws in the enjoyment of their religious rights, have the doctrines and morals of Christianity made steady advances even upon the rapidly increasing population.

We have thus traced the elements of character, from remote sources in the ancestry of the various classes of people who now inhabit this Central Valley. Amongst us is the *Puritan*, with his conscientious sense of duty, his fear of God,

* We throw out this thought to elicit investigation. There are Welsh writings extant of great antiquity, and there are Welsh scholars who should bring out these hidde ntreasures.

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and his respect for human law,—his rigid morals, his active habits, his industry and thrift, his self-denial and philanthropy, his restless desire to carry out his views by the strong arm of law, his efforts for universal education, with the interest he feels in every one's business,—his tendency to sectarian intolerance, and his policy and calculation in the management of affairs. We have the *Cavalier*, with his gallantry of spirit, his love of ease and pleasure, show and amusement,—his courtesy, patriotism, and high sense of honor,—his open-hearted candor and frankness,—his liberality, hospitality and profuseness,—his self-complacency and self-esteem, and his quick resentment of injuries sustained or imagined. We have the *German*, with his patient, plodding, industrious, and parsimonious habits,—his taciturnity,—his reflecting, sagacious mind,—his susceptibility to religious emotions, when its sacred truths are presented in his native language,—his quiet manners, and habit of never meddling with his neighbor's affairs. The volatile *Frenchman* has left but slight impressions of his vivacity, hilarity, and contentment. The *Irish* have traced a few deep lines on Western character. To the *Welsh* we are indebted for a far larger share of our prominent elements.

And can these distinctive characteristics long remain? By no means. The fermenting process is in operation. Different and contrary elements are becoming commingled. The fusion is in process. A new, and we hope a better amalgam will yet be produced than ever existed in the original sources.

Let us take a hasty glance at the results already produced in some of the older Western States. The foundation of society in Kentucky was laid by emigrants from Virginia and North Carolina. With these commingled the Germans and Scotch-Irish from Pennsylvania.

The emigrants from Virginia, before their removal westward, had become modified to a considerable extent from the chivalry of their ancestors. High-Churchism had perished in the American Revolution;—the contest for perfect religious freedom had gained the entire ascendency, and Baptists and Presbyterians in the "Old Dominion" had done much to promulgate a pure religious democracy. The Revolution had swept away every vestige of royalty, and the ancient aristocracy of the Cavalier had been changed into sturdy republicanism. But the circumstances of the pioneers to the western wilderness did much more in modifying former habits and introducing the largest social equality. Judge Hall says: "Hospitality and kindness were amongst the virtues of the

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early settlers. Exposed to common dangers and toils, they became united by the closest ties of social intercourse. Accustomed to arm in each other's defense, and aid in each other's labors,—to assist in the affectionate duty of nursing the sick, and the mournful office of burying the dead,—the best affections of the heart were kept in constant exercise; and there is, perhaps, no class of men in our country who obey the calls of friendship, or the claims of benevolence and philanthropy, with such cheerful promptness, or with so liberal a sacrifice of personal convenience, as the people of the West."*

We know this to be a truthful sketch. What was here said of Kentucky by a distinguished Western writer twenty years ago, is applicable to the population generally of every State in this Valley. In by-gone years we have read in Eastern periodicals, as we have in the books of English tourists, and as we now read of Arkansas and Texas, marvellous stories of the ferocity of Western men. Even the name Kentuckian abroad was once associated with fighting, dirking, and "gouging." It is scarcely necessary for us to affirm that the *people* never deserved that character. In all newly-settled countries there are a few persons who have fled from justice in other communities, or who are impatient of restraint, and until law and jurisprudence are firmly established, they are annoying. But we affirm from personal knowledge that a very large proportion, quite as large as in older communities, are peaceable, industrious, moral, and well-disposed persons. They live together in great harmony, with little contention and less litigation. The backwoods people are a generous and placable race. They are bold and impetuous; and when differences do occur, they are more apt to give vent to their resentments at once, than to brood over their wrongs, or seek redress from the law. The pioneers of the West were bold and daring when opposed to a common enemy, but amiable in their intercourse with each other and with strangers, and habitually inclined to peace.

The Puritan also becomes modified by living a few years in this Western Valley. If the peculiarities of speech and intonations of voice betray his origin to the critical observer, the elements of his character are changed, and he becomes a new man. So it is with every class.

There is a fearlessness and independence of spirit in our frontier population. They were schooled to encounter the

* "Sketch of the West."

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hardships and surmount the difficulties of a new country, and thus plant the standard of civilization and pure Christianity in these Western wilds.

The duties of the household were discharged by females, who attended the dairy, performed the culinary operations, spun, wove, and made up the clothing for the whole family, carried the water from the spring, and performed much other laborious service, from which the sex, in a more advanced condition of society, are happily exempted. The building of cabins, making utensils and furniture, clearing land, hunting game in the woods, planting, cultivating, and gathering in the crops, and when in contact with Indians, erecting forts and defending the stations from assaults, were the appropriate duties of the men. And there is nothing in the exhibition of these facts that requires apology. They are common to frontier *life.*

These circumstances have had great influence in modifying the original elements of character, and giving to society in this Valley its present peculiarities.

The contact, and often fearful contests of the fathers and mothers of the West with the aborigines of the country, served to produce some diversity of character. Much more may be attributed to the scenery with which they were surrounded, and the deficiencies that have existed in the means of education, common in the older and more populous countries. For a long period there were few post roads, or even carriage ways in this Valley,—few books and fewer periodicals. Very few of the pioneers had opportunity of reading even a weekly village gazette. But the boundless extent of country; its great rivers; its mountain ranges, passed by every emigrant; its vast forests and dense cane-brakes; its wild inhabitants, brute and human, all presented matter for contemplation and study. The border wars, and hardy rustic enterprise in opening forests, and building up villages, towns, and cities, gave to the mind peculiar energies, and awakened and stimulated the faculty of observation, and elicited and even created talent.

The destitution of those arts and inventions by which the inhabitants of older countries accomplish their ends, made it necessary for the people to invent and substitute others, as emergency required. This invigorated their faculties, and awakened feelings of self-reliance. Experience has proved that this condition of society is peculiarly favorable to the reception of new truths. Hence this Valley is pre-eminently

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the place where discoveries and new principles are received with avidity, and promptly submitted to the test of experiment.

Society amongst us is not yet moulded into *castes;* the possession of wealth, or devotion to the learned professions, has produced no social distinctions. Young men of talents and virtue rise from the poorest and most obscure parentage to the highest posts of honor without obstruction.

Without dwelling further on details, we will state, in a few words, the remaining thoughts we desire to suggest.

The elements of character that appear most prominent in the population of this Valley are—

1. *Great energy, and the spirit of enterprise.*

2. *Patriotism.* An ardent love of country, and a fixed attachment to American institutions, are manifest everywhere.

3. *Strong social feelings.* The situation of our population, and its great expansion into settlements, have had no small influence in forming and preserving this trait of character. Could we control the destinies of this Valley, we would have no farmer reside at a less distance than a mile from his neighbor in all our new territories. It is the best conservative principle of morals and good fellowship. Divine Providence has contradicted the theories of philanthropists in the old and densely populous States in regard to the deterioration of public morals and social virtues among the emigrants to sparsely settled districts of the West. The steady march of good order, morality, intelligence, hospitality and social feelings has equalled the movement of the people westward.

4. *High-toned republicanism, or strong democratic tendencies, is another characteristic of the West.* In all the recently formed Constitutions in the new States there is to be seen a growing disposition to retain political power in the hands of the people; and in the experiments thus far made the entire safety of this deposit has been proved. And there is an increasing sentiment in every State against every form of monopoly, and every kind of aristocracy.

5. *Universal education—the diffusion of knowledge amo the masses—is a universal sentiment.* It is the popular theme of every candidate on the "stump," and is manifested in endowed and well-organized systems of free schools in all our principal cities; in legislative provision for common schools in each new State; in the establishment of colleges and other

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literary institutions, and in the liberality of the people in contributions for their endowment. Each religious sect in each State is engaged in this department of labor.

6. *The spirit of improvement is seen in everything.* No portion of the community appears satisfied with present attainments.

7. *The elements of Western character are seen in the increasing influence of pure Christianity amongst us.* This has been progressive from the earliest settlements of immigrants from the Atlantic States. Though almost wholly destitute of a regularly educated and well-trained ministry, God raised up a class of ministers who were admirably qualified for pioneers in the work of evangelizing this Valley. A very large proportion of these have been itinerants, and have performed this warfare at their own charges. Such a class of religious teachers, amongst the sparse population of a new country, do more service and lay a broader foundation for future religious prosperity than an equal number of stationary pastors over small congregations, while, without this mode of evangelical labor, a large proportion of the population would be left destitute. Itinerant ministers present themselves before their congregations at stated periods, lodge in the houses of the people, converse with the families, and from the pulpit, or "stand," pour forth their extemporary effusions, promulgate every variety of Christian truth, explained and enforced by many different and often original modes of illustration. The only mistake has been in not following up the labors of these evangelical pioneers by providing weekly pastoral instruction in the towns, cities, and more populous districts of the country.

There has been a series of wonderful providences in relation to the propagation of pure Christianity in the West which claim attention. Revivals of religion have been numerous and extensive. We can only name at this time the great revival in Kentucky and Tennessee, from 1801 to 1803. At a period when the number of ministers bore no proportion to the wants of the people,—before a Sunday-school had been planted in the West, a tract circulated, or a copy of the Bible, printed in this great Valley, or scarcely a church provided with a weekly pastor, God poured out his Spirit in a most remarkable manner. Many thousands were converted, and several hundred preachers of the gospel were raised up for pioneers in the new settlements. These Christian disciples, in a few years, were dispersed by emigration, and formed the

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nuclei of churches throughout the newer States and Territories in the great West.

The most prominent *deficiencies* in the elements of Western character are want of high-toned, stern religious principle, and steady, active, enlarged benevolence. The feelings of honor, the abhorrence of falsehood, and entire frankness of Western character only need to be animated by deep, ardent, and intelligent piety to make us what we ought to be. In the business pursuits and enterprise of mankind there are strong tendencies to selfishness. The benevolent spirit of the gospel, culivated in a high degree, is the antidote.

There is a wide field of honorable usefulness open in this great Valley for enterprising young men. Here they may find unbounded scope for the cultivation of traits that will adorn their own characters, and make them blessings to their country and the world. The destinies of our country, and all that is great and noble for mankind, are, under God, in the hands of this Central Valley. If ever the temple of American liberty is shattered, its stately and beautiful columns thrown down, and in broken and disjointed fragments strown over the land, and our children's children grope amid darkness and despotism, it will be the work of other hands than of the people of the West. In a brief period the people of this Valley will command the political power of this nation. The elements of discord between the North and the South of the old States will be controlled by the conservative power on these waters. A weighty and fearful responsibility rests on us, and from it there will be no shrinking. If the baleful influence of hoary superstition, or the desolating blast of infidelity, ever sweeps over this fair country, on the population here will rest the responsibility in the day of reckoning. If ever the foul spirit of fanaticism divides the American Government, or anarchy tears down the temples of justice, and civil war sweeps away all that is good and lovely from North America, it will only be when the cords of union that bind together these Valley States are rudely severed.

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ART. VI.—THE HELLENES, ROMANS, AND ISRAELITES.

THEIR POSITION, SECULAR AND RELIGIOUS, IN THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD.

Translated for the *Christian Review*, from the Introduction to Trautmann's "Apostolic Church, or Pictures of the Christian Church in the Age of the Apostles."*

THERE is an education, a progressive culture of the human race, dependent not merely on the lapse of ages, but on the appearance from time to time of diverse forms of national spirit and genius. The relation of the individual nations to one another is not accidental, like that of trees in a forest or ears of corn in a field. As each people has its individual character, its peculiar gifts and capacities, so has it also its calling, its destiny, and its appointed time and hour wherein to fulfil this destiny, and to make its contribution to the progressive culture of the race. But there are certain nations appointed to take precedence of others, to stand as the pillars of history, to stamp upon the face of humanity clearly marked and lasting traits. Among these, the Hellenes, (Greeks,) the Romans, and the Israelites, have exerted the most important and enduring influence; and their character and relations must be clearly understood, that we may judge correctly of the foundation laid for the entrance of Christianity into the world.

With the name of the Hellenic race is recalled the noblest and most honored of the nations of antiquity. No other people has ever secured so enduring a renown; and for the reason that this was the fruit, not of conquest, not of the subjugation of other nations, but of long-continued activity in the field of spiritual culture. All liberal and polite culture of the present time, which truly deserves the name, is derived from this people; and indeed in all which pertains to criticism in art and science, Greece still sits as it were in the teacher's chair. Without the aid of the sword she has attained to universal empire; an empire to whose peaceful yoke humanity, especially the races of the West, yields a willing homage; an empire whose influence has never been to degrade, but

* Die apostolische Kirche, oder Gemälde der christlichen Kirche zur Zeit der Apostel. Von I. B. Trautmann. Leipz. 1848.

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always and everywhere to awaken and to elevate. It was for this people, sprung from a very small beginning, though its declining light glimmered far into Asia as well as Europe, to give the first example, in contrast with the unwieldy vastness of Asia, of the superiority of mental power over the most gigantic developments of physical force. The relative situation and form of its native land is a type of its relative position in humanity,—the inherited or self-chosen residence of a people being, according to a universal law, ever the fitting frame to inclose its spiritual lineaments. A peninsula of south-eastern Europe, wedged in between the approaching boundaries of Asia and Africa, in equal proximity to both, it thus indicates the calling, corresponding to the spirit of its people, of spiritual mediator between the East and the West; through whom the occidental nations should come to know and share the science and experience of the Asiatic and North African races, and be educated into the highest refinement and spiritual maturity. In like manner does the infinitely various and diversified formation of its coast and surface symbolize the rich variety, the versatile and elastic character of the Grecian mind. Finally, this finds expression in the physical structure of the Greek himself; which, in an admirably delicate and noble figure and constitution, developed an extraordinary degree of strength and firmness for labor or conflict. In harmony with this, the spiritual nature of the Greek is in the highest degree delicate and noble; delicate in its singular excitability, pliancy, vivacity, gayety and elasticity; noble in its endeavors, peculiar to this people above all others, to rise in its conceptions and aspirations above the necessities of the day and of the sensual existence, and to overcome both by a purely intellectual energy. With this connects itself that curiosity which is the bud of awakening intellectual life, and that restless spirit of inquiry which cannot content itself with the mere outward appearance and use of sensual and visible things, but converts them into materials of thought, asks after their origin, essential nature and connection. Hence the Hellenes have cultivated knowledge into science, and the inquiry and aspiration after wisdom is their peculiar possession.* To this is added that distinguishing gift of the Grecian nature, IDEALITY; that is, the capacity of conceiving the perfect form of whatever appears, or can be made an object of thought, and of representing it, or of bringing the idea into realization. From this

* Comp. Acts xvii. 21; and 1 Cor. i. 22.

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springs enthusiasm for all that is great and noble, for the attainment and preservation of the highest possessions of the mind, be it fatherland and freedom, or the pursuit of knowledge; and hence that sense of beauty, so honored and cultivated by the Greeks as justly to be called their "worship of the beautiful." And as science was the product of their rich and powerful intellectuality, so from their idealizing enthusiasm for the beautiful sprang Grecian art, of which the idea of beauty is the essence. By strict adherence to this single idea, Grecian art became free and independent, containing in itself its own end and reward; while in the case of other nations, *e. g.*, the Hindoos and Egyptians, with all their wonderful skill in the mechanical detail, art never became more than a handmaid in the house and service of another,—for the most part, of religion. If works of art among other nations excite our admiration by their colossal, monstrous, symbolical forms, it is through their relation to something apart from themselves,—as the Sphinx may in this view properly be called the representative of Egyptian art. In Hellenic art, on the contrary, it is the perfection of form, which in and for itself fills and satisfies the mind. But the Grecian mind achieves its highest triumph in the combination of moral-intellectual aspiration with enthusiasm for the ideal; uniting the beautiful with the good; presenting each as an object satisfying in and for itself, as containing within itself its own end and reward,—the one in its essential nature, the other in its form; so that by the union of the two the satisfying essence receives the satisfying form or outward manifestation, the good conferring worth upon the beautiful, the beautiful lending grace to the good.

From all that has been said, we perceive in the Hellenic mind a preponderance of intellectual power and culture, and hence an aspiring after spiritual mastery and independence; a striving, and a capacity for it also, to free itself from the bondage of material nature. While the Oriental, in sluggish indolence or unreflecting devotion; at all events, in unconditional recognition and reverence of the mysterious forces which are with him accounted sacred and divine, slumbers in unconscious harmony with nature, like an embryo in the womb, the Greek seeks, by the aid of his personal and moral consciousness, to penetrate to the essential idea. In him the human soul first *comes to itself*, becomes aware of an opposition between nature and spirit; the moral self-consciousness awakes as if from slumber to a feeling of individuality, and

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of a destiny higher than anything to be realized in the physical life. The moral becomes an object of consciousness,—is indeed, by the labor of the understanding, cultivated to an independent science, and ethics take rank with physics. But this lofty sentiment we soon find degenerating with the Greeks into self-conceit, manifested in an excessive over-estimate of individuality, of subjectivity, in a certain haughty feeling of self-reliance. Hence the lack of reverence; hence that familiarity and levity in the contemplation and treatment of religious objects. Those mysterious, colossal, monstrous representations of divinities derived from Egypt and the East, change under the hands of the Hellenes into human forms, refined by art into ideals of human nature. The Isis-veil is torn away; and rising from the wild chaos of matter, from the sea-foam, naked and distinct in plastic forms of beauty, the embodied divinities present themselves as Hellenic men, in all respects "like one of us," with every passion and impulse belonging to human nature. Thus Olympus was but a reflection of Greece,—a gallery exhibiting every distinctive trait of Grecian character, only heightened into a nobler beauty by an idealizing fancy. The foreign origin is now scarcely to be traced; the subduing power of Grecian genius has transformed all into its own image. The great master, he who gave to this tendency its full realization, was Homer, the prophet of the system of humanized divinity. From his age and that of Hesiod, the popular religion thus familiarized to the common mind, becomes the field of the poets, and the abyss of fables without limit. The priests, indignant at the profanation, strive to preserve the old myths of tradition in a secret system of doctrine and a secret worship. To counteract the increasing levity of the religion of the poets and the populace, and to secure something wherewith to satisfy the still existing cravings of religious consciousness and feeling, they seek to deduce from the myths, for the most part of very doubtful and obscure contents, a weighty moral significance. This is the origin of the so-called Mysteries. On the other hand, those possessing a finer spiritual sense, to whom the frivolous and childish fables of the popular religion, the dark deceptive teachings and the in part obscene symbolism of the Mysteries, were equally distasteful, sought to win a new field by the exercise of the reasoning faculty. Philosophy awoke,—in a peculiar sense the true offspring of the Grecian mind,—to solve the riddle of the Sphinx, to answer satisfactorily the questions respecting the

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existence and nature of God, of the world, of mankind, and their relations to each other. Having, in her search after the ground-ideas of all things, first applied herself to the contemplation of nature; and having in this wholly lost, in opposition to the visible plastic forms of the popular religion, all idea of personality in the divine nature, philosophy turned again to the contemplation of the human soul, its powers, its achievements, its destiny. Imagining herself to have found the Deity again in man, she views in him the supreme arbiter, and with an excessive exaltation of personality and subjectivity, makes the twilight of his knowledge the absolute moral standard. This tendency was carried to its utmost limit in the teachings of the Sophists; whose specious negative logic, directed against all the received ideas of religion and morals, undermined the foundations of social and civil order, and brought Greece to the verge of ruin. Then, in the hour of greatest peril, the gracious providence of the God thus rejected and denied, awoke in the lap of the most frivolous, but at the same time the most intellectual and religious city of Greece, in Athens itself, the great prophet of Hellenic piety and morality, Socrates. With a resistless logic he affirmed the positions denied by the Sophists, and demonstrated to an age, drunk with their intoxicating cup, the truth of our religious and moral consciousness of the being and providence of God, of good and evil, of rectitude and duty, of government and law, of man's accountability to a divine tribunal after death. Connecting virtue with reverence for the Supreme, he sought to call into life among his nation a religious morality based upon reason. Reared upon this soil, rising from this foundation on the wings of a splendid creative genius, Plato—the most accomplished of the Greeks, the flower and ornament of Athens, the culminating point of philosophic effort in the ante-Christian period—moulds the Socratic doctrines into scientific form, and becomes the prophet of religious philosophy. Deep feeling of the poverty, weakness, and corruption of human nature, clear perception of the wants of his age, with a profound yet tender earnestness in the delineation of these wants, high moral enthusiasm, the most earnest aspirations after the true and right, and here and there a half-conscious presage of help that may one day come,—these are the traits that meet us in his writings. In him the Hellenic spirit reached its highest point, and fulfilled its calling, as the educator of the race in all that is comprehended in a purely human culture. Not long after him appears Alexander the

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Great, to whom was given the key wherewith to open the world for the entrance of Grecian language and culture. Following in the path thus opened by his sword, the Grecian mind achieved an intellectual conquest of the world, and established an enduring sovereignty.

But the vigor of the Hellenic spirit declined and grew weaker as the field of its activity extended. Then appeared another people destined for the government, as Greece had been for the culture, of the human race. These were the ROMANS.

Not proceeding from a common stock or a common country, but originating from a CITY,—itself not the offspring, but the mother of a nation gathered out of every people under heaven,—appears this new race in history; which, as it was drawn together by a common necessity and the love of freedom, was held together chiefly by opposition from without. Hence it was a strange mixture; uniting, in accordance with the significant legend of the origin of its first leaders, the low rapacity of the wolf with the strength and grandeur of the god of war. What was said of Ishmael may well be applied to this people: "His hand against every man, and every man's hand against him; and he shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren,"—*i. e.*, shall spread himself in their sight, and in spite of them. Its characteristic traits, distinguishing it from every other people, may be expressed in the words—Will and Law, Conquest and Dominion. Earnest and firm, hard and austere, powerful in will and deed, tending wholly to the practical, pursuing not the idea but the reality, aspiring after material possession and its maintenance and extension, it was by nature fitted for conquest—not indeed in the intellectual, but in the physical world. Gifted with the eagle eye of a wholly practical understanding, seeking only the practically useful and its application to the daily wants of the family and the State, it was devoted to civil order, which it systematized and administered with masterly skill, and was therefore equally adapted to government and dominion. With such a character, indicating a predominance of the choleric in temperament, the Roman stands before us, in comparison with the Greek, as the man beside the youth. With the one the ideal is the object of pursuit, with the other the actual; longing aspiration characterizes the one, satisfied possession is the calm, collected tone of the other. With the one, personal subjective freedom is the supreme good; with the other, general

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objective civil order. With the one, freedom degenerated into licentiousness; with the other, law into oppression. To this practical nature, devoted exclusively to earthly possession, and to the regulation of the domestic and civil relations, the arts and sciences could have no value in themselves, but only as they contributed to the support of the temporal existence and to the general order. Philosophy, as the science of ideas, had no worth to the Romans; the natural sciences, (astronomy, natural history, &c.,) only so far as they subserved physical enjoyment and well-being. State policy became its science; the administration of public affairs, the science of government. On this were concentrated all the efforts of the Roman mind; this was its crowning glory. Eloquence, and even religion, were but servants of the State. In Rome, more than anywhere else in ancient times, was religion a State institution; everything religious was national, religiosity was political, and State policy was religious. Even when the superstitious reverence for the old traditions and religious forms had given place to unbelief, the forms and ceremonies were still adhered to, because they had been once interwoven with the organism of political life, and of civil government. Law, and not religion, took the lead. No other people has watched over the interests of civil and social life with such earnest and jealous care; no other has with equal skill wrought the principles of government into systematic form; so that Roman law has remained the admiration and the model of all succeeding times, and the Roman people has become the representative of political law and civil order. Thus, with every faculty and energy of the national mind concentrated upon this one object, the Roman became qualified to go forth, in the one hand bearing the unerring lightning of war, in the other the thunderbolt of law, to subjugate the world; to become the ruler and guardian of the enfeebled nations, in whom the capacity for religion as well as for civil order was already nearly extinguished. This then was their calling,—to wrest the sceptre from the nerveless grasp of the nations, and to bring them under the guardianship and restraint of law. Their calling they have understood and fulfilled, but fulfilled it unjustly and oppressively; for iron was the yoke imposed on the necks of the conquered, and treacherous the policy that brought them under that yoke.

Thus, on the basis of Grecian culture rises Roman dominion; and both contribute to the education of the nations for a new order of things.

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Apart and by itself stands the ISRAELITISH people; separated entirely by origin, character, and destiny from the Greeks and Romans, and mentioned here solely with reference to its RELIGION, in contrast with the whole mass of pagan systems of worship. A people of earlier origin than theirs, it is distinguished, and indeed unique, in the sobriety and connectedness of its continuous history down from its earliest progenitor. After a brief period of prosperity, scarcely more than half a century, it stands before us "without form or comeliness;" nay, for the most part, as a bye-word, an offense, and a reproach, "for an astonishment to the nations;" often "as dying and yet alive," "as chastened, yet not killed;" almost ever as the "filth of the world and the off-scouring of all things." Of a powerful, rugged, and strongly sensuous nature, hard, stubborn, intractable, a people of stiff neck, without great intellectual activity or susceptibility, inapt to scientific, philosophic, or even political effort, it had by nature no qualification either for the education or the government of the race. Yet it commands admiration for an unequalled energy and elasticity of nature, by which it was fitted, not indeed for a rich variety of intellectual effort, but from a solid basis of positive truth to rise to the loftiest heights, as well as to fathom the profoundest depths. Thoughtful, earnest, at once vehement and tender, it was swayed in turn by the softest and the most violent emotions. It must be admitted, however, that this people stands among the other nations, almost without a formed character of its own. In the very beginning of its youthful period, just as it was awakening to a consciousness of national life, it was taken under the special guardianship of God himself, and was made subject to a law, whose origin is proved to be foreign, and therefore divine, by its contrariety to the spirit and tendencies of the people. From this time its strictly original traits are lost from view, and its character is developed under, and in resistance to, the restraints of that divine law. But with this it now receives its calling, through its own inward relation to the law on the one side, and on the other, with the law in its hand and on its lips, to the heathen nations. For this law was not like that of every other people,—the product and expression of the national spirit and will, and consequently not of the spirit and will of a single individual, who, like Solon, Lycurgus, &c., must always accommodate himself to the spirit and will of the people; but it was a law miraculously given by God himself, as attested

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by satisfactory historical evidence. Its requisitions and restraints come into conflict with the natural character and tendencies of the people, and the result is slavish fear, rebellion, and apostasy. But as the law was given, on the one hand to reveal God's delight in holiness, and his will in reference to the character and actions of men, and on the other to give the knowledge of sin, i. e., of the whole natural character of man and his attitude towards God; it is, therefore, not in its outward form, which was only for Israel and for a limited period, but in its essential nature, eternally true and binding on every age and every people. Israel stands therefore, in his relation to the Law, as the representative of the human race. For a time he sustains alone the conflict of the natural inclination and will of man, in essence always and everywhere the same, with the law and will of God; endures chastisement as it were for all humanity, and thus fulfils one side of his appointed calling. But the history of the people, in this relation to the law, has two distinct periods. In the first of these, embracing what we may call its youth and early manhood, and extending to the captivity in Babylon, it appears—now in the unbridled wilfulness and pride of youth, now in that inclination for the religions and customs of the heathen, indicative of the vague and restless desires of the yet immature man—for the most part in the attitude of resistance to the Divine Law; till at length in captivity, under the chastisements denounced against apostasy, it learned the truth and glory of its law and of its God. Then follows the second period. Israel now, though not till after a hard-won victory over the severest of its temptations,—that of a union with heathenism in one universal religion,—under the conduct of the Maccabean princes achieved for ever its separation from paganism. Thenceforward Israel holds fast to its law in opposition to the heathen. Now first, under the moulding hand and in strict observance of this law, the national character is developed in marked peculiarity,—a hard zealot-spirit, a mind directed wholly to the external, to works, signs, and forms, an insolent pride in the mere outward possession of the advantages which it enjoyed over other nations. That youthful period was succeeded by ripened manhood, with its satisfied enjoyment of the acquired or inherited possession. But even now, the national character, admirable though it may be, is far from attractive. Even its otherwise praiseworthy traits, its firmness, perseverance, and fidelity, were too nearly allied to that hardness and ar-

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rogance which marked its whole history; for in no people, as the men of God in the writings of the Old Testament fully testify, has the natural man offered stronger resistance to the work of God's Spirit and grace. Yet was Israel now first prepared, by strict observance of the law, and steadfast opposition to heathenism, as well as by its ever-increasing dispersion among the Gentiles, to fulfil the other side of its calling: viz., to testify to the reality and unity of the Godhead, to a pure Monotheism; to make known among the nations the law of God, and the promises affecting the whole human race; and thus to awaken the hope of a new and better state of things. Thus this people appears among the nations, according to the high destiny assigned it,* the Priest and Prophet of the human race. Testifying of God's truth and holiness under the pressure and service of the law; opposing to the shallow externality of idol-worship, the internal and spiritual which was the essential principle of its own religion; it preaches the glory of the Divine Law, and the education of the human race to righteousness.

And thus, through the richness and splendor of Grecian culture, and through the rigid externality of the Roman legal sway, is transfused the interior spiritual element of Israelitish doctrine and prophecy.

Art. VII.—"THE PAPAL AGGRESSION" IN ENGLAND.

In a former number we ventured to give our conjectures concerning the policy which the Court of Rome would probably adopt in its secular administration. More than six months have elapsed since that paper was written, and thus far nothing has occurred to contradict our assertions, or change our views. The course of the Papal Government, from the day of its return to Rome, has been one of inexorable reaction, remorseless persecution, wanton contempt for every natural right and noble feeling, and a fatuity which it would be impossible to explain, if history had not so often shown how true it is that God blinds those whom he has resolved to destroy. A new element has now come to mingle itself with this inquiry, and carry us back to what, after all, must still be the true starting-point in every speculation concerning either the

* Ex. xix. 6.

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spiritual or the temporal sovereignty of Rome. That a Catholic priest can never make a good temporal sovereign, that nothing firm, liberal, and sincere, none of those institutions which the inevitable progress of society demands, none of that self-denial which enlarged sympathies make so easy, was to be expected from the Vatican, are truths which seem to us to follow as the natural consequences of an institution founded upon an usurpation, and sustained by violence. It is in vain that we attempt to escape from the law which connects action with principle. The life of a government, like the life of man, is but the development of an elementary germ, which, do you what you may, will still follow its normal law. Foresight and watchfulness may help it in its growth, eradicate some seeds of disease, and force some imperfect buds to a fuller expansion, but if any lurking principle of deformity was mixed up with it at its birth, it will still, in spite of all that art can do, grow up into a hideous and loathsome monster.

In considering public events, therefore, we are naturally led to distinguish between those which, resulting from temporary causes, are transient in their action and always more or less under human control, and those which follow as the inevitable consequences of a fundamental principle. The former afford a fine field for the sincere and thoughtful statesman who, by patience, perseverance, and watchfulness, by timely concessions and judicious firmness, can hold out through the day of probation and mould them, in the end, to the great purposes of society. The latter are the true working ground of the reformer, who can look danger and death in the face, and lay his bold axe to the root of every tree that was sown for evil fruit.

Therefore, in entering upon our present subject, we are merely making a new application of the reasoning of our former paper, in which we endeavored to show that a narrow and retrograde policy must be the necessary result of the elementary constitution of the Papal Government. Now if this be true with regard to its temporal policy, it must be equally so with its spiritual, for it is only by the appropriate culture of his moral nature that man can be properly governed, and true moral culture can never be independent of religion. Suppose, therefore, a religion which transfers that principle of individual responsibility, which is the only sure basis of Christian culture, from the individual to a hierarchy, places a human being between man and his Maker, and claims for an institution that obedience and faith which are due to God

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alone, and you make full moral development impossible. We would not be misunderstood. We do not mean to say that there would be nothing good in such a State, no good men nor good deeds there. We can find many such at all times in the Roman Church, though it would not always be safe to choose them from the calendar. There is a healing power in every element of Christianity, and virtue flows from it for all that approach it in faith. But the Roman Church would be false to her nature if she were to allow man to look into his heart, except as a preparation for the confessional, or find anything in the Scriptures but what she has authorized him to find there. She cannot do otherwise. It is not a matter of discretion or of choice with her. It follows from the very nature of the institution, and stands out as its primal law. If you accept the Church's jurisdiction in one thing, you must accept it in all. If you allow that she has a right to command your obedience as the exponent of the Divine will, you might as well attempt to deny God's supremacy as that of the power to which he has delegated it.

And if you have no choice about rendering obedience, the Church has no choice about enforcing it. A sincere Pope is just as much bound to say—*You shall*, as a sincere Catholic is to say—*I will*. If the earth is God's, and the Church God's representative on earth, that representative is under as strong an obligation to enforce the laws which God laid down for his guidance in governing it, as the being who derives his sustenance and his enjoyments from that earth is to obey them. There is no middle term between these principles; no stopping point where doubt becomes lawful, and resistance a virtue. If you accept the principle you must accept its consequences, and taking them all together as an indivisible whole, and yielding yourself up to them, mind, body, and soul, follow whensoever and wheresoever they will.

The existence of the Papal Church, then, implies a mortal contest between those that believe in it, and those that do not. For a Catholic who carries out his principles, every Protestant must be in a state of open rebellion, which leaves the Church no choice in her treatment of him. It is the most heinous of crimes, which can only be expiated by a full recantation or rigorous punishment. St. Dominic was an admirable expounder of the Roman creed. There was no canting, no tergiversation, no doubt in that cowled head. On he went, firmly, boldly, and consistently, the crucifix in one hand and a torch in the other, drinking in as sweet a music

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from the recantations wrung forth by the rack, as from the choral chant of his undoubting brethren.

We confess, therefore, that we do not see how men, who are in the habit of following out a principle to its results, can find anything to surprise them in those recent acts of the Holy See, which have produced so general an excitement among Protestants. The Pope, as Head of the Church Universal, has divided England into bishoprics, and even appointed an Archbishop of Westminster. Now for us the only surprising thing about this is that men should have been surprised at it. If the Pope is a sincere man, what else can he do? If the flock belong to him, and if he be Christ's Vicar, is it not his duty to set a guard around the fold? Away with unmeaning words and cowardly prevarications, and explanations which either explain nothing, or leave nothing worth explaining. We honor the man who comes out boldly, tells you what he really means, and then acts up to it. There could not, at this moment, have been a better man for man's dearest interests than Pius IX. He has torn away the veil which, slight and transparent as it was, was still veil enough for filmy eyes. He has summed up with unshrinking logic, the great question which still divides the world, and spoken out with a trumpet the hopes which have long been circulating in whispers through the gilded halls and vaulted corridors of the Vatican. He has taken his stand with his spiritual fetters, all gilded and decked with flowers, in the midst of his own kindred and natural allies, whose iron hand has weighed so long and so grievously upon the nations. We thank him for his sincerity; we welcome him to the field: arbitrary will, bigotry, corruption, and renegation of all that makes us men, on one side; our dearest rights and holiest affections, freedom for the mind, freedom for the soul, freedom to hope, and freedom to believe, on the other,—and God defend the right!

But although we are far from being surprised at what the Pope has done, we can easily understand the excitement which it has produced. Man, make the best of him, is a very curious animal. He has logic enough in most things, and is generally clear-sighted enough in what touches his immediate interests. But he has a natural love of being deceived, an invincible fondness for weaving subtle webs and entangling himself in their meshes. It is of no use to point him out the path, and tell him where it leads. He will try it with his own feet, and then is thunderstruck to find himself on the brink of a precipice. There is full as much philosophy as

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poetry in the "Voyage of Life." How many barks are setting off every moment, leaving some guardian angel to watch them sadly and yet fondly from the shore. He can see where the glittering stream is compressed betwixt jagged rocks and thunder-riven precipices to a wild and turbid torrent; but we, with that gorgeous castle swelling upwards in mystic domes on a summer sky, can only think how sweet it is to float on the broad bosom of the gentle current through verdant fields, and beneath the shade of cooling boughs, toward those mountain scenes, which seem ready to welcome us from afar, with nature's kindest greetings, and open a pathway through the rosy clouds.

If we but look back for a moment, we can see how long everything has been tending to this inevitable result. The first great revolution in France threw down the artificial scaffolding which so many laborious ages had built up: but the materials were only scattered, not destroyed; and when those sage lovers of the past found themselves free to follow their bent, they set themselves carefully to gather them all together, and raise up the old pile again. The Austrian match and Spanish war have been called Napoleon's great blunders. But for our part, we believe that he made a still greater one when he signed the Concordat of 1801, which brought a State religion back to France, and that religion the Roman Catholic. Little did he know what a weapon he was rejecting when he turned away from Protestantism; nor indeed did he ever know all the reach and bearings of that powerful principle, which, establishing the right of individual development, opened a field for human progress, which the human mind can scarcely compass or conceive. Had he studied it as he might have done, and put his strong arm under it as he ought, Europe would never again have felt the curse of mitre and cowl. But the hierarchy came back again, humbly indeed and gratefully at first, but more convinced than ever that the world was their heritage, and that with a little bending to the blast, a little resistance at the right moment, and perseverance always and under every guise, they could work their way upward as high as they had ever been before. Our wise statesmen laughed at the idea. The monster was alive, it was true, but the sting was gone, and that gay skin looked so beautiful that they could not bear to touch it. England was delighted with the discreet statesmanship of Gonsalvi, and Johnny Bull could hardly keep off his knees as he gazed at the meek aspect of Pius VII. Meanwhile, look at the literature which is forming

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beyond the Channel, and see how strongly it begins to savor of that olden time which was never to return. Count the neckbands in the street, and the convents by the way-side: ask the poor widow where her hard-earned pittance went, and the dying penitent what he is going to do with that broad strip from his children's inheritance.

They tell, in fairy tales, of travellers that set out upon distant journeys, and go on and on till night overtakes them on some barren heath or near the borders of a gloomy wood, where, all of a sudden, a glittering castle starts up before them with towers and battlements and a broad arched gateway, through which you catch alluring glimpses of strange wonders within. And then, the fated pilgrim goes forward, nothing doubting; the drawbridge falls of its own accord; the enchanted warders bend respectfully at his approach, sweet music greets him as he ascends the stairs, and he enters into joyful possession of all the pleasures which his destiny had prepared for him.

But our pilgrims start, and rub their eyes, and stare, as wonder-stricken as though they had not been told again and again where their path was leading them. There it stands, in truth, that lordly castle, with its walls and towers in all their fair proportions, and its deep moat, and its iron-studded portcullis. And over it hangs a mysterious cloud, on whose bosom the sun-beams fall like blunted arrows, and from within arise confused sounds of suppressed lamentation and entreaty half stifled, mingled with the clanking of fetters and the sharp, quick vibrations of the scourge, which send the blood all curdling to the heart. Yes, stand and gaze, and lift your hands in wonder, and beat your breasts in dismay, ye tremblers at reform, ye clingers on to worn and rotten planks. This work is all your own. Your hands piled up those massive walls, your hands dug deep those rayless dungeons, yours are the names that those agonizing voices shriek forth in their despair. Oh that man might once dare to act with the strength of conscience, with the courage of conviction, his eyes fixed firmly on the goal, and patient perseverance to hold out through the toil, and the weariness, and the dangers of the way!

But would you have had us put down Catholicism by force? Heaven forbid! There is room enough for men of every gospel creed, and if your priest really believes what he teaches and can make you believe it too, we claim no right to meddle with his teaching. But he must give us also a chance. Perhaps you may like our doctrine better than his, and then who shall forbid you to say so? It is not the Church as a teaching

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body that we would overthrow, but as a body which claims the right of teaching alone and enforcing its doctrines by censures and punishment. If there are men in the world who think that somebody else can bear their responsibilities for them, we have nothing to do with the matter. We only mean to make sure that they really do believe so, that they have had a free choice in which neither fear nor ignorance has had a part, and then we must leave them to meet the consequences as they may; it is no longer any concern of ours. As a form of belief, Catholicism is a question for its votaries to decide about. When we have once said that we cannot accept it, and told why we cannot, our duty has been performed. But as an *institution* we dread it, and can find no terms strong enough for the expression of our abhorrence. There is many a bad institution in the world under which we could live and be happy. We are not fanatical enough to believe in human perfection, or even to ask for it. All that we do ask for is that every institution should contain within itself the elements of progress and the means of development. Grant us that, and we will ask for nothing more. We can still believe in the sun, though there be many a dark cloud betwixt us and his beams. But we cannot resign our birthright, we cannot bend our minds to a dungeon no matter how you may paint its walls; and we know of no dungeon worse than that, which shuts you out from God's Word, and leaves you no compensation but man's devices. It is one thing to form the will and another to benighten the mind. All religion is full of mystery, and so is all this broad world around us, and these unbidden pulsations which reveal the presence of life within. But God has given us a guide for this mysterious path, and no man has a right to keep it from us. It is Heaven's own bequest, and whoever dares to lay his sacrilegious hand upon it, either to mutilate or to withhold, no matter under what pretext or in whose name he does it, is man's deadliest foe. And to him as such, here and everywhere, in the name of all that is holy and dear, in the name of all that man has suffered, and all that he has done, of the blood that has flowed and the tears that have been shed, of the long agonies of the dungeon and the bitter pangs of the stake, we pledge ourselves to open, unbending, unshrinking opposition, with every weapon that is fitting in a cause so sacred.

But there is only one way of conducting such a contest. There can be no truce, it is true, between principles so opposite as those which proclaim individual right and those which deny it. But still it is an open, manly contest of convictions,

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not a strife of brute force, and woe to the man and woe to the cause which invokes any other aid than that of reason and the Bible. For us the Church of England presents at this moment a sadly humiliating spectacle. We acknowledge the justice of her fears. We can understand and almost share the alarm which this sudden revelation of the designs of the Court of Rome has excited. The recklessness and intrigues of Popery have filled many a dark page of England's darkest annals, and well may she tremble at the prospect which this abrupt rending of the veil has opened before her. It is the unquestioned duty of ministers and statesmen to see that no harm befall the republic, that there be no encroachment upon stipulated rights, no violation of the Constitution which they have sworn to uphold. But what have the ministers of peace to do with acts of Parliament, and royal edicts, and the bloody weapons of a temporal throne? What have Oxford and Cambridge been doing with their rich endowments if they have no scholars to send forth in this day of their country's need? Why have such millions been lavished upon the shepherd, why this long array of bishops and priests and dignitaries of almost every name and degree, save that of Pope, if when the hour of trial comes, they are to be the first to cry "Help!" and skulk behind the throne? In what are they better than Rome, if they have no weapons for their own cause, but those which they condemn in hers? If they really are strong in the consciousness and strength of right, let them show it by their firmness, their sincerity, and their forbearance, and the world will bless them for their zeal, and applaud their triumph.

Their course is a very plain one, easy to follow both with the eyes and the feet. Rome claims the right of organizing her Church in England. Be it so. In the open field and in our good cause we do not fear you. All we ask of you is that you should come forward like men, say what you claim and what you mean, acknowledge frankly that there can be no such thing as a reconciliation between your doctrine and ours, and that a free field for us both is our only chance of bringing the contest to a close. But then we claim the same freedom from you in return. We will not put any restraint on the minds of our people, you shall not on those of yours. It is a contest of opinion and belief, in which the unfettered mind is the only true field. We will have none of those penalties which leave no escape from hypocrisy but in ignorance. You have two millions and seven hundred thousand subjects of your own, who have all been brought up to look

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upon us as children of perdition, without ever having had a chance to hear what we have to say for ourselves and our doctrines. Leave Austria to fill up her own vial of wrath, and there are still fifteen millions more in that earthly paradise where you have planted your throne, who might perhaps side with us rather than with you, if they were left free to judge for themselves. Now we have the same right to teach them, that you have to come and teach among us. We care nothing for your rules and precedents. They are all arbitrary, false to the gospel, and the same power which made can with still better reason unmake them. It is of no use for you to tell us that your subjects believe and are contented in their belief, for belief is a deliberate conviction founded upon choice, and not the mere Yes and No of the nursery and the confessional. These subjects of yours have never had a chance to choose. Their belief, thanks to God's infinite mercy, may be efficacious for their souls, but it will lie a fearful burthen upon yours. We know how they are moulded to it, by what a long process man's noblest instincts are uprooted from their minds, by what rigid spying of their thoughts and impulses, what wearisome repetitions of words they do not understand, what an ingenious mixture of mysterious truth and daring falsehood, by what appeals to fear and hope, and everything but that which makes us God's image, you have degraded them to mere machines, and made them believe that there is no way to heaven but by your ladder. We know all this, and we will not put up with it any longer. You must throw open your doors as wide as you ask us to throw open ours. We believe that God's Word was given to man for his guidance, and we mean to make sure that every one who rejects it shall do so wittingly, and upon his own responsibility. You ask room for your confessionals, we for our Bibles. You would build altars, we will erect pulpits; you demand bishops, we will be contented with missionaries. The field is a fair one and we will start fair: no intriguing, no subterfuges, no false assumptions or false pretences, no arms but reason and no favor but God's. Let the Church of England say this, and stand by it, and she will do more than she has ever done yet to prove that her mission and her power are from above.

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ART. VIII.—THE PHASES OF GEOLOGICAL SCIENCE.

The Footprints of the Creator; or, the Asterolepis of Stromness. By HUGH MILLER. With a Memoir of the Author, by Louis Agassiz. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1850.

The Pre-Adamite Earth: Contributions to Theological Science. By JOHN HARRIS, D.D. Boston: Gould, Kendall & Lincoln. 1849.

THE two works of which we have given the titles above, apply the facts of Geology to a class of subjects different from any to which they have hitherto been applied. "The Footprints of the Creator" is a work of more than ordinary interest. Its style is clear, simple, and flowing, and characterized by aptness of comparison, allusion, and illustration. It is in part a work of strict science, containing as it does a full account of one of the most perfectly preserved and characteristic fossils of that class of older rocks with which the author is so thoroughly conversant. It is also in some sense a controversial work, though it is marked by no asperity of feeling, and even the form of controversy is not often introduced. Its main object is to combat the "development hypothesis" of Lamarck, as presented in the "Vestiges of Creation." And we have never known an effort of the kind more successful. The hypothesis had but a sandy foundation at first. Even the sand is now swept from under it, and it becomes a ruin, if we do not choose to regard it as a phantom. We congratulate the author of the "Vestiges" on his well-preserved incognito.

"The Pre-Adamite Earth" is a work of less literary merit. The style, always serious, sometimes elevated, is yet ponderous and forbidding. Aiming to establish its positions by as close a logic as Edwards employed, it is yet less conclusive, because it employs terms with less precision. The object of Dr. Harris is to show that the history of this earth, previous to the creation of man, illustrates and confirms a series of truths contained in the Scriptures. We might object to some of his principles, in the form in which they are presented, but considered in their connection with the whole work we do not

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find anything at which to demur. Especially should we object to his third principle, that of a mediatorial relation, except as a revealed fact, notwithstanding the limitation which is given to the term mediatorial, if there were not other works to follow, based equally on these first principles, and which will furnish, we have no doubt, abundant illustrations, not only of a medial but of a mediatorial relation, which last is obviously the author's real object.

We do not, however, propose to offer any analysis of either of these works farther than they employ the facts and processes of Geology to support, or to illustrate and enforce Religion.

Geology has occupied, in succession, the position of antagonism to religion, and of simply unobjectionable science,—of an enemy and a neutral. It is now beginning to appear as a friend and abettor. In the "Footprints" it is employed with consummate skill in the refutation of a popular and insidious error. In the "Pre-Adamite Earth" it is employed as successfully, if not in as facile a way, to illustrate the object of the creation as a manifestation of the Divine perfections. And these are the successive phases of the science to which we would call attention.

The early history of Geology is much the same as that of the other sciences, in the opposition which it has had to encounter on the charge of its irreligious tendencies. It is however an opposition which we neither wonder at nor wholly deprecate. Science is always an infant, never a Minerva, at its birth. Some weaknesses and some waywardness must be looked for; and some chastisement, for the time being not joyous but grievous, may afterward result in improved character. The early cultivators of any science stand continually on that obscurely drawn line which separates the known from the unknown. They have no waymarks. Their way is one hitherto untrodden by mortals. And their light at best is but a twilight. What wonder if they sometimes make crooked paths? What wonder if their straight paths appear tortuous to those who observe them through a medium of candor and prejudice strangely mingled, as the medium of moral vision is ever liable to be. And the combative tendencies of our nature are too active, for their own gratification if not for the defense of truth, to allow a reception to any new and startling proposition, if hostility and virulence can prevent it.

Such was the early experience of Geology as well as of the other sciences. Its early fundamental position, that the immense masses of the rock formations of the earth are the results of second causes, commencing far back beyond the

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existence of organic life in any form, operating through immensely protracted periods of time long antecedent to the appearance of man upon its surface, was regarded at first by theologians profound, liberal, and candid, and still longer by the more dogmatic and stereotyped, as at variance with the Mosaic account of the creation.

This, and similar alleged antagonism, combined with differences of opinion among geologists themselves, which opinions were also made to assume somewhat of a theological bearing, has been the means of bringing this science with unexampled rapidity to some degree of completeness. It has awakened curiosity, and multiplied observations, and thus hastened safe generalizations, while it has induced cautiousness and corrected errors, and thus removed whatever was untenable or objectionable. And as it comes to be grounded in unquestionable facts, the theologian becomes willing to inquire if his views do not admit of and need a similar pruning. And by this double process of elision, the two great sources of human knowledge, the revelation of God in his Word, and the revelation of God in his Works, are found to harmonize in their utterances. Geology is the gainer by the errors which it has rejected, and by the solidity and breadth which it has acquired. Occupying this position, it has for the last few years met with no considerable opposition on the ground of irreligious tendencies, nor has it met with any encouragement as favorable, except in the most general sense, to religion.

And yet in this general way it has necessarily exerted influence on the side of religion in the minds of those who have become imbued with its teachings. A science which embodies the facts and principles of any department of the Creator's works, must be so far an expression of the character of its Author. Geology has also done something by enlarging our conceptions of duration. And upon these conceptions depends the moral power of the doctrines of immortality. If we attempt to give reality and permanence to conceptions of vast duration as a single, isolated idea, we find ourselves undertaking no easy task, and yet these conceptions are all the approach that can be made to a realization of eternity. The geologist, to give reality to these conceptions, goes back to some of the uppermost platforms of the series of formations, and filling his mind with the vastness of the ages through which he has passed, is prepared for following farther back the "course of time" to another resting place, and yet another. These stations in the retrospect give it an air

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of reality. Astronomy scarcely gives us so much assistance in enlarging our ideas of space; and nowhere else in the universe has the Creator fixed these way stations for our relief in measuring time. We go back though these long periods, repeated and repeated, till imagination tires as we get farther from the present than we had ever before conceived eternity to carry us, and if we could reach those confines where the "Beginning" was, we should still stand on the shore, and look forth on a sea which has no other shore.

Yet, whatever of influence was exerted by Geology in favor of religion, was an influence coming from the most general views. It was rather passive than active. Geology had been asked for no distinct answers to any of the religious questions of the day. The yeas and nays had not been called for, and it was not known precisely what the vote would be. Such has been the relation of Geology to Religion for the last ten years or somewhat longer.

We cannot be unmindful of the fact, nor indifferent to it, that Geology has very recently been made, in the hands of Miller, to give its unequivocal answer, in the "development" controversy, on the side of religion. The hypothesis of progressive development, by which life and its highest forms are regarded as the result of natural laws without the immediate interposition of Deity, is by no means a new comer. In its general form it was a prominent doctrine of the Epicurean philosophy, though Leibnitz and Lamarck, from the minuteness to which they carried their views, have been considered as its authors. The form which it has at the present time assumed, and which is combated by our author, is that of Professor Oken and the author of the "Vestiges." They regard the experiment of the formation of cells in albumen by electric currents as the leading fact of their system. Currents of electricity in the earth's surface may generate and vitalize these cells, and these vitalized cells, the lowest forms of vegetable life, may become, by successive improvement under the law of development, higher and higher species. By a continuance of development, these higher vegetable organizations may acquire sensation, and become animals, at first immovable like their progenitors, but at length locomotive powers are added, and finally all the capacities and perfectness of organization which exist in nature.

There is little to save such an hypothesis, when exhibited in its undress, from contempt, though the author of the "Vestiges" has expressed it by piecemeal in nearly the same words. He is "drawn on to the supposition that the first step in the

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creation of life upon this planet was a chemico-electric operation, by which simple germinal vesicles were produced." (Page 155.) "The idea then," he adds, "which I form of the progress of organic life upon our earth, is that the simplest and most primitive type gave birth to the type next above it, that this again produced the next higher, and so on to the very highest." (Page 170.) And when surrounded with a certain show of research and science, it is by no means an unattractive hypothesis.

There is a species of superstition which inclines men to take on trust whatever assumes the name of science; and which seems to be a reaction on the old superstition that had faith in witches, but none in Sir Isaac Newton, and believed in ghosts, but failed to credit the Gregorian calendar. And owing mainly to the wide diffusion of this credulous spirit of the modern type, the development doctrines are doing much harm on both sides of the Atlantic, especially among intelligent mechanics, and a class of young men engaged in the subordinate departments of trade and the law. And the harm thus considerable in amount must be necessarily more than considerable in degree. (Footprints, p. 6.)

This development hypothesis has but little of the repulsiveness of infidelity in its aspect. It recognizes an intelligent First Cause, and is in no way irreconcilable with the existence in Him of those attributes which religion teaches. Its advocates have even adopted the forms of religious expression, which, unless carefully observed, are regarded by their disciples as declarations of their religious faith.

There are, however, beliefs in no degree less important to the moralist or the Christian, than even that in the being of a God, which seem wholly incompatible with the development hypothesis. If, during a period so vast as to be scarce expressible by figures, the creatures now human have been rising until they have at length become the men and women around us, we must hold either the monstrous belief that all the vitalities, whether of monads or of mites, of fishes or of reptiles, of birds or of beasts, are individually and inherently immortal and undying, *or that human souls are not so.* The difference between the dying and the undying—between the spirit of the brute that goeth downward, and the spirit of the man that goeth upward—is not a difference infinitesimally, or even atomically small. How can it be rationally held that a mere progressive step, in itself no greater or more important than that effected by the addition of a single brick to a house in a building state, or of a single atom to a body in the growing state, could ever have produced immortality? And yet if the *spirit* of a monad or of a mollusc be not immortal, then must there either have been a point in the history of the species at which a dying brute produced an undying man, or man in his present state must be a mere animal, possessed of no immortal soul, and as irresponsible for his actions to the God before whose bar he is in consequence never to appear, as his presumed relatives and progenitors, the beasts that perish. Nor will it do to attempt escaping from the difficulty by alleging that God at some certain link in the chain *might* have converted a mortal creature

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into an immortal existence by breating into it a "living soul," seeing that a renunciation of any such interference on the part of Deity in the work of creation forms the prominent and characteristic feature of the scheme, nay, that it constitutes the very nucleus around which the scheme has originated.

Nor does the purely Christian objection to the development hypothesis seem less, but even more insuperable than that derived from the province of natural theology. The belief which is perhaps of all others most fundamentally essential to the revealed scheme of salvation, is the belief that "God created man upright," and that man, instead of proceeding onward and upward from this high and fair beginning, to a yet higher and fairer standing in the scale of creation, sank, and became morally lost and degraded. And hence the necessity for that second dispensation of recovery and restoration which forms the entire burden of God's revealed message to man. If, according to the development theory the progress of the "first Adam" was an upward progress, the existence of the "second Adam" is simply a meaningless anomaly. (Footprints, pp. 39, 40.)

With such a system, false, yet plausible, eagerly embraced, yet fraught with error and danger, where shall the refutation be found? Obviously, as it professes to find its principal support in that science which teaches the order in which created being appeared, we should subject those teachings to careful scrutiny. Possibly these assumed teachings may be "false decretals;" or still more likely, some leaves of the record may have been suppressed, or not hitherto discovered. By appealing thus to Geology, we do not imply that there is no other refutation, for there is no essential position of the system which is not hypothetical. It is a system of *ifs*. But admitting that when two species are nearly related in structure, and each species is capable of some modification of structure, the higher might have been developed from the lower, of which there is no proof whatever in any single case, we are yet willing to meet the issue of the inquiry, whether there has been a succession of improvements from one geological epoch to another in the several prominent divisions of the animal or vegetable kingdom.

It is too well known to need concession that the lowest forms of animal life are those of which the remains are found lowest in the series. Molluscs appear first; then, in order, fishes, reptiles, birds, quadrupeds, monkeys, and finally man. But this has really no bearing on the question at issue. The thing to be settled is whether any one of these divisions at its first appearance possessed the lowest organization of its class, and attained by a gradual development the highest. Taking for instance the fishes, were they at first diminutive in size, possessing a low type of organization, and only the lowest instincts and capacities of enjoyment and suffering? And

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have they advanced in these respects, in each successive geological period to the present time?

It is to be noted that fishes were created at a very early period in the history of our planet. Though their remains are not found in the very lowest fossiliferous strata, yet they are found lower down than the Silurian, i. e., the New-York system, and in the very lowest formation where fossils are yet found in any abundance, and they continue to appear in all the subsequent formations to the present time. The comparison can here be most satisfactorily made, because this division of the animal kingdom contains a great diversity of structure; and if time will secure perfection, we have an experiment in this class of animals, more continuous and more extended than any other instituted by the Creator, and presented to our observation.

It is intimated in the "Vestiges," that as the earliest fishes had cartilaginous skeletons they should be considered as a subordinate family. If, however, cartilaginous fishes of the present time are found, as they undoubtedly are, to be equal in dimensions, complexity of structure, size of brain, and amount of intelligence to the osseous, that circumstance should not have the effect of reducing them in the scale. And if we find, as is the fact, that the fishes of the present time belonging to the placoid family approach most nearly in their organization to the next higher general division of the animal kingdom, that of reptiles, it is but an allowable inference that the earliest fishes, which were also placoids, ought to rank equally high in a natural classification. We go farther, and say that there is no known circumstance in reference to their habits, size, or structure, which requires that they should be degraded to a lower place. The size of the brain compared with other parts of the organization cannot be determined with any exactness in the case of the earliest fossils, but in the oldest fishes where any means exist for a comparison to be made, which is in the series next below the Coal Measures, the brain, or rather the cavity in which the brain was lodged, is relatively larger than in any existing osseous fishes. And the development of this organ is the most reliable index of an animal's place in a natural system.

The sum of geological evidence then, in this department, is that previous to the creation of fishes there were no animals bearing any resemblance in structure, habits, and mode of life to them; that when they do appear they have already received the highest organization and the largest cerebral development which, so far as yet appears, they are capable of

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receiving; and finally, that while there is no progress made in this class of animals during the long succession of ages since they first appeared, yet a vast number of *lower* species of fishes have appeared, filled up their measure of existence, and disappeared. This is surely a bad witness for the development hypothesis. It testifies to no consecutive steps by which fishes came into being at all, to no progress of development after they came into being, for they stood at the head of the ichthyic division at the outset; and the climax of its testimony is that there has been, during these periods, a progressive degeneracy, so that though all possessed a high organization at first, there is found in the subsequent creations a succession of lapses, till the division of fishes now contains species ranking scarcely above the earthworm.

We know very well that this does not actually disprove the hypothesis. It only removes so far what appeared to be proof in its favor. And yet a series of such facts does establish a presumption against it. And when such instances are accumulated as they have been by the author of the "Footprints,' they become a practical refutation of it.

When the species of the animal kingdom are arranged according to their affinities, as we find them in zoological systems, it is not unnatural to inquire if each higher species may not be an improved state of the species next lower in the system. It is, as we have seen, the office of Geology to meet this inquiry, by showing that these species have not come into being in the order in which they are arranged in the books, and to show that the order in which they have come into being is not only not confirmatory of the development hypothesis, but is as directly opposed to it as any fact can be.

It will not meet the difficulty to assume that the lower forms of ichthyic life may have appeared in their proper order in accordance with the hypothesis, while, from their less perishable character, the higher forms alone remain in a fossil state. It would at best be begging the question to make the supposition; but it is also in opposition to well-known facts. For many of the lower forms are preserved in the later formations, and in the particular upon which the preservation of fossils most depends, that is, the existence of an osseous skeleton, the higher forms are less likely to be preserved than many of the lower.

Nor will it diminish the force of the general fact that the remains are found in the Silurian system and the Bala limestone below, in very limited quantity. The simple fact that they are found at all, and of such a character as to determine the

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class to which they belonged, is all that the argument requires. It is not a question of numbers but of rank. A single well-defined placoid fossil in the Bala limestone as fully proves the existence of placoid fishes during the deposition of this rock, as if the rock were made up of these fossils. The question then returns, how fishes of this high order came to exist before any of the subordinate orders. As their existence could not have been by development of the lower into the higher forms, we are brought to the necessity of referring it to the direct act of the Creator; not miraculous, perhaps, in the largest view of the case, but yet as really miraculous as any fact of observation or history could be shown to be.

Substantially the same things may be said of other divisions of the organic world. It has been affirmed that the shell-fish of the Silurian system, the first system in which there is a profusion of organic remains, are the lowest division of the molluscous animals. The statement is received as true, but it must be added that there is some diversity of structure in this lower division, and that these earliest molluscs are not the lowest but the highest in that division. But the essential point is, that while these lower molluscs, the Brachiopoda, were most abundant, the highest molluscs existed also, for their remains (Silurian System, p. 308) are found in the Bala limestone, the lowest bed of molluscous fossils. The number of these higher animals is not important. They existed, few or many, at as early a date as any other of the mollusca. As the lower forms had not an anterior existence, the higher were not developed from them. Let it also be noted that while the intermediate mollusca are exceedingly numerous, those higher forms, the Cephalopoda, so early introduced, and so abundant at certain periods, are now reduced to a very few species, just enough to make us certain of their structure and form, a conclusive argument against the development hypothesis.

It is unnecessary to extend remarks of this kind, though they might be made in reference to all the great divisions of the animal and vegetable kingdoms. It is the more remarkable, because geologists themselves, observing that some of the higher forms of life, such as quadrupeds and birds, are not found in a fossil state till a comparatively late geological period, while the lower forms are abundant in the earlier periods, had adopted the theory of a gradual progress in organic life. We believe that Mr. Lyell was the first to introduce the caution "not to infer too hastily from the absence of mammalian fossils in the older rocks that the higher class

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of vertebrata did not exist in the remoter ages." We have seen that remains of vertebrate animals are already found in the lowest fossiliferous rocks, and in addition to that, the highest forms of each class appear first. If there is found to be a progressive movement, considering the broader divisions, the movement is surely retrograde in organization when considered in reference to genera, families, and orders.

We have now shown sufficiently the nature and application of the argument against the development hypothesis so far as it is drawn from geological sources. We will now refer more briefly to the relation existing between the principles of Geology and the principles of Religion.

The power, wisdom, and goodness of the Creator are often declared in the Scriptures, and innumerable instances of the exhibition of these Divine attributes are presenting themselves in the works and providences of God around us. One form of illustration drawn from Geology was forcibly presented by Dr. Buckland in his Bridgewater Treatise. But there is another peculiarity in the exhibition of these attributes, as they appear in Geology, which gives them distinctness and commands attention. We may regard a sovereign with respect, who, following the example and executing the laws of his predecessors, governs his dominions with discretion, and secures the happiness of his subjects. But there are some higher emotions demanded if he is also the founder of the kingdom, and if the laws and institutions, and all that constitute it a kingdom, are the work of his mind and hand. Something analogous to these higher emotions we experience by studying the character of the Creator, not in his present works alone, but in the origination of the system of created things.

Travelling back in thought to the dawn of creation and admitted as spectators of the opening scene, we first see only an "infinite expanse of unoccupied space." No word of creative power has gone forth. And let attention have been arrested to observe some display of this attribute. There is no preparation and array of means. In obedience to a volition matter is formed, properties are given to it which it may never lose, worlds exist, revolve in their orbits, and become obedient to law. A system of things has commenced, destined to be a theatre for the exercise and display of the Divine perfections for countless ages, and, perhaps, without end. If the mind swells to fullness when we look off on the heaving ocean, because God in his majesty is there, with what unutterable emotion might we look on when created existence begins. It is a present God in the greatness of his power.

Confining our attention to this earth we pass along through

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succeeding ages, tracing "the laws of motion, and chemistry, and crystallization," and observe them "modifying and changing the aspect of nature."

What, then, if some form of organic vegetable life had now for the first time met our view. It matters not whether that form came into existence slowly or suddenly, alone or in company with kindred tribes and with millions of each tribe; the fact that the earth, after the existence of a "limited eternity," has become the owner of a new principle, a principle, be it remarked, hitherto unknown to the whole course of nature, a principle hitherto peculiar to the Creator himself, the sacred and mysterious principle of *life*, this would surely be hailed by us as an epoch in the progress of Divine manifestation. Elements and phenomena of the inorganic world are seen subserving the purposes of organic life. The Creator has mysteriously bound them to the new principle. Every root in creation is by a chemistry of its own, selecting elements from the earth; every leaf is silently feeding on the great air-field around it; every fibre is vibrating to the quickening influence of light. Quiet as is the aspect of the new scene, repose is in reality a thing unknown to it. Movement, activity, multifarious excitement pervade the silent life of this new creation. Now could we have looked intelligently on this new, this organized, this living kingdom of nature, when first it came into existence, without saying respecting the Creator, "His understanding is infinite?" Here was the first utterance of his wisdom in the adaptation of means to ends. (Pre-Adamite Earth, pp. 132, 133.)

Another visit to the object of our meditations is at length permitted us, and a scene opens to our view which compels us to exclaim, "How great is his goodness!" We saw it in busy and diversified activity, preparing the way in some places for the coming of higher orders of its own kind of life, by producing the necessary kind of soil; and for the Divine origination of that animal life which it was destined to support. We beheld in its presence and varieties and rapid increase, an indication that the Great and Provident Householder was contemplating the arrival of unnumbered guests. Now we find not only that they have come, but that since their first appearance the crust of the globe has undergone many a revolution and has exhibited many a rich and varied surface of vegetable life, crowded with corresponding forms of animated existence. Now here in the animal kingdom is a being constructed for enjoyment, each of its movements yielding it gratification, each of its senses an inlet to pleasure; and the whole is ever preparing the way for greater enjoyment still, and finding happiness in the occupation. (Pp. 178, 179.)

The two or three remaining points we can but just allude to. The Scriptures represent man as placed at the head of the terrestrial creation. Geology teaches the same lesson. While each class sinks to lower organization, each new-created class is an advance upon those previously created. And thus there is a gradual approach to man. Moreover, the laws of matter, and the changes in the condition and structure of the earth, seem to be each a special interposition, fitting the earth to be the proper dwelling-place of man. And why these preliminary steps for man rather than for any other of the sentient existences which had been created? Evidently

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because with man commencced, in this world, the moral government of God. There is no longer progress in physical creation. All that need be accomplished in this way has, we may suppose, been already accomplished. The subsequent higher exhibitions of the Divine character on earth are to be in the discipline and treatment of his creatures as moral beings.

Of the downward course of these responsible beings we have all our experience. In the degradation of the animal races we perhaps see only parts of the same system of things.

The fact of degradation, strangely indicated in geologic history with reference to all the greater divisions of the animal kingdom, has often appeared to me a surpassingly wonderful one. The general advance in creation has been surprisingly great. The lower divisions of the vertebrata preceded the higher; the fish preceded the reptile, the reptile preceded the bird; the bird preceded the mammiferous quadruped, and the quadruped preceded man. And yet is there one of these great divisions in which, in at least some prominent feature, the present, through this mysterious element of degradation, is not inferior to the past? And now, in the time of the high-placed human dynasty, do we not as certainly see the elements of an ever-sinking degradation which is to exist for ever, as of a state of ever-increasing perfectibility to which there is to be no end? Nay, of a higher race of which we know but little, this much we at least know, that they long since separated into two great classes, that of the "elect angels" and of "angels that kept not their first estate." (Footprints, pp. 201, 204.)

But if this is a condition of our being, we are yet not wholly to overlook the fact that there has, from the earliest periods, been a progress in the work of God by the creation of higher and higher orders of being. May we not believe that that law of the manifestation will continue? And if, since the introduction of a moral government, creative acts have ceased, then this law of manifesting the character of the Creator must have scope in operating upon that being who is the last of created things. How shall it be, but by such a creation, that degraded man shall become a new creature in Christ Jesus? And as each act by which the chain of being was improved was a creative act, an act of which the nature and the time were not subject to any law then promulgated, an act which was, therefore, in its nature miraculous, might we not expect that this new creation will also be miraculous?

Such are the more interesting relations of Geology to Religion. Some of these last points, though interesting to our minds, we do not insist upon. But we believe that less obvious analogies would not be unworthy of a reflecting mind. Enough, at least, has been said to show how important Geology is to those who are set for the defense and enforcement of mora and religious truth.

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ART. IX.—REPORT TO THE TRUSTEES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ROCHESTER.

Report to the Board of Trustees of the University of Rochester, on the Plan of Instruction to be pursued in the Collegiate Department. Presented September 16, 1850.

THIS very able Report is understood to have been written by Robert Kelly, Esq., of this city, the Chairman of the Committee to whom was assigned the consideration of the subject to which it relates. Three inquiries are suggested by the perusal of it: First, the origin of our collegiate institutions; secondly, the present condition of those institutions; thirdly, what can be done for their improvement. An answer to these inquiries will appear in the course of our remarks, although not pursued under the formal divisions here indicated.

The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, England, existed and were complete before the institution of colleges began. The Universities were corporations of learned men, formed for the purpose of giving lectures on all known branches of learning, to students assembled from every part of England, and from the Continent. The colleges formed no part of their organization, and they might have continued to exist until the present day according to their original design, had colleges never been created.

In England a COLLEGE is an eleemosynary lay corporation, of the same kind as an hospital, existing as a corporate body either by prescription or by the grant of the king. It is not necessarily a place of learning. An hospital also is not necessarily a mere charitable endowment, but is sometimes a place of learning, as Christ's Hospital, London. Its particular form and constitution depend on the terms of the foundation. A college consists of a head, called by the various names of provost, (præpositus,) master, rector, principal or warden, and of a body of fellows, (socii,) and generally of scholars also, besides various officers or servants, according to the peculiar nature of the foundation. A college is wholly subject to the laws, statutes, and ordinances which the founder makes, and to the visitor whom he appoints, and to no others. When the king is founder his successors are visitors.*

As an example of these foundations, we may take All

*Penny Encyclopædia.

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Souls' College, Oxford, founded in 1437, by Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury.

According to the charter, the society was to consist of a warden and twenty fellows, with power in the warden to increase their number to forty; and was to be called "The College of the Souls of all the Faithful deceased." The obligation imposed on the society was to pray for the good estate of Henry VI. and the Archbishop during their lives, and for their souls after their decease; also for the souls of Henry V. and the Duke of Clarence, together with those of all the dukes, earls, barons, knights, esquires, and other subjects of the crown of England who had fallen in the war with France, and for the souls of all the faithful deceased. Sixteen of the fellows were to study the civil and canon laws the rest philosophy and the arts, and theology.*

Other colleges had foundations for a certain number of scholars in addition to the fellows. The fellows are elected from the graduates of the colleges. "Some few fellowships may be held by laymen, but in general they can be retained only by persons already in holy orders, or who are ordained within a specified time." The endowments of the fellowships are various, some amounting to £250. The fellowships can be held only while the incumbents remain unmarried.

The colleges were thus originally religious houses, founded for the benefit of ecclesiastics, and for poor scholars who were thus admitted to all the privileges of the university without cost. Subsequently other scholars were admitted to the colleges besides those provided for in the endowments.

As the colleges multiplied and increased in importance, they began to overshadow the Universities to which they were appended. A change, long in progress, was at length completed during the chancellorship of Laud, by which the ancient university, a republic of letters, with professors and voluntary lecturers, and filled with the spirit of scholarship and profound speculation, gave place to a congeries of colleges or ecclesiastical schools. Ever since the educational discipline has been in the hands of the heads and fellows of the colleges. The professorships became virtually extinct. Students entering the Universities found only the colleges, to some one of which they became attached, and where their education was conducted on the tutorial system.

Now, it was about the time when this change had become fully confirmed that the first college in this country was established, under the name of Harvard College. The college system alone was introduced here, for in reality no other system was any longer known in England. But the college of New-England copied the colleges of the mother country

* Ibid.

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only in the general course of study for the Baccalaureate. It was not a monastic endowment for fellows and poor students, but a school of classical and mathematical learning.

The other colleges of our country, as they came into being, conformed to the same model, and a good degree of uniformity has been attained both as to the preparation required for admission into college, and as to the course of study there pursued; so that our colleges, although widely scattered over the country, form co-ordinate parts of a great system of education.

The colleges collected at the English Universities do not differ in their capabilities from the colleges of Eton, Westminster, and Winchester, only that these last were made thorough elementary schools. Here the foundation of a classical education is laid, and the student when removed to a university college only continues his studies with a tutor until he receives his degree. The colleges, whether in separate establishments or in immediate connection with the Universities, are really, under their educational aspects, preparatory schools for the university course of free and manly study, to be carried on by the aid of the libraries, and the lectures of the university professors. In this point of view they are necessary and invaluable. The mistake committed in England was to drop the university course and retain only the collegiate.

In our country we have hitherto aimed only to perfect the English college system, relieving it of its monastic incumbrance. Our colleges, also, exercise the university function of conferring degrees; and were their courses of study generally preceded by as thorough an elementary discipline as that of Eton and Westminster, and were they endowed with ample libraries, and with fellowships on which studious men might retire from the world and devote years to profound study, they would not be a whit behind the English Universities. In England most of the colleges are collected at two principal points; with us they are scattered over the country.

It is unfortunate in England that the colleges are collected at the seats of the ancient Universities, for two reasons; they have supplanted the Universities, and the young men who are sent to them from the preparatory schools and colleges, without enjoying a university range of study, gain a university freedom from restraint.

The true idea of the relative positions of the college and the university is, that the former shall complete the course of authoritative restraint and educational discipline required

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during the immature period of youth, and the latter offer to young men already thoroughly disciplined in languages and mathematics, every advantage and facility for attaining a manly self-discipline in professional studies, and in the pursuit of general knowledge.

Neither in England nor in our own country does the collegiate course afford the opportunity of reaching a profound and ripe scholarship. In England, however, they have the advantage of a more accurate scholarship in the studies pursued, on account of their superior preparatory discipline.

It has been remarked, and we think justly, that in the early period of our collegiate system we attained more accurate scholarship than at present, because the same four years' course embraced fewer studies, and consequently there was time for more thorough application.

In our day we have been driven to modify our collegiate system. The amazing advance made in the sciences, the new points of view under which history is to be studied, the review of old philosophies, and the freedom of philosophical inquiry, the more intimate relations of nations, the spread of commerce, and the increasing literature of the moderns, have altogether so amplified the field of knowledge, and touched so many points of interest common to different classes of society, that we have found it necessary both to introduce new branches of learning, and to provide for the educational wants of other students besides those contemplating the learned professions.

The English colleges have felt the same pressure from a new age, but they are slow and reluctant in making changes. We, on the contrary, with the vivacity of a young nation, have made some marked movements towards the modification of our collegiate system. In England the demand is that the ancient university system be revived. In our country the demand hitherto has been that our collegiate range of study be enlarged, and rendered more free, popular, and practical.

It is remarkable that in attempting to meet this demand, we have done nothing to render the course for admission into college more thorough, nor made any effort to extend the college course beyond the term of four years. Are there not instances where one year is virtually cut off from this course, by making the terms of admission into the Sophomore class so easy that the Freshman is repudiated? We have not, then, added new years for new studies, but we have added new studies to the old years; that is, we have tried to hit

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upon some method by which we may be able to do more in the same time, with no better preparation for doing it.

The demand for a popular and practical feature in our college system—a feature that shall make them schools for the industrial as well as the professional and literary classes—has been met both by adding branches adapted to the industrial classes, and by instituting voluntary courses in which the scientific element prevails over the classical. It is a curious fact, that in some colleges the students who are too imperfectly prepared for the Baccalaureate course are admitted into the voluntary under the denomination of *university students*.

The results of these modifications, we believe, are generally not very satisfactory: the standard of scholarship is lowered, education is rendered more superficial, and the worth and importance of college discipline depreciated in the public estimation.

At this juncture Brown University has instituted a new experiment. Here the plan of study comprises fifteen distinct courses, the time to be occupied by each to be determined entirely by the requirements of the course. The student is allowed as far as practicable to study what he chooses, all that he chooses, and nothing but what he chooses. This institution thus aims to remove the disabilities arising from the limitation to a four years' course, and to provide for the wants of all classes of students.

The objectionable feature in this plan is, that it deals with youth who are really only in their elementary studies as if they were young men entering the lofty arena of a university, already prepared for the correct judgments, the responsibilities, and the determined self-appropriation which can belong only to those who have submitted for years to a regular academical discipline. In other words, this plan dispenses with the college, and rushes at once into the university. Still we feel hopeful as to its results. It has broken away from old authorities, it dares to mark out a new course, and may be destined to reach in its struggles upward the highest form of a literary institution.

The plan of instruction proposed to the University of Rochester, by the enlightened and judicious Committee appointed for this purpose, adheres to the four years' course. It does not aim to do away with the college, but to remedy its defects, and to make it more available to different classes of students.

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After a candid and clear review of the collegiate system, the Committee thus state their conclusions :—

1. The system is, on the whole, admirably adapted as a means of intellectual training, and in its main characteristics should not be abandoned. The feature of systematic courses of instruction especially should be maintained, in order to secure even development and a fair amount of general culture.
2. The range of studies is too restricted to meet the educational wants of the people. The means of instruction in many useful and important branches are not provided.
3. Too many studies are crowded into the one compulsory course to allow that all shall be taught properly. Some are not pursued so far as is needed or desired.
4. The system is not managed ordinarily with proper vigor. Students are received in an imperfect state of preparation, and are admitted too young. A sufficiently strict method is not pursued with respect to their advancement during the course, and at the close they receive a degree, which, in many cases, is not a badge of respectable scholarship.

The following outline of a plan of studies, arranged in view of the above conclusions, is respectfully submitted :—

1. The regular course for each student shall occupy four years, at the end of which time those who shall pass a good examination in the prescribed studies shall be admitted to a degree ; those who have pursued classical studies through the course, to the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and those who have not, to the degree of Bachelor of Sciences.
2. The following departments of study shall be pursued during the Freshman and Sophomore years—a daily recitation in each department to be allowed throughout the two years :—

1. Department of History and Belles Lettres. Modern History—Rhetoric—History of English Literature—Composition and Declamation.
2. Department of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. Algebra—Geometry—Plane and Spherical Trigonometry—Elements of Natural Philosophy.
3. Department of Languages.
   1. Elective branch. Latin and Greek Languages.
   2. " " French and German Languages.

All regular course students shall pursue the studies of the first two departments, except that during half the Freshman year the classical students shall pursue the study of Latin and Greek, in place of Modern History. In regard to the third, they will be allowed to choose either the Latin and Greek course or the French and German course.

3. The studies of the Junior and Senior years shall be grouped mainly under the four next following departments—one hour daily recitation throughout the two years to constitute the course in each :—

1. Department of Belles Lettres and of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy. Logic—Mental, Moral, and Political Science—Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion—Principles of Law—Composition and Declamation.

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2. Department of Mathematics and Mechanics. Higher Pure Mathematics—Adaptations of Mathematical Science to the Arts—Engineering and Construction—Mechanical Philosophy.

3. Department of Natural Sciences. Chemistry, including Chemical Technology, and especially Agricultural Chemistry—Botany, including Botanical Technology—Geology—Mineralogy—Zoology.

4. Department of Languages. Latin and Greek.

The first of these departments shall be an obligatory study upon all regular course students. Those who have studied the Ancient languages will, with the advice of the Faculty, elect two of the other three departments, or pursue the Modern languages in lieu of Latin and Greek. Those who have studied the Modern languages will pursue the studies of both the Scientific departments.

5. In addition to the above, there shall be a Department of Drawing, and all who pursue the upper department of Mathematics and Mechanics, shall take Drawing lessons.

The requirements for admission are as follows:—

1. Candidates for admission to the Freshman Class, who are classical students, shall be examined in

The English, Latin, and Greek Grammars,
Cornelius Nepos,
Cæsar's Commentaries,
Virgil's Æneid,
Cicero's Select Orations,
Translating English into Latin,
Greek Reader,
Three Books of Xenophon's Anabasis,
Geography, and in
All the rules of Arithmetic;

and those only who shall pass a good examination shall be entitled to admission.

2. Candidates for admission to the Freshman Class, who are not classical students, shall be examined in the following studies:—

Spelling,
Defining,
Reading,
Writing,
Geography,
English Grammar,
English Composition, (so far as to exhibit some practice,)
History of the United States, (equal to contents of the ordinary School Histories,)
Ancient History and Geography, (equal to contents of Arnold's Pitt's Ancient History,)
Constitution of the United States, and in
All the rules of Arithmetic;

and those only who shall pass a good examination in these studies shall be entitled to admission.

3. No student shall be admitted to the Freshman Class who has not arrived at the age of fourteen years, nor to an advanced Class, unless at a corresponding age.

The Committee insist upon a strict adherence to the terms for admission; that no student shall be advanced unless found

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qualified in all his studies; and that degrees shall be granted only to those who sustain the prescribed examinations.

The voluntary element in the course for the graduating students is clearly defined, and is so guarded as to preserve a regular and systematic discipline.

The distinction made in the Baccalaureate between the strictly classical and the more scientific students, strikes us as appropriate and happy. *Bachelor of Sciences* seems very much akin to *Bachelor of Arts*, and yet is sufficiently distinct for the purpose in view.

Partial courses are also recommended to be adopted according to the judgment of the Faculty.

The Committee recommend that the means of education in special branches be extended still more liberally to students who have not the time to take the entire course. The admission of partial course studies may be safely left in the hands of the Faculty. No one can be admitted to pursue any branch of instruction unless he possess the requisite qualifications for pursuing it with credit to himself and to the institution. His admission, the course he may pursue, and his advancement, will be regulated by the Faculty, and not left to his own choice simply. It is hoped that the advantages of education that will be furnished in the University may thus be thrown open in particular cases, where it will be of great service to young men whose means, or situation, perhaps whose industrial avocations, may prevent their prosecuting a regular college course. There is no danger that this privilege, thus regulated and controlled, can ever break down the regular system, or occasion any serious injury to its successful working.

It is proposed that certificates be given to students, when desired, of their attainments in any particular department. These may be useful as testimonials of capacity and knowledge, and aid them in obtaining good situations or employment. Certificates, also, for the two years' course should be prepared specially, as this is a point where a good many will be likely to leave, to enter into business.

The improvements contemplated in this plan of instruction may be reduced to three particulars: First, a more faithful development of the capacities of collegiate discipline, by requiring adequate preparation for admission, and a mastery of the studies of the curriculum, to be tested by rigid examinations. Secondly, the adjustment of the course of study to two classes of graduates, so as to secure for each a proper cultivation of the mind, and at the same time, an acquaintance with those branches of knowledge which will be more directly available in the meditated pursuits of life. Thirdly, the introduction of partial courses without fostering superficial attainments.

If this plan is carried out, as we sincerely hope, and with a good degree of confidence anticipate, it will be, the new

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institution at Rochester will lead the way in giving our colleges a higher position, and essentially increasing their usefulness. The changes are not, in general, absolutely new, but they are better arranged and provided for. The incorporation of the voluntary element into the regular course for graduation, and the introduction of a new degree, give harmony and dignity to the system. And by insisting upon a thorough study of what is prescribed, in opposition to a formidable curriculum on paper without a corresponding performance, we shall be able to test the capabilities of the four years' course. Rigor with regard to the terms of admission is essential to the development of these capabilities. All that the University of Rochester requires of the undergraduate may be possible to him who is prepared to undertake it, and quite impossible to him who is with difficulty squeezed through the entrance, or who is admitted by favor.

Here, we are persuaded, all reformation in collegiate study must begin. It is a promising indication of the new University, that it makes this point so prominent.

The acquisitions of students at their admission are in many cases inadequate for the advantageous prosecution of the studies embraced in the college course. It is not that the nominal requirements are too low. Strictly interpreted, they demand a very respectable amount of acquisitions. The difficulty is, that in the competition between the numerous colleges to admit large numbers, the rules prescribing the requisitions for entrance are not enforced in their true meaning. The practice of one college in keeping down the standard operates unfavorably on many others; and the more influential be its position in age and importance, the greater will be the injury it will occasion to the whole cause of education. It is here that reform must begin, if we intend to bring out good classical scholars from our colleges, able mathematicians, elegant belles-lettres scholars, skilled dialecticians and philosophers, or proficients in any of the sciences. We must exact at entrance an accuracy of preparation, that shall re-act upon the academy, and beyond that, upon the district school. *Thorough* is the word which we need to have written upon all our seminaries and modes of teaching—upon the mind of every teacher, and on the daily task of every scholar.

The scholarship attained in Oxford in the classics is not so much owing to the discipline in the University colleges as the long course of previous training in Eton and Westminster. It is possible that the University colleges might prescribe a much wider range of study if the same rigor were maintained there which belongs to the preparatory colleges. And it is possible, too, that the curriculi of the American colleges might not be found so vastly overloaded, and so far beyond the strength of the students, if there were the same fidelity

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and rigor of preparation which are exacted at Eton and Westminster. It is of the highest moment that we should make our colleges accomplish all that is within the scope of their capabilities. This appears to be the enlightened aim of the plan of instruction for the University of Rochester. It may be found, however, in conducting the experiment ever so faithfully, that the plan of study embraces too wide a range of study for four years, even with the preparatory discipline which it demands. It may be found that instead of enlarging our collegiate course we need to limit it, in order to secure a higher scholarship. Indeed, the Committee seem to feel that, after all, they are only attempting what appears most expedient and feasible in the present state of our country.

"The time," say they, "devoted to what is considered a good education with us, is entirely too limited to produce any high degree of scholarship. We deceive ourselves if we suppose that by any improvement in our system we shall raise to a very elevated point the standard of attainments in any particular department of science or literature, unless there be evinced a disposition on the part of our young men to devote to their education a longer space of time than they are now willing to spare. When that period arrives, we shall be led to found great Universities, each one of which shall be the centre and crown of a system of colleges, exerting a useful control over them and completing the education there commenced. Until that desirable consummation, all that can be done is, to administer our colleges wisely, and provide in them, as far as possible, the opportunity of more advanced instruction in some important branches where it is now too limited to answer the ends in view."

But is it not possible to create a disposition on the part of our young men to devote to their education a longer space of time? The commercial spirit of our country, fostered by the alluring opportunities of acquiring wealth presented in so many directions, is one of the greatest obstacles we have to encounter. But it is only by our institutions of learning that we can successfully meet it. Let these be perfected, and then we create a republic of letters to counterbalance the republic of commerce and of the arts of utility. A limited system of education becomes merely subservient to commerce and utility. But by means of the higher institutions of learning we create the scholars who are devoted to learning for learning's sake, who represent its greatness, diffuse its charm, speak its language, exert its influence, and show forth its commanding power over the destiny of nations and the well-being of men.

The love of knowledge is an element of human nature no less than the love of property; and knowledge is power as well as money. Let the institutions be called into existence in which it is possible to gain high scholarship, and high scholar-

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ship will begin to appear. As scholars multiply, their example will become contagious, as well as the examples of successful trade. Science and literature will have their world too, their adherents, their interests, their noble works to perform in the eye of mankind.

France is a nation of manufacturers and traders, of wars and revolutions, of pride and vanity; and yet amid all this the University of Paris and the National Institute have constituted a Republic of Science, Letters, and Arts, conspicuous to the whole world for its discoveries in science, its philosophical and literary publications, its works of art, and for the great men it has furnished in every department of life. The existence and growth of these institutions was not the result of a wide-spread enthusiasm for learning. Solitary scholars began the great work, and earnest scholars prosecuted it from age to age. These institutions have sustained themselves by appealing to the noblest and most mighty element of our being—the love of knowledge.

Such efforts as those made in founding the University of Rochester, and the dissemination of those lofty principles of education contained in the Report of the Committee, will have their effect in creating the desired spirit of scholarship.

Nor are we disposed to put off the day for founding those "great universities, each one of which shall be the centre and crown of a system of colleges, exerting a useful control over them, and completing the education there commenced." On the contrary, we believe the time has arrived when we must undertake this work also. The very efforts we are constrained to make for enlarging our collegiate courses, by introducing higher studies, and by adapting them to more numerous classes of students, is, to our mind, a decisive symptom of the direction which public opinion is taking. The very fashion which has grown up among us to call our colleges Universities, shows the prevalence of the university idea. We take the higher name because it is more attractive and gives a nobler promise. Let us do what we can to perfect our colleges, and still we shall fail in making them what they require to be, until we have the crowning institutions. Colleges and universities are both necessary to a system of education. They have their distinct capacities and functions. The prostration of the English Universities has thrown the educational system of England behind that of the Continent. The want of universities keeps down our system of education from its proper elevation and completeness.

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Art. X.—NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

A Greek and English Lexicon of the New Testament. By Edward Robinson, D.D., LL.D. A New Edition, Revised and in great part Rewritten. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 8vo, pp. 804.

It is not our purpose at the present time to do more than announce the appearance of this volume;—a more adequate notice for our pages having been undertaken by a scholar whose professional studies particularly qualify him for the task. We cannot forbear, however, in the present instance to call attention for a moment to the labor which has been required in the preparation of this great work. Dr. Robinson's earliest effort in the department of New Testament Lexicography dates as far back as the year 1825, when he published a translation of Wahl's *Clavis Philologica Novi Testamenti*. Of this an edition of fifteen hundred copies was sold in a little more than four years. Eleven years after this earliest publication, in 1836, Dr. Robinson issued his own *Greek and English Lexicon of the New Testament*, the fruit of long study and labor. This became immediately a standard work both in this country and in Great Britain. So great was the demand for it in Great Britain that it was republished in three rival editions. In our own country it has for some years been difficult to procure copies, and the appearance of a new edition will be hailed with great pleasure. Of the preparation of it Dr. Robinson says:—

> When the time came, three years ago, to prepare for a new edition of this Lexicon, although not desiring to shun any necessary labor, I yet hoped that the task would be comparatively light. The progress of science in this department, as in others, had indeed not ceased to be onward. Wahl and Bretschneider had issued new and corrected editions of their Lexicons, and Winer had revised and enlarged his Grammar; while the labors and improvements of Passow had been carried forward after his decease by able successors, and the more extended results spread before the English public in the very valuable Lexicon of Liddell and Scott. Still more, the Commentaries of De Wette and Meyer on the New Testament had appeared; to say nothing of many others. My own official duties too had called me, for the greater portion of the preceding decennium, to the daily interpretation of the New Testament before large classes of young men preparing for the ministry of the gospel; and, in the mean time, I have visited and partially explored the Holy Land. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that, when I sat down to the work of revision, I found many portions of my former labors, and especially the earliest, less satisfactory than I had hoped. The result was, that a large part of the work required, in my judgment, to be re-written; and it has accordingly been re-written, without regard to time or labor. The remaining portions have been thoroughly revised; and have received very many additions, corrections, and curtailments. In its present form, the work may stand as an unpretending memorial of the progress and condition of the Interpretation and Lexicography of the New Testament, at the close of the first half of the nineteenth century. (Preface, p. iii.)

The article Βαπτίζω, in this edition, will be less satisfactory to Baptists than the article on that word in the edition of 1836. Indeed the Note in the present edition wears not a little the aspect of special pleading, and illustrates what has often been observed in the case of ripe scholars who maintain the validity of affusion, that they start with conceding the Baptist position as imperatively required by the general meaning of the word, and then attempt to explain it away by accumulating difficulties.

The mechanical execution of this edition deserves the highest praise.

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Everything in the matter of paper, printing, and binding, is all which the most fastidious taste could demand. The liberality of the publishersi n this respect will not be overlooked in estimating the value of the work.

The Poetry of Science; or, Studies of the Physical Phenomena of Nature. By ROBERT HUNT. First American, from the second London edition. Boston: Gould, Kendall & Lincoln. 1850.

We know of no source whence have emanated, within the past two years, a greater number of excellent works relating to the science of nature, than have followed each other, in rapid succession, from the publishing house of our friends, Messrs. Gould, Kendall & Lincoln, of Boston. Their style is now changed, by the omission of the second name in their firm; but we trust the character of their publications will continue to be as elevated and useful as it has hitherto been. Within a brief period they have given us "Guyot's Lectures on Physical Geography,"—a work which has now passed to a second edition,—the scientific contributions of Dr. Harris to Theology, the "Pre-Adamite Earth" and "Man Primeval," Agassiz's "Exploration of Lake Superior and the Country adjacent," the "Scientific Year-Book, for 1850," and more recently, the "Footprints of the Creator," by the celebrated Scotch geologist, Hugh Miller, and the "Poetry of Science," by Robert Hunt.

To several of these works we have already called the attention of our readers in preceding numbers or the present number of this Review. To the last mentioned, "The Poetry of Science," we are happy in being able here to add our hearty commendation. Its title may mislead one who bestows only a cursory glance upon its pages, as to the character of its contents. It is however no fanciful view of scientific facts and laws, fitted simply to occupy an idle hour, and leave no lesson of valuable truth upon the mind; but it is rather a series of chapters on the great forces and agents of nature—heat, electricity, magnetism, gravitation and chemical affinity—in which they are illustrated in their various combinations and their reciprocal dependence upon each other, as they present themselves through the medium of the latest discoveries of modern science. The views which the work contains relate to many of the most impressive forms and operations of nature, and are designed to fill the imagination with glowing conceptions of the Creator's power, alike in the minutest and the vastest of the works and the agencies of his hand. It is in this respect alone that they deserve to be associated with poetry, or to bear its name. They awaken the imagination, and open to its vision the realms that lie beyond the boundaries of sense, in which the soul communes with nigher intelligence, and recognizes the great Creator veiled behind the sublimest and and most glorious of his works.

The volume of Mr. Hunt will be found capable of affording rich entertainment and instruction to the student of science, while to the general reader, and especially to the theologian, it will impart an immense amount of useful information, and furnish striking illustrations of the agency of the Deity, and the character which he has impressed on all that he has made, and on the laws which he has ordained.

Orissa and its Evangelization; Interspersed with Suggestions respecting the more efficient conducting of Indian Missions. By Rev. AMOS SUTTON, D.D., Missionary to Orissa. Boston: William Heath. 12mo, pp. 396.

The author of this work, a veteran missionary of the General Baptist Missionary Society, England, is well known to American Christians. He

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has twice visited this country with Mrs. Sutton, who is an American lady; and by his amiable character and ardent devotion to his work has won a large measure of general regard. He was well qualified to prepare such a work as is that before us. It relates to that portion of India which contains the Mecca of the Hindoos, the site of Jagannáth, where Dr. Sutton has himself so long and so successfully labored. It describes the country, its soil and productions, and the people, their history, manners, habits and religion. It narrates the progress of missionary work, its difficulties and successes, and contains suggestions and appeals regarding the future. Written not with leisure for condensation and revision, but as here and there moments could be snatched from travelling, visiting, and attending public assemblies, it makes no pretensions to symmetry of construction or elegance of style; but it abounds in valuable information, which can hardly fail to be acceptable to readers who are interested in the great work of the world's evangelization.

Review of a Report presented to the Warren Baptist Association, at its Meeting in 1849, *on the subject of the date of the First Baptist Church in Newport, Rhode Island.* Providence. 1850.

This is a pamphlet of twenty-five pages, relating to an historical question of no little interest, which has lately been raised in Rhode Island, respecting the priority in origin of the two oldest churches in that State. It appears that several years since, the First church in Newport, in its annual letter to the Warren Association, set up a claim to be the oldest Baptist church in America, by asserting that the true date of its constitution is 1638, instead of 1644, which had always been inserted as the year of its origin in all the records of the Association. The matter which was thus brought to the notice of the Association was referred to a Committee, who presented their report at the annual meeting in 1849. In this Report the Committee express the opinion, "that the church at Newport was formed certainly before the first of May, 1639, and probably on the seventh of March, 1638." They also present the historical references and other reasons on which their opinion rests. It is to the examination of this Report and the reasoning it contains, that the "Review" now before us is particularly devoted. It is, as we understand, from the pen of Rev. James N. Granger, and was originally prepared at the request of the First Baptist church in Providence, whose ancient historic position, as the oldest of our churches, would be seriously unsettled were the opinion expressed in the Report of the Committee to be generally adopted. The "Review," which is an exceedingly well-written document, contains a thorough examination of the reasonings of the Committee; and, so far as we are able to judge, is a complete refutation of them. There may be other reasons than those contained in the Report, for believing that the venerable church in Newport is the eldest-born of our churches; but until those reasons are presented, we think it will still rank, as it has hitherto ranked, second to the church which Roger Williams planted in Providence. We are informed that the minister of the Newport church, Rev. Samuel Adlam, is preparing a fuller statement of the other side of the question, and we refrain from any examination of its general merits until both views shall be before the public, when we may again call attention to the subject.

We cannot, however, forbear expressing our gratification that this question has arisen and elicited the investigation which it has already received. No Christian denomination has been so indifferent to its history as our own Our fathers have been left to sleep in unhonored graves. The labors they performed—the sufferings they endured—the heroic characters they bore—have alike been forgotten. The books which, amid

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penury and toil, they wrote in defense of their persecuted faith, are almost wholly unknown to those who now possess the noble heritage of religious freedom and Christian truth which they bequeathed. It is time for the honor of our name, as a Christian people, that this indifference were broken up, and that we began to study for ourselves, and to teach to our children, the lives and deeds of the founders and fathers of our churches. We hail therefore with delight any discussion which shall make our brethren acquainted with the early history of their own denomination, or lead them to linger in pious reverence around the graves of those who, amid obloquy and contempt, first taught the faith we cherish, and first established the institutions of religion and learning to which we are so largely indebted.

Religious Progress; Discourses on the Development of the Christian Character. By WILLIAM R. WILLIAMS. Boston: Gould, Kendall & Lincoln. 12mo, pp. 258.

This volume consists of a series of discourses on the passage in 2 Peter: "Add to your faith, virtue; and to virtue, knowledge; and to knowledge, temperance; and to temperance, patience; and to patience, godliness; and to godliness, brotherly kindness; and to brotherly kindness, charity." After an introductory discourse on Religion a Principle of Growth, and a second on Faith the Root of Christian Life, it proceeds in the rest of the series to show how the graces named in the text are successively developed in this natural order, each as the complement of those which precede it, and all as essential to the complete Christian character. It is a striking peculiarity of the book, and one which adapts it to great usefulness, that in this development of character the author does not separate his instructions from the age in which he lives, but in the most practical way leads his readers along through the forms of prevailing opinions and the fashion and bustle of the world as it is, showing how present conflicts are to be met and the Christian character to be perfected even now. Its tone and style indicate, as do all Dr. Williams's writings, that he communes with the past, and is a man of the study, but it likewise exhibits him as in full sympathy with the present, and a man of ripe knowledge of the world. The range of topics suggested and discussed is by no means adequately indicated by the title; and the reader finds himself entering continually upon new and unanticipated regions of thought. There are in the book fewer of the allusions under which the author's large erudition is wont to betray itself, than are found in most of Dr. Williams's writings, but there is the same amplitude of illustration nevertheless, and the same profusion of felicitous imagery. Its religious character is of the most satisfactory kind. It never abates the severity of a sound theology, and is imbued with a fervent devotional spirit. We accounted it a high privilege that we were able to announce to our readers, one year ago, the appearance of Dr. Williams's Miscellanies. We account it a higher privilege to welcome the volume now before us, and anticipate the early appearance of still another on the Lord's Prayer.

We are obliged to part with this book here, but we hope not finally. We have committed it to the critical judgment of a writer of taste and learning, whose views of it we hope to give in a subsequent number.

Report of the case of John W. Webster, indicted for the Murder of George Parkman, before the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts. By GEO. BEMIS, Esq., one of the Counsel in the case. Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown. 1850.

This is an octavo volume of upwards of six hundred pages, and contains a full report of the trial of Professor Webster, together with the subsequent

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hearing by the Court of the petition for a writ of error, the prisoner's confessional statements, his application for a commutation of sentence, and other papers relating to the case, which are now published for the first time. The work is evidently prepared with care by Mr. Bemis, who assisted the Attorney General of Massachusetts in the management of the prosecution; and it is undoubtedly the only reliable and complete record which has appeared of the melancholy tragedy to which it relates. From the high sanctions under which the work has been prepared, we have no doubt that it deserves to be regarded, as it was designed, as a permanent memorial of a trial which stands conspicuous in modern jurisprudence, alike on account of the enormity of the offense, the elevated position of the accused, and the dignity, firmness, and solemnity with which the law was administered, by a bench of Judges as upright, learned, and accomplished as can be found in any court in the world.

Popular Education; for the use of Parents and Teachers, and for Young Persons of both Sexes. By IRA MAYHEW, A.M., late Superintendent of Public Instruction, Michigan. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1850.

Few works of American literature are, as a class, now attracting more attention in Europe than those which relate to our plans of popular education. The works themselves, and still more the labors and operations which they describe, are considered, and justly too, as indices of the rapid progress and the peculiar type of our American civilization, and as furnishing useful hints and lessons alike for statesmen and men of science in the Old World, as they attempt to improve the condition of the people.

This volume was prepard by Mr. Mayhew, in accordance with a resolution of the Legislature of the State of Michigan, and is in reality a treatise on general education, beginning with a definition of education, going through with the various branches of the subject, such as Physical, Intellectual and Moral Education, and then entering upon the agency of schools and institutions of learning in forming the minds of the young, and shaping the character and destiny of a people. The author appears to be fully master of his subject, and to have meditated it in all its phases and bearings. He regards popular instruction as a political necessity under our form of government,—as essential not to prosperity only, but even to *safety*; and a common school education he ranks among the necessaries of life. That a work like this, breathing the highest and purest spirit of a great cause, appears under the auspices of a State so recently settled as Michigan, is a fact certainly most creditable both to her legislators and her people. The information which it contains is highly useful alike to parents and their children, to teachers and their pupils; and as friends of education, we wish it may be widely read throughout the Union.

American Industry—Protection and Union. The Anniversary Address delivered before the American Institute at the Broadway Tabernacle, October 11th, 1850. By SAMUEL GREENE ARNOLD, of Providence, Rhode Island. New-York. 1850.

The orator who had been appointed for the late Anniversary of the American Institute was the Hon. S. S. Phelps, United States Senator from Vermont. Severe illness, however, preventing him from fulfilling his engagement, the Committee of the Institute summoned Mr. Arnold with a notice of less than a week to supply the vacancy which had been

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thus suddenly created. The character of this Address fully justifies the selection which they made. The subject is the character and influence of American Industry, and its dependence upon Protection and Union as its chief supports. The Address opens with a brief allusion to the antiquity of Fairs, and the difference between those of the middle ages and those of modern times, and then proceeds to illustrate the nature of that industry which characterizes the United States, and the influence it has exerted and is now exerting upon the world. The orator's own observations, as a traveller of singular perseverance in both the Old World and the New, afforded him many striking exemplifications of the wide extent over which American industry is sending its products and exerting its influence. The latter part of the subject—the dependence of this industry upon Protection and Union—Mr. Arnold does not argue in full, but simply sustains his position by a brief reference to the present condition of the manufacturing interests of the country, and closes with an eloquent tribute to the value and surpassing importance of the Union of the States. Mr. Arnold, though a young man, is yet a ripe scholar and a practised writer, and we look for many noble fruits of his literary talents and researches.

Annals of the West: embracing a concise account of principal events which have occurred in the Western States and Territories, from the discovery of the Mississippi Valley to the year eighteen hundred and fifty. Compiled from the most authentic sources for the projector. First edition by JAMES H. PERKINS. Second edition, revised and enlarged, by J. M. PECHE. St. Louis: Published by James R. Albach. 1850.

To those who are unable or unwilling personally to explore the great Valley of the Mississippi, but who still desire to make themselves familiar with its more important historical and geographical features, this volume of "Annals" may be confidently recommended, as containing more of the authentic and well-arranged facts than are elsewhere accessible within anything like the same space. The volume itself has a history somewhat interesting and very unique. Its proprietor and publisher, or, as he calls himself, its projector, thus explains its original conception, and his own connection, as well as that of the editors of the first and second editions, with the work:—

"A passion for an acquaintance with historical and topographical facts relative to the *Great West*, but particularly such as might elucidate its beginnings, rise, and progress towards its future destiny, has been a principal employment of the publisher for nearly thirty years; during which time he has traversed most of that extensive region, and visited nearly every memorable spot, for the means of forming an enlightened judgment, and correct ideas of men and events in times past. In 1844, promulgation was commenced of the materials or knowledge thus acquired, by written and oral lectures. As one thought originates another, in 1845 the idea of publishing in book form first occurred.

"An engagement was entered into, the following spring, with the late Rev. James M. Perkins, of Cincinnati, by which he took charge of the compilation, and prepared the work for the press. A volume of nearly 600 octavo pages appeared before the close of that year. The first edition having been entirely exhausted, this consideration, together with a desire to extend and amplify the sketches of Illinois, Missouri, and other communities more recently developed, the present edition was resolved upon. It is a revision of the first, greatly enlarged, (350 pages having been added,) by the Rev. John M. Peche, of Illinois, whose long residence in the West,

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and familiarity with those portions less elaborately treated of in the former edition, admirably qualified him for this duty."

Under such auspices, this stately volume has just been issued from the press. It is not, we understand, published in the ordinary acceptation of the term, but is merely printed and distributed among the subscribers for the work, no copies having been furnished to booksellers or the conductors of the periodical press. This may account for the lack of usual publicity in reference to its contents. Having been favored, through the kindness of a friend, with an early copy, we have gone through the volume with very deep interest, and cannot but warmly commend the industry, candor and evident truthfulness which it evinces. Its chief fault, as it has seemed to us, is in an undue solicitude to present everything in the precise form in which it has been derived from the original authorities. This, while rendering the work more reliable and satisfactory to future investigators, detract something from the symmetrical and tasteful development of it as one harmonious whole, drawn out from the alembic in which the materials had been properly fused for this re-casting.

Our readers, we are sure, will learn with high satisfaction, that the editor has in contemplation a similar volume, to be entitled, "Religious and Educational Annals of the West." He has ample materials for such a work, and is willing to devote years of labor to bring them into the best and most condensed and conspicuous shape, for present perusal and fo-future reference.

The Logic and Utility of Mathematics, with the best methods of Instruction Explained and Illustrated. By CHARLES DAVIES, LL.D. New-York: A. S. Barnes & Co. Cincinnati: H. W. Derby & Co. 1850.

Professor Davies was for many years at the head of the Mathematical Department of the United States Military Academy at West Point, and has undoubtedly had the training of a larger number of eminent mathematicians than any other instructor in the country. The work before us is a development and exposition of his method of instruction, and is distinguished for the clearness with which the principles of reasoning are set forth, and the simplicity with which they are applied to the processes of mathematical science. It is divided into three Books, of which the first is a treatise on Logic, the second on the Nature and Principles of Mathematics, and the third on the Utility of the last mentioned science. The work abounds with valuable suggestions for teachers in each of these sciences, and in many respects is admirably fitted to be used as a text-book in all institutions where they are taught. A study of the precepts it contains, we believe, might do much in enabling an instructor to divest mathematical studies of the difficulties which are usually thought to belong to them, and thus render the discipline they are fitted to impart more widely available to the minds of the young.

History and Geography of the Middle Ages, for Schools and Colleges. (Chiefly from the French.) By GEORGE WASHINGTON GREENE. Part I. History. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1851.

This volume, devoted to the History of the Middle Ages, is the first of a series of text-books which Mr. Greene is now engaged in preparing, on Ancient, Mediæval, and Modern History. A good text-book on the period to which this relates has long been greatly needed, and for want of one, the period itself has been almost wholly neglected in the brief historical studies which are pursued in most of our seminaries of education. The middle

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ages, however, in reality, constitute one of the most interesting and important periods of the world's history, and must be understood by those who would explain the phenomena of modern civilization, or trace the sources from which that civilization flows. The work of Mr. Greene appears to us to be well suited to the accomplishment of this object. Its style is clear and concise; its topics are well selected and fully explained, and its arrangement and plan are such as to present a complete view of the wondrous transformations of races and nations, which belong to the period of which it treats. We recommend the volume to all who are engaged in the teaching of history.

Part II., on the Geography of Europe for the same period, is soon to be published by Messrs. Appleton.

A New Method of Learning the German Language, embracing both the Analytic and Synthetic modes of instruction; being a plain and practical way of acquiring the Art of Reading, Speaking, and Composing German. By W. H. WOODBURY. Second edition. New-York: Mark H. Newman & Co. 1851.

This work, whose publication we noticed in our number for October, appears already to have reached a second edition. Its plan, which is entirely simple and philosophical, had its origin in the author's own experience as a learner of the German tongue, and is designed to remove difficulties which all students, in a greater or less degree, are sure to encounter in the acquisition of any living language that is not vernacular. The Grammar of Mr. Woodbury has been tried by experienced teachers, and found well suited to the introduction of students to an acquaintance with the German, both as a spoken and a written language. In addition to the grammatical forms, the work contains a series of lessons in reading, selected from the best German classics, both in poetry and in prose—to which is appended a copious vocabulary. We specially commend it to the attention of teachers and students of this language.

Mark H. Newman & Co. have among their publications many other school books of great value and repute, which have been prepared by persons of the highest authority in the departments to which they severally relate. Among those just issued from their press, we have received the following:—

1. *Natural Philosophy for the use of Schools and Academies. Illustrated by numerous Examples and Diagrams.* By HAMILTON L. SMITH, A.M. Fourth edition. A work which has been for several years in use in the schools of the country, and is now favorably known to the public.

2. *English Grammar on Synthetical Principles, illustrated by Exercises for Gramatical Analysis, with Exercises of False Syntax, &c. &c.* By GEORGE SPENCER, A.M., Latin Principal of the Utica Academy, New-York.

3. *An Elementary Grammar of the Greek Language, with Greek and English Exercises, and an Appendix on the Homeric Verse and Dialects.* By Dr. RAPHAEL KUHNER. Translated from the German by SAMUEL H. TAYLOR, of Phillips Academy, Andover. This excellent Greek Grammar has now reached the eighth edition, and is in use in many of the best Schools and Colleges in all parts of the United States.

4. *An Introduction to the Greek Language, with appropriate Exercises, for the use of Schools and Private Learners.* By ASAHEL C. KENDRICK. (Second edition, revised and enlarged.) Professor Kendrick ranks among our comparatively few very eminent Greek scholars and Greek instructors, and every contribution which he makes to the advancement of

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his favorite department, is sure to be worthy of attention. This little book has already proved its own value to those who have read it; it is enough for us that it bears the name of its accomplished and experienced author.

The Utility of Collegiate and Professional Schools. An Address in behalf of the Society for the Promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education at the West. By EDWARDS A. PARK, Abbott Professor in the Andover Theological Seminary. Andover. 1850.

This discourse appeared as an article in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for October, and is now published in a separate form suited for a wider circulation. Never have we read a discourse relating to education, which we have wished to be more widely circulated. It is an elaborate argument in behalf of Collegiate and Professional Schools, for their ample support and their farther multiplication, wrought from one of the richest veins of the author's large and liberal mind. We will not attempt an outline of its contents, for we could not thus do justice either to its noble sentiments, or to the eloquent style in which they are set forth. Let the discourse itself be read, and there will arise in every mind a higher appreciation of our schools of learning, and of the inestimable benefits they are conferring, and in every period of our history have conferred, not only on those who have received their instructions, but upon the communities and the neighborhoods in which they are planted.

A Concise Practical Grammar of the English Language, with Exercises in Analysis and Parsing. By J. T. CHAMPLIN, Professor in Waterville College. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1850.

One thing naturally leads to another; and in accordance with this profound truth, we have no doubt that the preparation of a Greek and a Latin Grammar leads, by a tendency which it is difficult to resist, to the preparation of an English Grammar. Professor Champlin has no less than three Grammars—a Greek, a Latin, and an English—now before the public for the benefit of the rising generation; and what is especially worthy of remark, they are all excellent Grammars. The English, the one now before us, and the latest born of the three, is a work of upwards of two hundred pages, prepared in accordance with philosophical principles, and supplied with exercises in analysis and parsing. Among the more than three hundred grammars in which our mother tongue is taught to childhood, this is undoubtedly one of the ten or twenty that are worthy to be used in schools.

The World's Progress: A Dictionary of Dates. With Tabular Views of General History and a Historical Chart. Edited by G. P. PUTNAM. New-York: G. P. Putnam. 12mo, pp. 692.

It would be difficult to compress within an equal number of pages, a larger amount of valuable historical information, arranged for ready reference, than is embraced in this unique and handsome volume. The editor is a gentleman of middle age, who has been for many years largely engaged in business, and one can hardly understand how he has commanded the time for the wide reading which this volume indicates, or for the patient classification and arrangement which have given it its form and value. Following a Chart of History, curious and useful, on the plan of Dr. J. Priestley, we find Tabular Views of Universal History, so arranged as to show both the general Progress of the World, and the leading contemporary events of its great divisions. These Tabular Views embrace Ancient

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and Modern History, and are brought down to the present time. Next we find Haydn's Dictionary of Dates, incorporated almost entire, with additions relating to the United States; then a Literary Chronology, on the basis of that in the Companion to the British Almanac, extending the Catalogue, however, and increasing the amount of information given. This Chronology begins with Moses and terminates with writers of our own times. It embraces writers of many countries, and arranges them in three columns, under the heads, respectively, of Imagination, Fact, and Speculative and Scientific. Following this, we find an alphabetical list of Heathen Deities, and other Fabulous Persons, with the Heroes and Heroines of Antiquity, and a Biographical Index. Those who possess this volume would by no means part with it. It is elegantly and correctly printed.

A General View of the Fine Arts, Critical and Historical. With an Introduction by D. HUNTINGTON, N. A., A. M. New-York: G. P. Putnam. 12mo, pp. 472.

This work is more a compilation than an original performance, and embraces the collected results of a lady's reading and study while herself under tutelage as an artist. It opens with a summary of the conjectures on the origin of the Fine Arts with which most intelligent readers are familiar, and with observations on the advantages to be derived from their cultivation, and a few general rules of criticism. Taking up then the several Arts, Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, and Music, it proceeds to give in brief the history of each, with notices of the most distinguished Artists and their works. Its details are sufficiently extended to be attractive, while at the same time it compresses a vast deal of information within a narrow compass. Mr. Huntington's Introduction will secure for it a merited confidence, and its effect can hardly fail to be the more rapid diffusion among us of a taste for the studies of which it treats.

The Works of Nathaniel Emmons, D.D., late Pastor of the Church in Franklin, Mass.; with a Memoir of his Life. Edited by JACOB IDE, D.D. Vol. VII. New-York: M. W. Dodd, Brick Church Chapel. Boston: Crocker & Brewster. North Wrentham, Mass.: Charles Simmons. 1850.

We published an extended and highly commendatory review of the first six volumes of these works, soon after their publication in 1842. In that review we expressed the wish that the sale of the work might be such as to warrant the publication of a part or the whole of the remaining four volumes of sermons which the editor had selected for the purpose, and which were said to be as valuable as those then presented. Of course, we now rejoice in the appearance of this additional volume, and hope it may ere long be followed by others. Dr. Emmons stands conspicuous among that very small class of writers whose opinions, on whatever subject, are eagerly sought by every inquisitive mind. Even his opponents are anxious to see them, and to peruse the clearly and concisely stated reasons he has for them. Indeed, in addition to more weighty considerations, Dr. Emmons is himself so much of a curiosity, that the curious are never weary of communing with him; and, withal, so fine a moral writer, that the lovers of elegant diction and a pure, chaste, and direct style, are always delighted in perusing his works. Through the most rugged and thorny mazes of metaphysics, he makes for them so straight and smooth a passage that they follow him without fatigue or annoyance; nor does he

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need, like most popular writers, to allure them by strewing flowers in the path.

The present volume contains forty-two discourses; many of them on new subjects, but a part on themes discussed, to some extent, in the previous volumes, but more fully illustrated in this. In paper and type it resembles the previous volumes, and a portion of the copies are in the same style of binding and lettered as a continuation of his works, in order to accommodate those who already own the previous volumes.

Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers, D.D., LL.D. By his Son-in-Law, Wm. Hanna, LL.D. In three volumes. Vol. II. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1850.

This noble biography loses none of its interest as it progresses. To many readers this second volume will exceed the former in interest and value. It contains but eight years of Dr. Chalmers' eventful life, (the years of his pastorate in Glasgow;) but the variety of the topics which it embraces, and the sound, deep, practical philosophy of the application of Christianity to the physical and spiritual wants of a great and densely crowded city, are full of instruction to all who would look beneath the surface of things, and minister successfully, not to the mere external symptoms and obvious manifestations of misery, but to its latent causes.

We should love to examine more fully some of the suggestions here contained; but a better opportunity will perhaps be furnished on the appearance of the concluding volume of this most important Memoir. The present volume, extending to nearly 600 pages, is replete with valuable interest from beginning to end.

A New Memoir of Hannah More; or, Life in Hall and Cottage. By Helen C. Knight. Published by M. W. Dodd. New-York. 1850.

Hannah More died in 1833, and her "Life and Correspondence," edited by William Roberts, was published in two volumes, in the course of the following year. That work is a complete portraiture of her useful life and exalted character. It is, however, fast passing away from the notice of the generation now upon the stage, and we are glad to meet with a "New Memoir" that will again present this distinguished woman to the attention of the public, and especially of the young of her own sex. The work is short and pleasantly executed, and while it omits the details of the life of Mrs. More, it sketches with spirit and effect the most important scenes in which she acted, the philanthropic labors which she performed, and several of the illustrious characters with whom she was associated. It also contains some agreeable specimens of her correspondence, and in a graceful conclusion sets forth the great lesson which her life is so well fitted to teach. It is a book admirably suited to interest and improve the minds of the young.

History of Madame Roland. By John S. C. Abbott. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 18mo, pp. 304.

The History of Madame Roland, recently added to the series which have proceeded from the pen of Mr. Abbott in rapid succession, is not inferior in interest to any of its predecessors. It gives a graphic sketch of the formation and growth of that wonderful character which she exhibited during the exciting scenes of the French Revolution, and furnishes a powerful delineation of the part in those scenes which was borne by her.

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Like all the books of the series, it so pursues its way through prevailing opinions and incidents, as to guard the faith and morals of the young, for whom it is designed. The conception of these volumes was a happy one, and the labors of the author have been rewarded by a wide circulation of his works.

The Evening of Life; or, Light and Comfort amid the Shadows of Declining Years. By JEREMIAH CHAPLIN. New-York: L. Colby. 12mo, pp. 228.

We welcome our friend from whom this book proceeds to the field of authorship. His work, in part a compilation of brief extracts from choice writers of many ages and countries, and in part composed of brief articles from his own gifted pen, is replete with suggestions and solaces which are fitted to cheer the evening of life, and will be accepted by the aged with peculiar satisfaction and gratitude. The tone of piety which pervades it is as mellow and beautiful as the serenest twilight of summer. With admirable good taste the type on which it is printed is large and clear, and the paper white and substantial. It forms an elegant volume,—just such an one as filial love will be most happy to bear to the parental roof as a memento of affection. The well-chosen dedication, "TO MY MOTHER," will recall to many minds the person and virtues of the widow of the late Rev. Jeremiah Chaplin, D.D., the founder and first President of Waterville College.

A Cenotaph to a Woman of the Burman Mission; or, Views in the Missionary Path of Helen M. Mason. By FRANCIS MASON. New-York: Lewis Colby. 24mo, pp. 187.

Mrs. Mason was a woman whose virtues endeared her to her own family and friends, and whose useful labors as a missionary will live imperishably in the recollection of her missionary associates, and of those sitting in the region and shadow of death to whom she bore the light of life. This volume, with a title which we like not, contains the record of her life, and utters her husband's tribute to her memory. It is beautifully executed, and will be an acceptable and useful book among the friends of missions.

The Wide, Wide World. By ELIZABETH WETHERELL. In two volumes. New-York: George P. Putnam. 1850.

We know nothing of the author of these volumes save what the volumes themselves reveal. In these, however, we have found a work of singular interest and power—a simple and touching story, in which are portrayed the purest and noblest of characters, serenely treading the pathway of Christian truth and duty through "the wide, wide world." It belongs to the class of religious novels, but it is among the first and highest of the class. It tells how a mother's prayers are answered in the beautiful life of her orphan child—how Heaven shields from harm its chosen ones—how all things conspire to reward and bless simple-hearted virtue; and how piety gilds, like the morning sun, every form of character, and every scene of life on which it rests. The work contains no sentiment that is not pure and just, and through the plot of the story holds the imagination bound by its spell. The development and final issue are in accordance with the teachings of Christian truth and the laws of Divine Providence. It is a work which we cannot forbear highly to commend.

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Poems of Hope and Action. By WILLIAM OLAND BOURNE. New-York: G. P. Putnam. 8vo, pp. 143.

For several years readers of the better class of our magazines and journals have been accustomed to meet with occasional poems from the pen of Mr. Bourne. These poems have always been those of "hope and action." Mr. B. belongs among those who believe that progress is a law of the social state, and he is always hoping therefore for a better time. But he would apply no quack remedies—no human inventions. His faith is in the gospel as the true reforming power, and in the gospel published and applied with earnest energy. These views pervade his poems, and give to them their character. We think this character has been a chief occasion of their popularity. Hope and action are characteristics of our times, and whatever is inspired by the common sentiment awakens a common response. We do not think that Mr. Bourne's poems indicate in the highest degree the creative faculty, and yet they are in this respect superior to a vast deal of the sentimentality which passes for poetry even among cultivated readers. They are *poems*, which is saying a good deal, and we think them creditable to the head and the heart of their author. His allusions to the press are accounted for by the fact that he is a practical printer, and magnifies his office.

Reveries of a Bachelor; or, a Book of the Heart. By IK. MARVEL, Author of "Fresh Gleanings." New-York: Baker & Scribner. 1850.

Ik. Marvel is the *nom de guerre* of a pleasant, well educated, and much travelled young gentleman, who belongs to the State of Connecticut, and who began his literary career a few years since, while abroad, by contributing letters of great spirit and interest to the columns of the *New-York Courier and Enquirer*. The name is now found on the title-page of several most agreeable volumes which are to be met with in nearly every family among whom there is much taste for pleasant reading. Those that we now remember are "Fresh Gleanings from Old Fields," "The Battle Summer," and we were about to write the "Lorgnette," but we believe it does not bear the name, though it is pretty generally ascribed to the pen, of Ik. Marvel. These "Reveries of a Bachelor" relate to many different scenes, and are descriptive of a great variety of moods. They everywhere indicate a mind of serene and gentle spirit,—well stored with the learning of books and with the richer lore which travel and observation in many lands can alone bestow. They are written in chaste and idiomatic English, and by their quaint allusions and quiet meditative tone, often remind us of Charles Lamb, as he appears in that most delightful of his works, the Last Essays of Elia.

Æsop's Fables: A New Version, chiefly from Original Sources. By Rev. THOMAS JAMES, M.A. With more than Fifty Illustrations, designed by JOHN TENNIEL. New-York: Robert B. Collins. 8vo, pp. 224.

This edition of Æsop merits attention, not less for the labors of the editor than for the artistic taste and skill which have been exhibited in the outward garb in which it is given to the public. Indeed it is very seldom that a book appears, which, in the beauty and effect of its illustrations and the elegance of the letter-press, can be compared with this. Mr. James has taken great pains in collating versions of Æsop, and in the investigation of authorities, and has certainly made a great advance upon the corrupted editions which have been in circulation. Fables which have lived two thousand five hundred years, it is safe to conclude have still many years before them, and it is gratifying to possess them in a form worthy of their immortality.

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MR. GEORGE P. PUTNAM, on the arrival of Frederika Bremer upon our shores, commenced the republication of her works, in an elegant edition, revised by her own hand. *The Neighbors*, which was first issued, is now succeeded by *The Home, or Family Cares and Family Joys*,—a favorite from its first appearance. 12mo, pp. 449.—From Mr. Putnam's prolific press we have likewise, *Success in Life*, belonging to a popular series by Mrs. L. C. TUTHILL, the present volume deriving its illustration from *the Mechanic*. 12mo, pp. 171.—*History of Propellers and Steam Navigation, with Biographical Sketches of the Early Inventors*. By ROBERT MACFARLANE, C. E. The author of this volume is the intelligent editor of the Scientific American. Observing with regret the numberless useless "re-inventions" for propelling vessels which have recently appeared and as suddenly vanished, he has grouped their histories in this narrow compass as a warning against waste of time; he has likewise furnished an interesting history of steam navigation, with his views of the relative claims of the principal inventors. He devotes a separate chapter to Marine steam navigation, and illustrates the differences between machinery for river and sea service. It is an interesting and valuable book, comprised in 144 pages, 12mo.—*The Artist's Chromatic Hand-Book; being a Practical Treatise on Pigments, their Properties and Uses in Painting*. To which is added, *A few Remarks on Vehicles and Varnishes*. Chiefly a compilation from the best Authorities. By JOHN P. RIDNER. 12mo, pp. 144. The title of this book indicates its character and uses. Such a work is increasingly useful, both from the increase of artists among us, and from the fact that their pigments are now generally bought of color-dealers, rendering tests the more important.—*Béranger: Two Hundred of his Lyrical Poems, done into English verse*. By WILLIAM YOUNG. 12mo, pp. 400.—*The Pioneers; or the Sources of the Susquehanna, a Descriptive Tale*. By the Author of the Deerslayer, &c. 12mo, pp. 505. Following the recent example of Washington Irving, Mr. Cooper is giving his final revision to the numerous volumes which have proceeded from his pen, and Mr. Putnam is sending them forth to the world in an outward garb worthy of their perfected state. The present forms the fourth volume of the Leather-Stocking Tales. Like Mr. Irving, too, Mr. Cooper, while revising old and favorite productions, is engaged in the preparation of new works with which the public will ere long be favored;—nor is his the only pen which is busy within his dwelling. "Rural Hours" will again minister to the gratification of readers of taste and cultivation.—*Jamaica in 1850; or the Effects of Sixteen Years of Freedom in a Slave Colony*. By JOHN BIGELOW. 24mo, pp. 214. The beautiful printing exhibited in this volume awakens predilections in its favor. It is the work of one of the editors of the *New-York Evening Post*, and though to those who look upon the institution of slavery from a different point of view, its conclusions may not always be acceptable, we venture to assure them that they will find its facts and deductions worthy of their attention. They will learn that Jamaica was a doomed colony before British legislation proclaimed liberty to the servile population, and that its decline is therefore to be attributed to other causes. We regret our inability to give a more adequate view of the contents of this volume. We hope it may be widely read.

TICKNOR, REID & FIELDS, of Boston, have published *True Stories from History and Biography*. By NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE. 16mo, pp. 335. This volume is from one of the most popular of our writers. It describes the eminent characters and events of American History in a form and style suited to the young, preserving the thread of history by relating the adventures of a Chair which has passed from one to another of

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the great personages of our annals, whose lives have been historic. It is an admirable historical compend for children.—The same publishers have issued *Poems.* By GRACE GREENWOOD. 16mo, pp. 190. Beauty of conception and sprightliness of style have given the writings of Grace Greenwood wide currency, and thousands of admirers will seize with avidity this offering from her pen. She has more of wit and fancy than of creative genius, and is therefore more successful in prose than poetry. Her preface disarms criticism: "To the critic I would only whisper, that this collection is not nearly so large as it might have been; and that I am confident he would overlook the bad verse he may find in it, could he know how much worse poetry has been left out."

BAKER & SCRIBNER—we regret to record the death of the senior partner of this firm—have issued the third and last volume of *The Psalms Translated and Explained.* By J. A. ALEXANDER. 12mo, pp. 316. In the October number of this Review we took occasion to call the attention of our readers to this monument of ripe Biblical learning. Now that the last volume has been issued, we take pleasure in mentioning it again, assuring clergymen and intelligent students of the Scriptures of every class, that they will find in these volumes aids which they cannot afford to dispense with.—From the same house we have *India and the Hindoos*: Being a Popular View of the Geography, History, Government, Manners, Customs, Literature, and Religion of that Ancient People; with an account of Christian Missions among them. By F. De W. WARD. 12mo, pp. 344. The intelligent author of this volume, now the pastor of a church in the interior of the State of New-York, was for ten years a missionary in Southern India. During that time he travelled extensively, and made observations with manifest discrimination and judgment. He has been likewise a diligent student of whatever could illustrate the history and character of India and the Hindoos. The volume which he has prepared, and which was designed for popular use, embodies an unusual amount of information, extending over the wide range of topics indicated in the title. It is moreover an exceedingly readable book. How much do Geography, Ethnology, Philology, and History, owe to Christian Missions! In their journals and letters, and in the more elaborate volumes which have proceeded from their pens, the missionaries of the cross have conveyed to the ten thousand homes of their patrons an amount of knowledge concerning the most distant and most unfamiliar nations and tribes, which was never before possessed by scholars. Indeed this is a part of the process by which the grand consummation to which they aspire is to be reached. They are introducing mankind to each other, and uniting them by sacred bonds. They are illustrating the brotherhood of humanity, and cementing it by the alliances of the Christian faith. We welcome such books with the highest satisfaction.

C. M. SAXTON, Agricultural Book Publisher, New-York, has issued *Lectures on the Applications of Chemistry and Geology to Agriculture.* By JAMES F. W. JOHNSTON. New edition, with an Appendix containing suggestions for Experiments in Practical Agriculture. 12mo, pp. 700. We welcome every book of this character. Agriculture, the noblest of employments, is beginning to discover the advantages which it may find in Science. This volume is the republication of an English work, from an author whose views are entitled to respectful attention. It is divided into four Parts, which treat respectively of the Organic Constituents of Plants; of the Inorganic Elements in Plants; of the Improvement of the

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Soil by Mechanical and Chemical means, and of the Products of the Soil and their use in the Feeding of Animals.

THE AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY has issued (12mo, pp. 400) *Christ Knocking at the Door of Sinners' Hearts; or, a Solemn Entreaty to receive the Saviour and His Gospel.* By JOHN FLAVEL. This treatise was originally issued under the title of "England's Duty," and consisted of twelve sermons, which were preached to the author's congregation, when the Revolution of 1688 had restored religious freedom, and put again into an unrestricted ministry those who had felt the oppression of the Act of Uniformity. The delivery of these sermons, full of powerful and fervid appeal, was greatly blessed with the attending influences of the Holy Spirit. They now appear with a new title which better defines their character, arranged in chapters, and with such modifications of language as are required to make them more intelligible to readers of our times. It is a pleasure to see such a book put in the way to be widely circulated.—The same Society has issued *Lectures adapted to the Capacity of Children.* By Rev. ALEXANDER FLETCHER. 2 vols. 32mo, pp. 230, 224. The author of these volumes has had very large experience in preaching to children, sometimes addressing congregations of four thousand. We have already had opportunity to notice the interest with which they are read by those for whom they are published, and we have great pleasure in commending them to the attention of parents. Accompanying them we have two volumes, 32mo, pp. 80, 92, entitled, respectively, *Repentance and Faith, Explained to the Understanding of the Young.* By Rev. CHARLES WALKER, D.D. Such volumes will be welcomed as aids in the responsible work of imparting religious instruction to children.

THE AMERICAN BAPTIST PUBLICATION SOCIETY has given to the public another selection from the writings of Bunyan, designated as his "*Inviting Works.*" The volume, a handsome 12mo of 406 pages, is designed to follow the "*Awakening Works,*" lately published by the same Society, and embraces the *Jerusalem Sinner Saved, Come and Welcome to Jesus Christ, Christ a Complete Saviour,* and Bunyan's *Last Sermon.* The following beautiful passage from the "Come and Welcome," combining the tenderness of invitation with the solemnity of admonition, indicates the manner in which Bunyan would draw sinners to Christ, and might, perhaps, be chosen as a fitting motto to this volume: "God hath strewed all the way from the gate of Hell to the gate of Heaven, with flowers out of his own garden. Behold how the Promises, Invitations, Calls, lie around thee like lilies. Take heed that thou do not tread them under foot, sinner!"—The same Society has commenced the publication of a *Scripture Series for Sabbath Schools.* By a Teacher,—a small work, consisting of questions and answers, designed in the successive numbers to go over the whole Bible, and illustrate to children the doctrines of Creation, Providence and Redemption.

EDWARD H. FLETCHER has issued the *Life of Alexander Carson, LL.D* By GEORGE C. MOORE. 12mo, pp. 156. This sketch of the life of a great and good man, which has just been placed in our hands, was written by a pupil of Dr. Carson, for some time resident in his family. It exhibits the generous warmth, as well as the sometimes extravagant expression, of Irish feeling; but even if the scrutiny of the cautious is awakened by that circumstance, they will still see enough in the character and the life of Dr. Carson to win their highest admiration. Many will be thankful to Mr. Moore for even the brief record furnished by this volume.

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GOULD & LINCOLN have recently issued, two volumes in one, the *Life and Correspondence of John Foster*. Edited by J. E. RYLAND. With Notices of Mr. Foster as a Preacher, and as a Companion. By JOHN SHEPPARD. This work has been already commended to the attention of the readers of this Review, as a valuable record unfolding to the world the manners and habits, the unconstrained methods of thinking and feeling, of a man who was among the greatest of his time.

ART. XI.—INTELLIGENCE.

Domestic.

BROWN UNIVERSITY.—The Catalogue of Brown University for 1850-51 presents a complete view of this venerable seat of learning, as it exists under the new arrangements which were adopted during the last year. Those arrangements were completed at the late commencement, and the new system of college instruction has been in operation since the beginning of the present term. The principal new feature which is presented in the Catalogue, is the abolition of the old designations of the classes, and the substitution for Seniors, Juniors, Sophomores and Freshmen, of the titles of Undergraduates of four years', of three years', of two years', and of one year's standing. The students appear to be studying substantially the same things as they have heretofore been accustomed to study. Considerable room for election, however, is allowed them under the new laws, and the instruction in several of the departments is extended farther and made much fuller than was compatible with the old.

The Faculty is composed of the President, who is also Professor of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy, and a Professor of Mathematics, of Chemistry, of Rhetoric, of Latin, of Greek, of Modern Languages, of Natural Philosophy and Civil Engineering, and of Chemistry applied to the Arts. The latter department, together with that of Civil Engineering, has lately been added to the University.

The whole number of students is 175, of whom 51 are from Rhode Island, 63 from Massachusetts, 14 from New-York, and 12 from New-Hampshire. The remainder, with two exceptions, are from other portions of the United States. Two are from other countries.

By the laws of the University, a student may become a candidate for either one of three degrees, that of Bachelor of Philosophy, Bachelor of Arts, or Master of Arts. For either of the first two, the course of studies is so arranged, that a student *may* complete it in three years, though it may profitably occupy his attention and detain him in college for a longer period. For the degree of Bachelor of Philosophy, the Latin and Greek Languages are not required. The degree of Master of Arts embraces a course of instruction which *may* be accomplished in four years, but which, if generously pursued, will advantageously occupy the student's attention a much longer time. In addition to those who are candidates for degrees, the instructions of the University are equally open and available to those who wish only to attend particular classes, and qualify themselves in particular arts or branches of learning. In this manner it is designed to make the teaching of science more immediately tributary to the interests of society, and better suited to the wants of a practical age, while at the same time the higher ends of learning are kept distinctly in view, and pursued with the utmost zeal by all who are desirous of becoming accomplished scholars.

The noble munificence which has lately endowed the University with a fund of $125,000, cannot be too highly commended. Of this sum, upwards of $100,000,

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we understand, were contributed by citizens of Providence, the city which for eighty years has witnessed the literary festivals which the University has annually held, and shared in the intellectual influences which it has always exerted. These contributions came from no single class in the community, and from no one denomination of Christians; they were rather the generous tribute which all classes of citizens and all sects of Christians united in offering for the promotion of the interests of science and the cause of education. The record of this munificence will form a proud passage in the history of the city of Roger Williams.

MADISON UNIVERSITY.—We have not received the Catalogue for 1850-51. It was to be expected that the list of students would be abridged from the amplitude of former years, by the long agitation of the removal question, and by the rise of the new University at Rochester. A friend in the Faculty writes to us, however, that the present condition of the University, all things considered, is much better than he had anticipated, and the prospects satisfactory. The effort to raise an endowment of $60,000 has been so far successful that near $50,000 have been already subscribed, and a considerable sum beyond that is regarded as safely pledged. The number of students is 61, of whom 36 are studying for the ministry. They are distributed through the departments thus: Theological Students, 12; Collegiate, 31; viz., Seniors, 2; Juniors, 5; Sophomores, 15; Freshmen, 9; University Grammar School, 20. The following Professors compose the Faculty of Instruction: Theological Faculty—Rev. George W. Eaton, D.D., Theology; Rev. Edmund Turney, A.M., Biblical Literature; ——— ———, Ecclesiastical History. College Faculty—Rev. G. W. Eaton, D.D., Intellectual and Moral Philosophy; Rev. Edmund Turney, A.M., Evidences of Christianity; Rev. P. B. Spear, A.M., Hebrew and Latin Languages; Rev. E. S. Gallup, A.M., Greek Language and Literature; Rev. A. M. Beebee, A.M., Logic and English Literature; L. Osborn, A.M., Natural Sciences; W. T. Biddle, A.B., Tutor in Mathematics and Natural Philosophy.

UNIVERSITY OF ROCHESTER.—Our endeavors to be placed in possession of the necessary materials for a sketch of the rise of this institution have not been successful, and we shall give, therefore, no more than a meagre statement, hoping for ampler details at another time. A provisional charter was procured about one year ago, conditioned on the obtaining of $130,000, not more than $30,000 of which should be expended in University buildings. The subscription was commenced about the first of March last, and so ready was the liberality of the friends of the enterprise, that it very soon became safe to take the preliminary steps towards procuring a Faculty of Instruction and opening the University. The opening took place early in the month of November, and about 100 students have been matriculated. Of these about 25 are in the Theological classes, and the remainder are undergraduates of the Senior, Junior, Sophomore and Freshmen classes. Above 30 are members of the Freshmen class. Of the whole number about 70 are preparing for the ministry. There is no preparatory department in connection with the University. The following Professors compose the Faculty of Instruction: Rev. Asahel C. Kendrick, D.D., Greek Language and Literature; John F. Richardson, A.M., Latin Language and Literature; John H. Raymond, A.M., History and Belles Lettres; Chester Dewey, D.D., Natural Sciences; Thomas J. Conant, D.D., Hebrew and German Languages; S. S. Green, A.M., Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. Mr. Green's acceptance of the post has not been communicated, and instruction in his department is given temporarily by E. P. Smith, Esq.

As an adjunct to the University, and still independent of it, the *New-York Baptist Union for Ministerial Education* has been organized and incorporated, its object being to provide theological instruction and to assist indigent young men in preparing for the ministry. This body holds unshared control of the whole business of theological education in connection with the University. It is entirely a separate, and entirely a Baptist corporation, as, for such a purpose, it of right should be. Of this body the Rev. Zenas Freeman is Corresponding Secretary. The Professors appointed by this Union are, the Rev. Thomas J. Conant, D.D., in the department of Biblical Literature, and the Rev. John S. Maginnis, D.D., in the department of Theology.

The subscription for the endowment of the University proper has reached very nearly $150,000. Subscriptions for the endowment of the theological Professorships

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have been lately opened, and several thousand dollars have already been subscribed. It is the aim and purpose of the gentlemen charged with these important interests, to raise the two subscriptions to the munificent sum of $225,000.

It is impossible to close this brief and inadequate notice without a special allusion to the enlightened zeal which has carried forward so rapidly this great enterprise. To Western New-York, to the county of Monroe, to the city of Rochester, belongs the high honor of leading, with the most distinguished readiness and liberality, this movement; but to every section is due likewise the praise of cheering and aiding a work so well begun. Its vast influence upon the cause of Christian learning, and thence upon the cause of Christianity itself, seems to have been appreciated, and the University of Rochester may be justly regarded as consecrated from its very inception "to Christ and his Church." Nor can we refrain from a particular mention of the truly catholic liberality evinced in this enterprise by many gentlemen of other Christian denominations. The citizens of Rochester have moved in it as conscious of adding the chief ornament to their beautiful city. May it be as perpetual and as perpetually beneficent as the Falls of their own Genesee! And when the names of the Medici of America are written, sure are we that years of laborious service withdrawn from commerce and devoted to learning, and that service crowned with large pecuniary munificence, will identify for ever the University of Rochester with the name of JOHN N. WILDER.

NEW PLANET.

An extra number of the *Astronomical Journal*, edited by Dr. Gould, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, announced to the public a few days since the discovery of another planet by Mr. De Gasparis, of Naples, on the 2d of November last. The orbit of this new planet is of course not determined. It appears as a star of about the tenth magnitude, and is presumed to belong to the very remarkable group of small planets called Asteroids, lying between the orbits of Mars and Jupiter, and is the thirteenth in the order of discovery, and the third which has been discovered during the present year.

The following table, giving the names of the planets and of their discoverers, the time and place of discovery, and their mean distances from the sun, (the distance of the earth being considered as unity,) will be interesting to the scientific reader:—

Name of Planet.	Name of Discoverer.	Place.	Time.	Mean Dist. fm. S.
Ceres,	Piazzi,	Palermo,	January 1, 1801,	2,768
Pallas,	Olbers,	Bremen,	March 28, 1802,	2,773
Juno,	Harding,	Lilienthal, near Bremen,	September 1, 1804,	2,671
Vesta,	Olbers,	Bremen,	March 29, 1807,	2,361
Astræa,	Hencké,	Driesen,	December 8, 1845,	2,577
Hebe,	Hencké,	Driesen,	July 1, 1847,	2,426
Iris,	Hind,	London,	August 13, 1847,	2,385
Flora,	Hind,	London,	October 18, 1847,	2.202
Metis,	Graham,	Markree,	April 25, 1848,	2,386
Hygeia,	De Gasparis,	Naples,	April 12, 1849,	3,131
Parthenope,	De Gasparis	Naples,	May 11, 1850,	2,450
Clio,	Hind,	London,	September 18, 1850,	2,334
New Planet,	De Gasparis,	Naples,	November 2, 1850,	....

It will be observed that *nine* of these planets have been discovered within the last six years. Astronomy was long since proclaimed as the most perfect of the sciences; and many persons had begun to think that the heavens presented but a barren field to the eye of the explorer; that after the labors of the Cassini, the Herschels, and Bessel, and Stuve, nothing remained to reward the research of subsequent astronomers. Never was an impression more erroneous; never, since the invention of the telescope by Galileo, could astronomy boast of such brilliant triumphs as within the last few years. And from the present stand-point, looking back upon the success of Leverrier, Hind and De Gasparis, we may well conclude that the yet hidden treasures of astronomy are, as the stars of the firmament, innumerable.

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THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.—1850.

The condition of the Sandwich Islands in the year 1850 is note-worthy as illustrating the beneficence of Christian missions. Late Sandwich Island papers speak in strong terms of the commercial and political progress of the kingdom. The natives are substituting substantial frame houses for their thatched huts, roads have been opened, the best of water provided for any amount of shipping, and ships arrive continually from every part of the world, laden with merchandise which finds ready market. The King has elevated the people from the condition of serfdom to that of land-owners—granting them, without price, proprietorship in the soil which had been regarded as his rightful inheritance. Referring to the great change wrought in the Islands in twenty years, the *Polynesian* says:—"We now find here an established constitutional government, with its responsible head, and its responsible executors; whose independence is justly acknowledged by the most powerful and enlightened nations of the earth, and which is abundantly capable of providing for the wants and exigencies of a Christian people, and for its relations with other Christian States. We see the nation entirely out of debt,—a financial condition as enviable in a nation as it can possibly be in an individual,—with a revenue adequate to its economical wants, and with the ability to devote something yearly to public improvements. We see a nation living in peace and contentedness, whose condition has received more amelioration through the voluntary concessions of the rulers, than centuries of bloodshed have wrenched from the oppressor in many other lands; the vote by ballot introduced, universal suffrage granted to the people, and the meanest subject eligible to a seat in the legislature of the land."

Literary.

AMERICA.

The Life and Works of John Adams. Edited by his grandson, Charles Francis Adams. The second volume of this important contribution to American history has lately been published by Messrs. Little & Brown, of Boston. It contains the Diary of President Adams, with portions of an autobiography, and some sketches of the early public men of Massachusetts, written while the author was associated with them in the management of colonial and continental affairs. The volume has for its frontispiece a portrait of the President, and is executed both by editor and publishers in a manner that conveys the most favorable impression of its value and elegance. The first volume, which is not yet published, will contain the Life of John Adams. This series is to be followed by another, containing the Life and Works of John Quincy Adams. The two collections, when completed, will comprise a review of the course of public events from the beginning of the American Revolution down to the present time.

A Description of Palestine, by Rabbi Joseph Schwartz, has been published by A. Hart, of Philadelphia. The work is translated from the Hebrew by Isaac Leesor, and is embellished with maps and illustrations. Its author resided sixteen years in the Holy Land, and has written this book, as he states, for the instruction and gratification of the people of his own race.

New Edition of Horace.—Professor Lincoln, of Brown University, has been for some time engaged in preparing a new edition of the works of this most delightful of the Latin poets. It is now nearly through the press, and will soon be published by Messrs. D. Appleton & Co. The edition will contain all the writings of Horace, together with a Life of the Poet, and a body of notes and illustrations designed to elucidate the passages which are obscure either on account of difficulties in their construction, or in the allusions which they contain. Professor Lincoln is an accomplished editor, and brings to the work which he has now nearly com-

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pleted the best aids of the criticism of Continental Europe. We have examined several portions of the Latin text, and specimens of the notes, as they have been passing through the press. The printing is admirably executed, and the editorial criticisms and explanations seem to us all that can be desired by one who seeks to become acquainted with the writings of the Venusian Bard.

The Biography of Wordsworth, by his nephew, the Rev. Christopher Wordsworth D.D., Canon of Westminster. This work is now passing through the press in England and will soon be published in this country by Ticknor, Reid & Fields, Boston. The American edition will be edited by Professor Henry Reed, of Philadelphia, who has undertaken the work at the request of the author.

Scenes in the Life of the Saviour, by the Poets and Painters.—This is a beautiful book, edited by Rev. Rufus W. Griswold, and published by Lindsay & Blakiston, Philadelphia. The illustrations are on wood, and represent several of the most touching scenes of the New Testament history which the Painters have attempted to delineate, while the letter-press contains a beautiful collection of passages from the Poets relating to the Saviour's changeful and suffering life.

Gift-books and Annuals, of all descriptions, suited to the season of holiday presents, have been published by D. Appleton & Co., New-York. Among the most beautiful are *Our Saviour, with Prophets and Apostles*, edited by Rev. Dr. Wainwright. *The Pathways and Abiding Places of Our Lord*, edited by the same. *Women of the Old and New Testament*, edited by Rev. Dr. Sprague. *Sacred Scenes, or Passages in the Life of Our Saviour*, by various eminent writers. *A Book of the Passions*, by G. P. R. James.

The Works of Rev. Leonard Woods, D.D., in five volumes, have passed to a third edition, which has just been issued from the press of John P. Jewett & Co., Boston. These works are the fruits of the life-long labors of the venerable patriarch, who for so long a period occupied the chair of Theology in the Seminary at Andover. Their theological merits are said to be of the highest order.

Gould & Lincoln have announced the second volume of the *Annual of Scientific Discovery; or Year Book of Facts in Science and Art.* Edited by David A. Wells and George Bliss, Jr. It will be published on the first of March. Among the new features of the present volume will be a glance at the Scientific Events of the Year, and a series of Meteorological Tables, for various sections of our country. A portrait, on steel, of Professor SILLIMAN, of Yale College, will embellish the work. Especial care has been taken in the preparation of the Obituary Notices, and of the list of new Books pertaining to Science, published during the year 1850, and in these respects the work will be as correct and as complete as possible. The Index to articles in Scientific Journals will contain a much larger number of references than that in the first volume, and, taken in connection with the other contents of the work, will present a complete synopsis of all the valuable and important papers which have appeared during the year, in the standard scientific Journals of Great Britain, France, Germany, and America. The demand for the work has been such that its success is no longer doubtful, and it may be considered as a permanently established periodical, to appear for a series of years.

The same publishers announce as in preparation a work entitled *Comparative, Physical, and Historical Geography; or the Study of the Earth and its Inhabitants.* A series of graduated courses, for the use of Schools. By ARNOLD GUYOT The series will consist of three courses, adapted to the capacity of three different ages and periods of study. The first is intended for primary schools, and for children of from seven to ten years. The second is adapted for higher schools, and for young persons of from ten to fifteen years. The third is to be used as a scientific manual, in Academies and Colleges. Each course will be divided into two parts, one of purely Physical Geography, the other for Ethnography, Statistics, Political and Historical Geography. Each part will be illustrated by a colored Physical and Political Atlas.

Harper & Brothers have nearly ready: Smith's *New Classical Dictionary*, edited and enlarged by Prof. Anthon, royal 8vo. Andrew's *Latin-English Lexicon*, from the German work of Dr. Freund, royal 8vo. Hildreth's *History of the United States*, continued. 3 vols. 8vo. Gayarre's *Romance of the History of Louisiana*, 8vo. Bartlett's *Nile Boat*, 8vo; *Notes on the Nile*, 12mo.

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President Hitchcock, of Amherst College, has in the press of Phillips & Sampson a work on the connection of Geology and Religion.

The Second Part of Mr. Bancroft's history, it is understood, will fill five volumes.

Mr. E. G. Squier is engaged in the preparation of an elaborate work upon the remains of ancient civilization in Central America, to contain the results of investigations during his recent official residence there.

ENGLAND.

"BIBLIOTHECA CLERICALIS; a Guide to Authors, Preachers, Students and Literary Men; being a new edition of a Catalogue of the Books in the Clerical Library, greatly enlarged, so as to contain every Author of any note, ancient or modern, in Theology, Ecclesiastical History, and the various departments connected therewith, including a Selection in most branches of Literature, with *complete lists of the Works of each Author*, the contents of every Volume being minutely described; to which will be added *an entirely new volume*, with a Scientific as well as Alphabetical Arrangement of Subjects, by which a ready reference may be made to Books, Treatises, Sermons, and Dissertations on nearly all heads of Divinity, the Books, Chapters, and Verses of Holy Scripture, and useful Topics in Literature, Philosophy, and History, on a more complete system than has yet been attempted in any language, and forming an Universal Index to the contents of all smaller Libraries, both public and private."

The above is the title of an extensive and well-digested bibliographical work on Theology, and subjects connected with it, now in preparation by a competent hand in England. It is to be published by James Darling, 22 Little Queen street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, in monthly parts of eighty pages, super-royal octavo, price 2s. 6d. each, and will be finished in about twenty-four parts. The first volume will be complete in itself, and will contain the authors and their works in an alphabetical arrangement, forming, as far as may be practicable, a descriptive catalogue. In the second volume the whole of the matter contained in the first will be arranged under heads or common-places, in scientific order, with an alphabetical index, by which any subject can be readily referred to, and all authors of any authority who have written on it at once exhibited, with the titles of their works, treatises, dissertations, or sermons, and a reference to the volumes and pages where they are to be found. The advantages of a work like the one now in preparation by Mr. Darling are very obvious. Not only will it exhibit a classified arrangement of the contents of the great collections in Theology, and in other departments, (as, for example, the Bibliotheca Patrum of De la Bigne, the Bampton Lectures, &c.,) but it will also render accessible a large amount of knowledge heretofore locked up in innumerable sermons and discourses.

The Clerical Library, of which the above-mentioned work is to be the catalogue, was established by Mr. Darling in January, 1840, for the benefit of the clergy and laity in London and in the towns adjoining. It contains upwards of thirty thousand volumes, and in the number and importance of its works on all subjects of Biblical criticism is acknowledged to be unrivalled.

We hope some American publishing house will immediately commence its republication here.

A new book is announced in London, entitled *Notes on North America, Agricultural, Social and Economical*, by J. F. W. Johnston, author of Lectures on Agricultural Chemistry.

The Official Gazette announces that "the Queen has been pleased to appoint ALFRED TENNYSON, Esq., to be Poet Laureate in ordinary to her Majesty, in the room of William Wordsworth, Esq., deceased."

The Earl of Carlisle has recently given two lectures before the Tradesmen's Benevolent Society of Leeds, and the Mechanics' Institute of the same city, upon the Scenes, Institutions, and Characteristics of the United States, which he visited when Lord Morpeth.

The Rev. Dr. Bloomfield, whose edition of the Greek Testament is so well known in this country, has just published two volumes of additional Notes, critical, philological, and explanatory, in fulfilment of a promise made in the third edition of his New Testament, in 1839. The annotations, we understand, relate to a critical ex-

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amination of the readings of the text, with the reasons for that selected, philological notes on the meaning of words, and exegetical annotations on the verbal interpretations of passages. We hope these volumes may be republished in this country. They are the fruit of many years' labor, and would be cordially welcomed.

FRANCE.

M. Cousin is collecting and editing all his various writings upon the subject of education. They will fill several volumes.

The *Almanach des Opprimés* (Almanac of the Oppressed) for the year 1851, is spoken of as "aimed wholly at the Society of Jesuits, whose history it exposes in the blackest colors. It begins with the early life of Loyola, depicts his debaucheries, his ambition, the religious mechanism invented by his enthusiastic and fanatical genius, the flexibility of his morality, and goes on to give an account of the intrigues and crimes of his successors in various countries and times, with an analysis of their books, their missions, and their miracles."

GERMANY.

The political commotions in Germany do not seem materially to diminish the literary activity of the people, or the number of issues from the press of the country. The published Catalogue of the Michaelmas Leipsic Fair shows a total of upwards of 5,000 new volumes since the preceding Easter.—The library of the lamented Neander is to be sold at auction. It is of course very rich in editions of the Fathers. It is said to contain about 4,000 volumes. The Berlin public will hardly let it go out of the city; and probably it will be purchased for the use of the University.—The reproduction, on the modern stage, of the ancient Greek Drama, which commenced in 1843, in Berlin, with a brilliant and most successful representation of Sophocles' Antigone, and was followed by the performance of the same piece at Paris and at London, and afterwares by the performance of other pieces at Berlin, is now to be again attempted at Berlin, with the Eumenides of Æschylus. No city in the world can bring to such an enterprise such an array of learning, talent, and skill, in all departments, philological, literary, musical and histrionic, as the brilliant capital of Prussia; and in the King, who is a liberal patron of letters and ancient art, and his cultivated court, and in a community of scholars and intelligent citizens, this new representation will find a numerous audience, capable of appreciating and enjoying it.—A German translation of Ticknor's History of Spanish Literature is announced as forthcoming from the press of M. Brockhaus, the celebrated Leipsic publisher.

The Austrian Government has just set on foot an enterprise to prepare and publish at the expense of the Imperial Treasury, a great work on the ethnography of the Empire, designed to give a complete account of the origin, history, manners, language, character and condition of each of the many tribes and peoples included under the Austrian sceptre, with descriptions of the country, scenery, climate, soil, minerals, and natural and industrial productions of each region. It is supposed that the whole will be completed in eight volumes.

The Prussian Expedition to Egypt,—*Denkmäler aus Ægypten und Æthiopien nach den Zeichnungen der von Sr. Majestat dem Könige von Preussen Friedrich Wilhelm IV. nach diesen Ländern gesendeten, und in den Jahren* 1842–45, *ausgefuhrtenwissenschaftlichen Expedition: Herausgegeben von Dr. R. Lepsius*,—published at the expense of the Prussian Government, will be completed in eighty parts, or eight hundred plates. Most of the plates are printed with tints, and many in the colors of the originals. This work forms a necessary completion of the celebrated work of the French Expedition under Napoleon. Parts I. to X. are now advertised as ready for subscribers, in London, at three dollars and a half each.

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Ecclesiastical.

DEATHS.

APONIRAM JUDSON, at sea, April 12, aged 61.
SAMUEL BLOSS, North Bay, N. Y., July 27, aged 69.
C. H. O. CÔTE, Hinesburg, N. Y., Oct. 3.
GERSHOM LANE, Moriah, N. Y., Sept. 9, aged 68.
HIRAM A. GRAVES, Bristol, R. I., Nov. 3, aged 37.
BELA WILCOX, Newark, Wis., Sept. 27. aged 53.
SIMON PHILLIPS, Warwick, R. I., Oct. 25, aged 76.
S. C. DILLAWAY, Granville, N. Y., Nov. 4, aged 56.
THOMAS MEREDITH, Raleigh, N. C., Nov. 13, aged 56.

ORDINATIONS.

C. H. TOPLIFF, Charlestown, Mass., Sept. 30.
WM. D. CLARK, Lamriville, Ill.
THOMAS MOFFETT, Monticello, N. Y., Oct. 9.
J. L. DOUGLASS, Fort Ann, N. Y., Oct. 10.
B. C. THOMAS, Boston, Mass., Oct. 13.
O. I. SPRAGUE, Mount Morris, N. Y., Oct. 16.
HENRY H. PHELPS, Ellery, N. Y., Sept. 26.
ALEXANDER W. CARR, Fall River, Mass., Oct. 23.
AARON H. BURLINGHAM, Pittsburg, Pa., Oct. 8.
G. W. PORTER, Parma, N. Y., Sept. 25.
W. H. RANDALL, Frewsburg, N. Y., Nov. 7.
J. SANFORD HOLME, Watertown, N. Y., Nov. 12.
A. H. STARKWEATHER, Bethany, N. Y., Oct. 23.
BRADFORD H. LINCOLN, New-Rochelle, N. Y., Nov. 21.
SMITH HULSE, Dundee, N. Y., Nov. 6.
DANIEL MILLER, Buffalo, N. Y., Nov. 7.
THOMAS W. SYMONDS, Reading, Mass., Dec. 6.
ALEXANDER M. HOPPER, New-Haven, Conn., Nov. 21.
JOSEPH N. FOLWELL, Roadstown, N. J. Nov. 21.
HARDIN BURTON, Spice Valley, Ind., Nov. 24.
JONATHAN ALLEE, Delawan, Ind., Nov. 30.

DEDICATIONS.

Mariners' Bethel, N. Y., Oct. 10.
Milwaukie, Wis., Oct. 7.
Dodgeville, Wis., Sept. 22.
Fall River, Mass., Oct. 23.
Charlestown, Mass., Oct. 17.
Lawrence, Mass., Oct. 23.
Chicopee Falls, Mass., Oct. 27.
Harlem, N. Y., Oct. 9.
Marion, N. Y., Nov. 27.
Tabernacle, N. Y. City, Dec. 22.

CHURCHES CONSTITUTED.

Middletown Point, N. J., Oct. 23.
Cowanshannock, Pa., Oct. 9.
Lee, Mass., Oct. 8.
Hastings, N. Y., Oct. 23.
Dansville, N. Y., Nov. 6.
Sacramento, Cal., Sept. 14.
Matteawan, N. Y., Dec. 4.

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THE

CHRISTIAN REVIEW.

No. LXIV.—APRIL, 1851.

Art. I.—ROMANISM AND PROTESTANTISM.

1. *Edinburgh Review, October*, 1840. *Art. IX. Macaulay's Review of Ranke's History of the Popes.*
2. *The Decline of Protestantism, and its Cause.* A Lecture by Archbishop Hughes. 1850.
3. *The Decline of Popery, and its Causes.* An Address by Rev. N. Murray, D.D. 1851.

Mr. Macaulay's article relates, mainly, to the shocks which the Church of Rome has experienced from successive revolutions, and the manner in which she has survived them. "Four times since the authority of the Church of Rome was established in Western Christendom, has the human intellect risen up against her yoke. Twice she remained completely victorious. Twice she came forth from the conflict bearing the marks of cruel wounds, but with the principle of life still strong within her."

The first of these revolutions took place in Provence and Languedoc, at that time the most enlightened and civilized portion of Europe. "The clergy of the Catholic Church were regarded with loathing and contempt. 'Viler than a priest'—'I would as soon be a priest'—became proverbial expressions. The Papacy had lost all authority with all classes, from the great feudal princes down to the cultivators of the soil." Here the Paulician theology prevailed—a theology composed of many doctrines of modern Calvinism mingled in some degree with ancient Manicheeism. It was very nearly the theology of St. Augustin.

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This rebellion was put down by brute and merciless force. It was the Albigensian crusade of the warriors of northern France, sustained by the newly created orders of St. Francis and St. Dominic, and the dread Tribunal of the Inquisition.

The second revolution had its origin in the struggles between the ecclesiastical and civil powers. Frederick II. of Germany had struggled in vain. "The vengeance of the priesthood had pursued his house to the third generation. Manfred had perished on the field of battle; Coradin on the scaffold. Then a turn took place. The secular authority, long unduly depressed, regained the ascendant with startling rapidity. The change is undoubtedly to be ascribed chiefly to the general disgust excited by the way in which the Church had abused its power and its success."

Philip IV. of France was the prime mover of the revolution. "The fiercest and most high-minded of the Roman Pontiffs, while bestowing kingdoms and citing great princes to his judgment-seat, was seized in his palace by armed men, and so foully outraged that he died mad with rage and terror."

The Papal seat was transferred to Avignon. Two Popes, one at Rome and one at Avignon, contended for the supremacy, and the Catholic world was confounded "amidst conflicting testimonies, and conflicting arguments," urged by "two worthless priests who were cursing and reviling each other."

It was about this time that John Wickliffe appeared, and made himself heard from England to Bohemia. "The Church, torn by schism, and fiercely assailed at once in England and in the German Empire, was in a situation scarcely less perilous than at the crisis which preceded the Albigensian crusade."

This danger was also overcome by some show of reformation on the part of the Church, by the Council of Constance, and by calling in the aid of the secular power. "The most distinguished teachers of the new doctrine were put to death. The English Government put down the Lollards with merciless rigor; and in the next generation no trace of the second great revolt against the Papacy could be found, except among the rude population of the mountains of Bohemia."

Next followed the Reformation under Luther. In this struggle the entire dissolution of the Papacy was threatened. Fifty years from the day on which Luther publicly burned the bull of Leo, "in England, Scotland, Denmark, Sweden, Livonia, Prussia, Saxony, Hesse, Wurtemburg, the Palatinate,

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in several Cantons of Switzerland, in the northern Netherlands, the Reformation had completely triumphed; and in all the other countries on this side of the Alps and the Pyrenees, it seemed on the point of triumphing."

But the Reformation did not completely triumph. It was to be expected that the most strenuous efforts would be made to stem this flood of revolution. The leading powers which took sides with the Pope were Italy and Spain. "It was in Italy that the tributes were spent, of which foreign nations complained so bitterly. It was to adorn Italy that the traffic in indulgences had been carried to that scandalous excess which had roused the indignation of Luther." Spain had been engaged in a crusade against the Mussulmans for eight hundred years. All her heroic recollections were bound up with the Church of Rome. The same power which had commissioned her against the Moors at home, now commissioned her to the conquest of Mexico and Peru. "Avarice stimulated zeal. Zeal consecrated avarice. Proselytes and gold mines were sought with equal ardor. In the very year in which the Saxons, maddened by the exactions of Rome, broke loose from her yoke, the Spaniards, under the authority of Rome, made themselves masters of the empire and the treasures of Montezuma."

This sufficiently explains the adherence and the devotion of these two powers. Next, the old religious orders were revived, purified from abuses, and stimulated to the most enthusiastic efforts. But far more than this, the new order of the Jesuits was created. In the south of Europe they first consolidated the Papal interest, and then went forth invading every region. "Inflexible in nothing but in their fidelity to the Church, they were equally ready to appeal in her cause to the spirit of loyalty and the spirit of freedom. Extreme doctrines of obedience and extreme doctrines of liberty; the right of rulers to misgovern the people; the right of every one of the people to plunge the knife in the heart of a bad ruler, were inculcated by the same man, according as he addressed himself to the subject of Philip or to the subject of Elizabeth. Some described these men as the most rigid, others as the most indulgent of spiritual directors. And both descriptions were correct. The truly devout listened with awe to the high and saintly morality of the Jesuit. The gay cavalier who had run his rival through the body, the frail beauty who had forgotten her marriage vow, found the Jesuit an easy, well-bred man of the world, tolerant of the little irregularities of people of fashion. The confessor was strict

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or lax, according to the temper of the penitent. His first object was to drive no person out of the pale of the Church. Since there were bad people, it was better that they should be bad Catholics than bad Protestants. If a person was so unfortunate as to be a bravo, a libertine, or a gambler, that was no reason for making him a heretic also." An order so cunning, unscrupulous, and zealous, could not fail of success, not of course in converting men to Christ, but in holding or converting them to the Church. At the same time that the Jesuits were putting forth their policy and energy, there came successively to the Papal throne men who contrasted strongly with Adrian, Alexander, and Leo—men of ascetic habits and fanatical faith and zeal. Such were Paul IV., Pius V., and Gregory XIII. Under their administration the Inquisition was armed with its utmost terrors, and no measures of atrocity, as the massacre of St. Bartholomew's day may testify, were matters of hesitation.

Macaulay paints too in vivid colors the general polity of the Church of Rome: "The stronger our conviction that reason and Scripture were decidedly on the side of Protestantism, the greater is the reluctant admiration with which we regard that system of tactics against which reason and Scripture were arrayed in vain." He illustrates her policy in her mode of dealing with all sorts of fanatics and enthusiasts: "The ignorant enthusiast, whom the Anglican Church makes an enemy, and, whatever the polite and learned may think, a most dangerous enemy, the Catholic Church makes a champion. She bids him nurse his beard, covers him with a gown and hood of a coarse dark stuff, ties a rope round his waist, and sends him forth to teach in her name. He costs her nothing. He preaches not exactly in the style of Massillon, but in a way which moves the passions of uneducated hearers; and all his influence is employed to strengthen the Church of which he is a minister. With the utmost pomp of a dominant hierarchy above, she has all the energy of the voluntary system below."

Thus the Church of Rome maintained the conflict. In the end she triumphed in regions which for a long time were doubtful; and France, Belgium, Bavaria, Bohemia, Austria, Poland, and Hungary were held under her dominion with Italy and Spain. Protestantism had no central organization like that of Rome. She had no religious orders. She could employ no Jesuitical policy. Some of her crowned leaders, like James and Elizabeth, were but half Protestants. The mission of the Roman Church was only to maintain the old

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order of things, and to put down all reformation. The mission of Protestantism was to discuss polities and doctrines, and to restore a pure system of polity and doctrine. The very freedom of discussion by which alone she could reach the great result gave rise to differences of opinion, and a variety of sects arrayed against each other. "The whole force of Rome was, therefore, effective for the purpose of carrying on the war against the Reformation. On the other hand, the force which ought to have fought the battle of the Reformation was exhausted in civil conflict."

The fourth conflict took place at the French Revolution. This was the conflict of Infidelity with Christianity as represented by the Catholic Church. Here for a time she was well nigh prostrated. "An infidel power ascendant—the Pope dying in captivity—the most illustrious prelates of France living in a foreign country on Protestant alms—the noblest edifices which the munificence of former ages had consecrated to the worship of God, turned into temples of victory, or into banqueting-houses of political societies, or into Theo-philanthropic chapels; such signs might well be supposed to indicate the approaching end of that long domination." But nations and human society cannot exist without some form of religion, and as those who had abjured Rome formed no acquaintance with a purer system, in the reaction which necessarily took place the institutions of the old Church were restored. Thus she survived the fourth shock.

We may add to the above the revolution which lately drove Pio Nono from the Vatican, and established a Roman Republic. If this has been put down, it has been only by physical force. But there are signs even now which threaten a renewal of the struggle.

The Church of Rome still survives, and still is powerful. Of this there is no question. But if the question come up, whether she has declined? it is plain that only one answer can be given: She has declined. If Protestantism did not achieve a complete victory, if she was compelled to pause in her triumphs, she nevertheless achieved a victory of no mean results. Macaulay estimates the Protestants at one hundred and twenty millions, and the Catholics at one hundred and fifty millions. A more correct estimate would probably give nearly a hundred millions to the Protestants, and nearly two hundred millions to the Catholics. The Church of Rome then has lost one third. Before the Reformation she had all; now she has two thirds. This is a decline in numbers. But this is not all: the most enlightened, wealthy, and powerful

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nations, both in Europe and America, are Protestant. The contrast between the Protestant and Catholic portions of the world Macaulay has drawn in strong colors; but it is a contrast obvious to every one at a glance. "Our firm belief is, that the North owes its great civilization and prosperity chiefly to the moral effects of the Protestant Reformation; and that the decay of the southern countries of Europe is to be mainly ascribed to the great Catholic revival."

Macaulay acknowledges the great antiquity of the Roman Church, its masterly polity, its strength and vigor. Having survived so many revolutions, he dares not hazard any conjecture as to the time of its final dissolution. It may even exist "when some traveller from New-Zealand shall, in the midst of a vast solitude, take his stand on a broken arch of London Bridge to sketch the ruins of St. Paul's." But if the Roman Church can exist only while St. Peter's stands, Protestantism has no like dependence upon St. Paul's. Nor does Macaulay intend to indicate any. England may become a desert, and all national ecclesiastical establishments at present existing fade away; and if the Roman Church survive all, Protestantism too will survive all.

There is one safeguard which Protestantism possesses of which nothing can deprive her. She has translated the Bible into a majority of the languages of the world. She has made it to penetrate the noblest literature of the world. Unless the whole world returns to barbarism, the Protestant Bible must ever live. Protestantism bases herself upon the Bible and demands to be tested by it. The Roman Church, so far from circulating the Bible and demanding to be tested by it, represses its circulation, and claims in herself to represent all its truth. But the Bible must be acknowledged as the last authority; and as Protestantism has connected her destiny with it, and given it to the world, she must stand while the Word of God remains among men.

The Lecture of the Archbishop of the Roman Catholics in New-York treats of the decline of Protestantism as an indisputable fact, and with somewhat of a philosophical air assigns its cause. We cannot think seriously of entering upon a refutation of his statements and arguments. Every well-informed man must see at once that his lecture is made up of the grossest mistakes as to facts, and of exaggeration and impertinence. It was written not for Protestants, nor for well-informed men generally, but for the audience collected in St. Patrick's Cathedral. The former do not need any refutation; the latter, although they may need it, would never read it.

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The Address of Dr. Murray is a very fair and commendable hit on the other side. He shows with respect to Romanism, what the Archbishop has not shown with respect to Protestantism—that it has declined; and this he has done in a way which every one can understand, by comparing the former state of Romanism with its present. He has also shown that the causes of this decline are found in the circulation of the Bible and the influences of Protestantism generally, on the one hand, and in the errors, absurdities, and despotic character of Popery itself, on the other. He has also drawn a strong contrast between the condition of Protestant and Roman Catholic countries.

But we are not anxious to enter upon questions of this kind. After all, the real question at issue between Romanists and Protestants is one of a widely different character. This we propose to show.

I. We say then, in the first place, that the real question at issue is not a mere question as to the fact whether Romanism or Protestantism is now in the ascendant, or whether one or the other is now declining. The present ascendency or decline of the one or the other, forms no test of its truth and value, and affords no certain ground of prophecy as to its final destiny.

Religious and political institutions, all human institutions, whatever be their character, are subject to fluctuations, to elevations and depressions, from causes which do not necessarily stand connected with the question of their intrinsic excellence and their moral desert. The most portentous systems of error have enslaved the minds of millions; the most tyrannical forms of government have held the destiny of nations through long-drawn centuries. The religion of the Persians, the superstition of the Egyptians, the Brahminism and Buddhism of the East, the mythological system of ancient Greece and Rome, the mighty empires of past ages, all afford their illustrations.

On the other hand, the true religion was, at one time, comprised within the family of Noah; at another, dwelt as a solitary in the tents of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; at another, was a divine communication to Moses on the top of Horeb from the burning bush; then erected its tabernacle in the midst of a rude wandering people in the wilderness of Sinai. It finally became triumphant in the land of Israel, and manifested the glory of the Lord in the magnificent temple of Sion. Then ensued a fearful decline, so that Elijah in the wilderness in despair exclaimed, "I, even I only, am left; and they

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seek my life to take it away;" and even the All-seeing Eye itself discerned but seven thousand who had not yielded to the general corruption. There were returns of fidelity and prosperity, followed again by declensions that seemed to threaten the utter extinction of the true religion; until at length an exile from Jerusalem, the world's hope, passed through the fiery furnace, and reposed in the den of lions at Babylon.

When the appointed ages had finished their course, and the morning star of salvation arose upon the world, only a few sages in a distant land saw its light and were guided to the Divine Redeemer. He was cradled in a manger. Shepherds only witnessed the rejoicings of the heavens, and heard the song of angels. When he appeared in public, he appeared as a despised Nazarene, and was attended only by fishermen. Christianity took its rise amid persecution and obloquy. Its Divine Author died upon the cross as a malefactor, amidst malefactors. Its first apostles were accounted as the offscouring of the world. Its first movements to convert mankind were met by the fiercest opposition of both Jew and Pagan. Through labors manifold, through infamy, persecution, and the terrors of death on every hand, it carried forward its benign mission,—sometimes to human observation cast down and well nigh in despair, and then recovering itself with a divine life and energy to make new and more triumphant onsets upon the errors of world.

In all this, the true religion symbolizes with all forms of truth and goodness on earth. Sages teaching great truths, patriots aiming to establish the best forms of government, have also been persecuted, and have died as martyrs. How much of the history of our world is a record of struggling virtue and liberty, of triumphant crime and oppression!

The manner in which Christ introduced himself and his religion to the world, the conditions under which he handed it down to future ages, made it certain that formidable difficulties would impede its progress, that it would often dwell amid convulsions and revolutions, that its fortunes would variously fluctuate, and that although its final triumph was certain, it was a triumph that might be long delayed, and that could be reached only by toils, self-denial, and suffering. He, the King of angels and of men, with all power in heaven and in earth, might have selected for his birth-place a royal palace at Jerusalem, or the palace of the Cæsars at Rome. He might have collected around himself all the splendor and the power of the world. He might have commanded resistless

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armies, and awed the kingdoms of the earth into instant submission. He might have established, without delay, a widespread and powerful church organization, with hierarchies completely ordered, and with imposing grandeur and pomp. He might have enthroned St. Peter at once in the Papal chair at Rome. He might have created all the unity, the stability, the resistless energy of a great ecclesiastical empire. In his own day, or after his crucifixion and ascension, in the day of the apostles, and by clothing them with the required might, he might have done more effectually the work which Popes and Emperors assumed to do in his name centuries afterwards.

But instead of this, declaring that his kingdom was not of this world, he took upon himself the most humiliating conditions. Reposing the merit of his cause upon his truth and benevolence, and working miracles as the evidence of his divine mission, he addressed himself only to what is thoughtful and spiritual in man. His apostles, in like manner, he selected from humble rank, and sent them forth unattended by any worldly circumstance, sustained by no worldly influence. He sent them forth as "lambs among wolves," to subdue ferocity by patience and suffering. He sent them forth armed only with truth and spiritual influences to address the reason, the conscience, and the heart of man; to make no conquest of kingdoms, but to convert souls; to create no mighty external organization, but to collect societies of believers. It was a process of spiritual illumination and regeneration passing from individual to individual, symbolized by a right system of education, which, with whatever means and appliances, can effect its end only by initiating individual minds in the elements of knowledge, and thence leading them onward to perfection. It was mind-work, heart-work, soul-work. And then, too, it was a work which came in conflict with old prejudices, opinions, and customs, and with all the pride, selfishness, ambition, and sensuality of mankind. Its laws derived their sanction from an invisible authority; its promised blessings lay in an invisible world.

Such a system, so promulged, was evidently destined to meet every variety of fortune; to experience at one time elevation, at another, depression; to find both friends and enemies; to struggle amidst darkness and calamity, as well as to find places of light and repose; to be a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief, as well as an angel of love hailed by rejoicing multitudes; and, although always in its nature peace on earth and good-will among men, yet liable to become the

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occasion of fierce conflicts of opinion, of interest, and of violence, and to seem as a sword of destruction sent abroad in the earth. And although given at first in entire simplicity and purity, it might become mixed up with human errors, and appear in portentous systems of religion where the Divine and true element would be employed as an authority to sustain the human and the false.

Amid these convulsions and revolutions the triumph of one system over another, for the time, can never be accepted as any test of truth. An argument built upon numbers and success is of no weight or relevancy. The triumphant and world-wide system, as in the days of Ahab, may contain only the worshippers of Baal, while the religion from heaven may have fled with the prophet into the wilderness.

The Roman Church has had its elevations and depressions. Macaulay has desribed four great convulsions which belong to its modern history, two of which threatened its dissolution. In our day it is on the eve of a fifth convulsion, or rather that convulsion has already begun—for a moment apparently lulled, but ready suddenly to break out again. It may survive them all, and have yet ages of prosperity and power. It may shake England, and plant itself with might on our shores. But this will not prove that it is the church of God.

Nor does the want of success which attended the struggle of the Albigenses prove that the true church was not among them, any more than the slaughter of martyrs in the Roman arena, and the lighting up of Rome by burning Christians while Nero triumphed and exulted, prove that Christianity was an infamous and vain innovation upon the ancient mythology. On the same principle the suppression of the Bohemians and Lollards by an armed force, and the healing of the great Western Schism by the Council of Constance, afforded no new argument for the rightful supremacy of the Pope.

Assuming that among Protestants is to be found the true church of Christ, the Reformation must be accepted as the first great success in restoring primitive Christianity, and the first decisive indication that old errors and despotisms were drawing to a close, and an era of light and salvation was about to open upon the world.

Instead of being astonished at the check which the Protestant movement received from the reviving energies, the artful policy, and the bloody persecutions of Rome, we are only astonished that so much was accomplished after the long reign of darkness and absolutism; that such stupendous and permanent conquests were made; and that by her Jesuits and

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Inquisition and all the power of the south of Europe with the Emperor Charles at its head, she retained only the weakest and the most ignorant portion of her ancient domains, and left the very heart of Germany, and glorious England—since reproduced and enlarged on this continent into the Protestant States of North America, and extending her power and the influence of her institutions over the whole globe—in the hands of Protestantism. We reckon not the value of States by mere numbers. The Republic of ancient Athens was of more consequence than the Persian Empire. The island of Great Britain, with its twenty or thirty millions of people, is of more consequence than the Chinese Empire, with its five hundred millions. And who would exchange the one third which Protestantism took for the two thirds which remained with Rome?

But we do not regard all the nominal converts to Protestantism as real converts to pure and primitive Christianity. Had it been so, the present condition of mankind would have appeared under more glorious and hopeful aspects. Would not a hundred millions of Christians in the true sense of the word—faithful followers of Christ and his apostles—command the world, and enlighten and elevate the entire race? It is unquestionably a great gain that so large a number should be emancipated from Papal thraldom. But then there were other elements besides those purely religious, which entered into the great contest between Romanism and Protestantism. The human mind was struggling for free rational thought, like Galileo contending for the right of unrestrained scientific investigation; and the civil powers were struggling to be delivered from priestly control and aggression, and to regain their just rights and proper functions. Philosophers and princes, therefore, felt a deep interest in the Reformation, even when they did not sympathize in the religious questions which were agitated. As the movement was rational and political as well as religious, its phases and fluctuations partook of the former as well as of the latter. And as all that at first was apparently gained was not gained to Christianity itself, so all that was subsequently lost was not lost to Christianity itself. The pause and the retrogression which Macaulay notices was really a pause and a retrogression in the rational and political part of the movement, and particularly in the latter. And even much of that which remained was rational and political. Hence the union of Church and State, and the thraldom of the Church to the State. Hence the rationalistic speculations which assailed the Christian faith itself. Human reason and the civil

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powers so long repressed and appropriated by a proud and relentless hierarchy, had become jealous of religion itself, and in their sudden emancipation reacted against the genial and heavenly force which had effected this emancipation.

Receiving the important and palpable distinction above made, it is easy to perceive that Protestantism as a spiritual movement—as the revival and proclamation of primitive Christian principles and truths—has ever been making progress since the morning of the Reformation. It could not effect the purification of the church at once—it has not fully accomplished it even now; but it has ever been advancing towards it.

The disorders which at first prevailed—disorders ever attendant upon great revolutions—have for the most part subsided. Protestantism has achieved religious toleration, and vindicated the rights of conscience. It has discussed the evidences of Christianity, and given to the world a body of historical and internal proofs from which infidelity must ever recoil discomfited. It has re-examined the antiquities and history of the Church, and produced an authentic record eliminated of all puerile and saintly legends. It has critically digested ancient manuscripts, and settled for ever the text of the sacred canon. It has published confessions and creeds, which are clearly honest attempts to express doctrines based upon the Word of God alone, and which, although proceeding from different ecclesiastical bodies, possess a substantial unity, and present one faith, one Lord, one baptism. It has poured forth in abundant streams the noblest theological literature the world has ever seen. It has produced a multitude of learned, grave, eloquent, and mighty preachers. It has developed forms of character of the finest proportions of philanthropy, irradiated by heavenly grace, and appearing as the living epistles of Christ. It will soon have accomplished the work of translating the Bible into all the languages used among men. It has undertaken the mission of giving the Bible and education to all mankind. Its missionaries are now to be found among the most distant nations; bearing with them, not the crucifix, but the gospel; doing their work, not by ceremonial manipulation, but by instruction and spiritual illumination; not making superstitious and ignorant adherents to a church, but converts of joyful experience in faith and love to the company of the redeemed.

This we can prove it has been and is doing. And this does not appear to us as a decline, but as a constant and hopeful advance. Romanism has greater numbers; but

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Buddhism and Mohammedism have still greater numbers than Romanism. Protestantism may have to undergo severe trials, and to suffer reverses. Romanism may become politically and numerically stronger than it is now. It may appear armed again with the terrors of a Hildebrand, and set its foot once more upon the necks of kings. We do not indeed anticipate this. But we say, suppose it should happen, it will not disprove our claim to have the true church of Christ among us. In the long struggle of truth and love with the errors and wickedness of the world, there have been many trials, many reverses, many martyrdoms, and there may be many more. It is not for us to appoint the times and seasons, and to say when the year of the redeemed shall come. But never yet has mere success been the test of truth and love; and they have oftener been found in the dungeon, on the cross, at the stake, than in palaces of ease or upon thrones of power.

Truth and love will indeed at last triumph, for so it is appointed by Him who holds all power in heaven and in earth; but they will win their victory,—not through Jesuitical policy and machination, not by the decisions of councils or the bulls of Popes, not by political contests or any of the strifes of human ambition, not because one party happens to be physically more powerful than another, or to collect around it more of the influences which usually determine the ascendency of parties in the conflicts of men,—but by penetrating the human mind and heart as the light aud life thereof. Truth can really conquer only by entering human intellection and producing conviction; love can really conquer only by regenerating and purifying the heart, and reconciling it to God. Hence the real conquests of truth and love have been slow, but wherever made, permanent. Hence they have fluctuated according to the conditions of the world, the vigor of opposition, and the number, capacity, and faithfulness of the laborers in the harvest-field of the Lord. On the other hand, the great organizations of error with diabolical arts, with physical force, and with all the displays of splendor and of every thing that can flatter ambition, impose upon superstition, and fascinate sensuality, have with comparative ease extended their influence over nations and subjugated the masses.

But, although often reduced to the condition of pilgrims in the desert, or hunted as the partridge upon the mountains, or given over to bloody martyrdom, truth and love will continue to make their way until the earth shall be filled

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with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord in flowing waves of light, and peace on earth and good-will among men shall be established. They may not strive and cry in madness and violence, nor cause their voice to be heard in the street in the tumults of earthly conflicts; but pursuing their calm and benign course, they will not fail nor be discouraged until they have set righteousness in the earth.

II. As the question of present decline or ascendency is not the real question at issue between Romanism and Protestantism, so neither is the comparative antiquity of the two the real question.

A priori, we may argue upon the probability that the true religion, wherever found, was revealed at the beginning of the world, or then began to be revealed; and that therefore we are to look for its marks through the whole track of subsequent ages. But on the other hand, probabilities may be urged in favor of a delay of a revelation until a later period, after mankind had been left to the experience of a mere natural religion. Whatever might be the conclusion we should arrive at by such reasonings, it would still remain clear that the mere antiquity of a religion could not sustain its claim to be the true religion. Systems of error might originate very early, and indeed as a matter of positive history have originated very early. Brahminism and Buddhism run back to a very remote antiquity—so remote that Christianity, dating from the advent of Christ, is recent compared with them. The Greek mythology looks back to the parentage of the old heavens and the earth, when as yet man was not. The superstition of Egypt is as hoary as its pyramids. Mohammed established his dynasty as early as the Popes of Rome established their supremacy as Sovereign Pontiffs. Protestantism as a historical development is indeed modern—quite modern. It claims only three centuries. Nay, more, its development is not yet completed; as a system it is not yet perfected. But what is Protestantism? It has derived its name from a mere incident in its history—from a *protest* made at the Diet of Spires in 1529 against the revocation of a decision made at the Diet in 1526, granting liberty of opinion and worship to the Reformers. It was a protest against tyranny over thought and conscience. The protest contained an eternal principle, it was the assertion of an inalienable right, it was imbued with the very soul of Christianity. The name therefore, although incidental, was not inappropriate. But the incident does not contain the history of the whole movement, nor is its date the date of Protestantism as a religious

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system. Protestantism aimed, and still aims to overthrow the usurped supremacy of the Pope, to destroy the errors which ages of darkness and corruption brought into the world under the Christian name, to disenthrall thought and conscience from the tyranny of the priesthood, to set free the Bible to the use of all men, and to restore primitive Christianity—the doctrines and ordinances of Christ and his apostles.

Now it is possible for a religion to become corrupted—even Solomon introduced corruption into the worship of Israel; and if a religion become corrupted, then for its purification and for the restoration of the primitive condition, there must be a movement of reform. The date of this movement must, of course, be subsequent to the date of the corruption. The corrupt religion may be hoary with antiquity; the movement of reform may have begun but yesterday. This is the necessary order of events. That it began but yesterday is no evidence against its genuineness. That it is not yet completed does not prove that it is not a true work. Romanism is ancient, but it may not be as ancient as the apostolic age. Protestantism is recent, but it may be a return to the ancient and true Christianity. Romanism as history is very old, but its doctrines may fall short of the original authority. Protestantism as history is new, but its doctrines may reach back to the original authority. What then has their comparative historical antiquity to do with the question at issue between them? If we accept the old because it is old, we may accept the most enormous errors. Let us then accept Buddhism and Brahminism. Let us bow to the priests of China and India. If we reject the new because it is new, then we may reject the very reformation required—a new awakening of the human mind to regain the eternal truths which had been buried for ages under the dark masses of error and superstition.

III. Nor is the question at issue to be determined by comparing the compact organization and deep repose of Romanism with the loose array of the Protestant movement, and the conflicts and disorders attending it.

There has, unquestionably, been a vast deal of exaggeration as to the loose array, the conflicts and disorders of the Protestant movement; and much unjust reproach has been heaped upon the cause by the malice of its enemies.

The political combinations were not, indeed, always well organized; the powerful league of the German States under the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse, and its dissolution through want of an efficient head and united counsels, is an instance of this kind. But this disaster was more

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than retrieved by the politic address and military skill and energy of Maurice, which led to the treaty of Passau, securing for ever the religious freedom of Protestant Germany. In France, too, the Protestant organization was by no means despicable, since it comprised heroes, statesmen, men of learning, and the flower of the industrial classes; and was really prostrated only by such measures as the massacre of St. Bartholomew's, and the revocation of the edict of Nantz—by assassination and exile. Nor was it despicable in Holland, Scotland, and England. In Holland and Scotland the expurgation from Roman error and influence was complete. In England the long struggle with Romanism and semi-Romanism ended in the full establishment of the glorious Constitution by which the rights of man are secured throughout the British Empire. And it must never be left out of view, that the empire States of North America are borne up on the wave of Protestantism rolling westward.

Indeed the history of Protestantism is no mean history. It seems to us to make up the body and soul of the history of the last three hundred years—the most rich and remarkable period of all history; for the work of Protestants has been both to renew a primitive and pure Christianity, and to advance science, art, commerce, and the institutions of government. If Protestant inventions and discoveries in art and science, if Protestant constitutions of government, and legislation and jurisprudence, if Protestant literature, and Protestant great men in every department of life, were all expunged from history, what would Roman Catholic Germany, and France, and Italy, and Spain, and Portugal, and Ireland, and Mexico, and South America have to present to fill the void?

A similar review of the ecclesiastical organizations of Protestantism must lead us to similar conclusions. We admit, many disorders existed, and very extravagant forms of fanaticism prevailed more or less. According to Mr. Macaulay's showing, Rome would have politicly absorbed all these in her organization, and have artfully employed them to accomplish her ends, as in the case of Loyola. But Protestantism was aiming at the consolidation of no ancient system, and at the defense and safety of no ancient errors. She was aiming simply to gain freedom and a pure religion, and hence she combated with error and extravagance in her own ranks, no less than in the ranks of Rome. She was struggling not to build up a hierarchy, but to build up the truth of the gospel. We will not deny that there were exhibitions of that ignoble jealousy which is ever clinging to human nature; that

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there were oppositions and disruptions where there ought to have been nothing but friendship and harmony, as in the case of the followers of Luther and Zuinglius. We will not deny that even now such charges may be justly made against Protestants. Protestantism has not yet attained to perfection.

But, taking the whole movement together, there was organization and harmony in no insignificant degree. There would have been still more if the State had not thrust itself into the Church. The disorders and convulsions in the Protestant Church have had a political rather than an ecclesiastical origin. The history of the Church Establishment of England will afford an illustration.

Church organization shows itself in two things—doctrine and polity. Now in both these Protestantism has attained to organization. The assemblies and synods of the Protestants have been filled from the beginning of the Reformation until now with men of at least equal learning and dignity with those who have made up the great Councils of the Roman Church. The creeds and confessions which have proceeded from them will bear comparison with any thing that has ever proceeded from the Councils, whether viewed as clear and consistent expositions of Scriptural doctrine, or as systems of theology logically constructed and possessing unity. And this can be affirmed of them not only taken separately as proceeding from different bodies, but taken collectively as capable of being harmonized into one great creed and confession of Protestantism—represented by the leading, most numerous, and most influential denominations.

With respect to polity, Protestantism presents but two general phases. Under the one the ministry of the church are perpetuated through an episcopal function historically deduced from the apostles, and represented by an invariable rite. Under the other, they are perpetuated through a function of appointment of a more popular character, and exercised according to principles held to be plainly expressed in the gospel, without considering any historical deduction necessary to be authenticated. Under the first phase, there must be orderly appointment, the Church of Rome itself being judge. Under the second, there must be orderly appointment, if the authority of the gospel can be educed to sustain it. As a matter of history, the Protestant Churches, under both phases, have enjoyed the preaching of the gospel, Christian ordinances, and wholesome discipline. They certainly will bear comparison in all these respects with any Roman Catholic societies in the world. No one will say that the

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Roman Catholic parishes of Ireland are better ordered and exhibit finer forms of Christian character than the Episcopal parishes of England and the Presbyterian parishes of Scotland; or that the Roman Catholics of Mexico are better taught, better disciplined, and led into a more beautiful Christian life than the Congregationalists of New-England; or that the inhabitants of the Papal States, under the very shadow of St. Peter's, are more intelligent and in better religious training than the Protestants of Prussia or of the Swiss Cantons. The intellectual condition, the religious sentiments, and the habitual life of nations and communities are exposed to general observation. We say, look at the condition of a people where Romanism has ever had undisputed sway; look at the condition of a people where Protestantism is the acknowledged religion.

But although we might thus vindicate Protestantism from the imputation of extraordinary irregularity and confusion, we contend that the question at issue does not lie here.

Any system of religion which has prevailed for centuries, and comes to be an unquestioned authority, must hold the belief and sentiments of a people in repose. Every institution of society is permeated by it. Government and law feel its impress. Social life is filled with its spirit. Literature is the record of its legends, and is enlivened with its imagery. The arts represent it in forms of grandeur, awe and beauty. It has its temples hewn from the solid rock, its gigantic and monstrous gods of stone in India. It has its temples of ideal beauty and majesty, its gods of divine proportion and expression wrought in pure and delicate marble, in Greece. The very antiquity of the system, to the popular mind, clothes it with dignity and sacredness, and settles its truth. The ignorant and superstitious masses know of no other religion. They believe what has always been believed. They do not dream of questioning it. Its legends are sacred histories. Its errors are ancient truths. It consecrates every thing which it touches. The drunken song of the bacchanal is a hymn of praise to the god. Licentiousness is a mysterious rite of worship. The religion is every where; it overshadows all. The thoughts and passions and daily life of the people are full of it. Whatever is heroic and national, whatever is imposing and beautiful, whatever is active and productive, whatever is fascinating to the imagination, is covered with the marks of this religion. It possesses the heavens, the earth and the sea, the world that is, and the mysterious and dread world to come. Its priests are venerated as the messen-

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gers of the gods, clothed with superhuman authority; and its sacrifices and rites are communications with unseen powers. Here is repose, order, harmony. There are no conflicting sects, no noisy fanatics, no restless inquirers seeking to distinguish between truth and falsehood. There is universal and profound belief, universal and profound obedience. The reign of the priesthood is undisturbed. What can Rome claim for her ten centuries of triumphant rule, and calm repose, more perfect than this? Is it an evidence that she is divine? Then also is Mohammedanism divine, the classical mythologies, and the old religions of the East.

But a system of error, however long may have been its repose and its undisputed sway, may at length be attacked. The light of truth may at length break in upon the massive darkness. The first attack may be feeble, the first rays of truth faint and glimmering, so as to excite little attention, to be thrown into insignificance by smiles of ridicule and scorn, or repressed and extinguished by a slight exertion of authority.

But let some bold, energetic and eloquent apostle of truth appear, and begin to gather around him adherents; then will the old system take the alarm, and persecution and violence will ensue. There will now be agitation and uproar, and the whole community will begin to move in angry surges. The more vigorous the attack, the more clear and logical the exposition of truth, the more rapid the increase of the opposing party, the more successful the movement,—the more will the old system struggle to maintain itself, and seek to crush by force what it cannot master in argument. All revolutions are attended with agitation and conflict, and none more so than revolutions in religion. If we would have a purer system, a new order of things, we must submit to the inevitable conditions.

The reforming party are placed at every disadvantage in respect to position and circumstances. They have to bear the burden of the argument, and the reproaches which are ever fastened upon innovations. They have to maintain their cause without the supports of acknowledged precedents and authorities. They are without the patronage of the powerful, and they may be long in gaining the sympathy of the multitude. Old customs and popular usages are against them. They have no records in history, and no representations in art. They seem to be ruthlessly trampling upon whatever is beautiful and venerable. They seem to be presumptuously setting up individual and novel judgments against the collective and established wisdom of ages. They seem to

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be pulling down every thing, and setting up nothing. What are they but mockers at old and sacred things, disturbers of the public peace, schismatics, and reckless destroyers of institutions under which generations of men have quietly lived and died? Let them be put down at once, without mercy, say priests and rulers; and the angry multitudes echo, Put them down.

And yet the old system may be a system of error; revolution and reformation may be demanded; and these innovators who are thus aiming to upturn every thing, may be the servants of God enlightened from on high, and sent forth to introduce a new era of light and salvation into the world. Unless we assume that all that is old and established must be right, and all innovation must be wrong, the mere confusion and uproar of the Reformation and all the following struggles have no bearing upon the question between Romanism and Protestantism.

The greatest Innovator that ever appeared in our world was Jesus Christ himself. He aimed absolutely to abrogate the old, and to make all things new. He aimed to bring the temple and the sacrifices and the priesthood to an end, not as a system of error, indeed, but as a system which had nothing more to accomplish, and which was now to be supplanted by a higher dispensation. He aimed to destroy the national caste of the Jew, and to introduce a brotherhood of Jew and Samaritan and Gentile. He attacked without reserve the wisdom and sanctity of the Scribe and the Pharisee. He met the doctor of the law and the ruler of the people with the calm brow and the clear and unfaltering voice of truth. He threw himself upon the merits of his cause, and professed himself a radical innovator and reformer. What justified him? Simply, that he had truth on his side, and he had authority from heaven.

Christianity, introduced to the world by the apostles, was an innovation upon old and venerable institutions. No innovation ever attempted was so destructive of the old order of things. It is an amazing history this of the twelve apostles, poor and unknown, going out into the world to upturn all the religions of the world. How they were ridiculed, scorned and laughed at—they, a few ignorant, miserable fanatics, attacking these religions which had stood for mighty centuries, which celebrated their rites in majestic temples crowded by joyful worshippers bowing down before beautiful idols, which lived in the most glorious forms of art, which were the religions of ancient, powerful, and heroic nations, which had

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gathered around them history, philosophy, and poetry, which had been acknowledged from time immemorial by their fathers, by kings and heroes, by artists, poets, and philosophers! It is not to be wondered at, that when they first appeared they were objects of mere amusement, and the curious multitude cried out, "Let us hear what these babblers have to say." Nor is it to be wondered at, that as they produced a deeper and deeper impression, and the number of their adherents increased, they should have been met by violent opposition and rancorous persecution. They were reproached as disturbers of the public peace; they were unsettling old beliefs; they were invading sacred institutions; they were scattering abroad infamous doctrines; they were turning the world upside down. It is curious to read the language which elegant writers used in speaking of this new, wild, and despicable superstition. The elegant writers of Papal Rome, in speaking of the leaders of the Reformation, did not outdo the elegant writers of pagan Rome, in speaking of the apostles of Christ.

Indeed there is nothing with which the Reformers are reproached, with which the apostles and first missionaries of Christianity were not reproached. Even the collisions among the leaders, the mutual jealousies, the tendency to parties and sects, and to extravagant and reprehensible practices, may find a parallel in the apostolic age. Paul and Barnabas had a sharp contention and separated. Paul withstood Peter to the face, and rebuked him openly before the disciples. In the church at Corinth there arose parties, some claiming to be of Paul, some of Apollos, some of Cephas, and others yet more exclusive, of Christ. Women appeared in the public assemblies with uncovered heads, and assumed to teach. The Lord's supper was abused to the purposes of an ordinary feast. There was a tendency to renew the old idolatrous practices, and to indulge in former habits of licentiousness. And the mutual jealousies of Jews and Gentiles were a constant source of difficulty.

It is plain that the early Christian church experienced those trials and difficulties, and suffered from those evils which are ever incidental to revolutions and the introduction of new systems and doctrines.

Never since the first introduction of Christianity has an innovation been attempted of such magnitude, and likely to encounter such fearful impediments, as the Reformation, whether we consider the system to be changed, the extent of the change to be effected, or the instruments and means em-

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ployed to effect it. The system had been consolidating for ten centuries. It was interwoven with the history of Europe for that period. The Empire of Charlemagne, the conquest of the Normans, the romantic heroism of the Crusades, the institution of Chivalry, the orders of Knighthood, the expulsion of the Moors,—all that was glorious in history, all that formed the themes of romance and minstrelsy belonged to it. The land was filled with its gorgeous cathedrals, and its solemn religious houses. Its priests had attained the splendor and power of princes and nobles. They ruled the consciences of men, and at the same time seized the places of power in the State by which they ruled the earthly destinies of men likewise. Its head sat upon the throne of the Cæsars, and claimed both the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and supremacy over the kingdoms of this world. Like the ancient Grecian and Roman mythology, it called into its service all the power of the beautiful arts; and architecture and sculpture, and painting and music threw around its worship the fascinations of a refined sensualism. The old sacred places had returned, the old temples were rebuilt, and divine forms were seen again in marble and upon the canvass. It had, too, great institutions of learning and learned men. It begot a high degree of civilization and refinement. It was a system which unquestionably had gained possession of every thing in the present world; and if it could only establish its claim to have command also over the world to come, men had nothing to do but to submit to it.

But here was the point in which it might be vulnerable. Perhaps it could not establish this claim. This claim, indeed, was conceded, and it was because this was conceded, that nothing else was withheld. The Vicegerent of Christ must command every thing on earth. He who holds the keys of heaven is greater than all earthly princes.

It was just at this point that Protestantism made its attack upon the system. It questioned the claim. What did it aim to effect? It aimed to prove that the Pope was not Christ's Vicegerent, that he did not hold the keys of the kingdom of heaven. Was this all? Directly, this was all. The question arose upon the sale of indulgences by Tetzel. But it involved every thing. If the Pope is not Christ's Vicegerent and does not hold the keys, then, the Papal chair must be vacated; then, the Cardinal Princes must lay down their powers; then, the estates of the church must be given up; then, the supremacy over thrones must be relinquished; then, infallibility and purgatory are no longer of any avail to

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priestly dominion. Protestantism then aimed to overthrow the entire system by proving it a lie—a gross imposition upon the credulity of mankind; and to put in its place the most ancient church—the church of the apostolic age. Ambition and pride and splendor, the power and glory of the world, were arrayed against Protestantism. A struggle was therefore inevitable—a struggle that must convulse the whole of Europe.

But what were the means employed by the Protestants in carrying on the contest? Not war and civil commotion. These were merely incidental. They did not say, Come, let us decide the right by the sword; but they said, Come, let us decide it by an appeal to the Word of God. But Rome was by no means willing to make this appeal. The Pope, and the priesthood concentrated in him, claimed to have received the Word of God as their exclusive possession, together with the authority and a supernatural endowment to interpret it. They accordingly had interpreted it infallibly and for ever; and Romanism as developed and actually existing was the expression of that interpretation. How could Rome then submit to an appeal to the Word of God? She would not submit to have her claims questioned at all; much less to be brought under the judgment of that book, of which she claimed to be the true and only exponent. The great effort of Protestantism now came to be, to give the Word of God to all men, that the common judgment might rest upon the Divine teaching instead of the assumed authority of the priesthood. Protestantism said, Think, inquire, search the Scriptures. Rome said, Keep quiet, believe in things as they are; commit all to the church; she is the keeper of your conscience and the dispenser of your salvation. Protestantism said, How are we to know that you are the true church? We have always been, we are the only church. Are you as ancient as the apostles? We are the Holy Apostolic Church. Can you prove it from the Scriptures? The Scriptures affirm it as we interpret them, and we are the appointed and infallible interpreter. But you now beg the question—you assume to interpret the Scriptures because you are the true church, and then you interpret the Scriptures to prove that you are the true church. We do not submit to prove what has always been settled. We are the church, and there is no other.

And thus freedom of thought, and freedom of inquiry, and the right to search the Scriptures stood on one side; and absolute authority on the other. The one wielded arguments

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and Scripture proofs; the other, anathemas. Assuming that Romanism was an ancient system of error, and that Protestantism was searching for the truth, the battle had to be fought in just this way. The ancient system could not be attacked save by proclaiming the freedom of the human mind, by acknowledging no absolute authority but God's Word, and by calling upon all men to read it and judge accordingly. Hence there must arise discussion, and discussion may originate a variety of opinions, and array men into sects and parties. After that long slumber of thought, that long and blind submission to priestly authority, the first taste of freedom may set men wild, and there may come up rampant enthusiasts and fanatics, who shall seem to turn the world upside down. But we must submit to these liabilities, or suffer the old system to remain. We may hope that where a fair field for discussion is allowed, truth will at length come forth in fair proportions, all her scattered limbs collected, and re-united by a divine vigor inherent in her. But if we bow to the old absolute authority, we can hope for nothing further.

Let the enemies of Protestantism expatiate, therefore, as they please upon the beautiful order and repose of ancient Romanism, and upon the disorder attendant upon the Reformation;—it is plain that the merits of the question at issue cannot be decided upon this ground.

IV. Nor yet can the question at issue be decided upon a general claim to possess Catholic Unity.

By Catholic Unity we mean two things: a unity of doctrine and system—an interior and logical unity; and a unity of consent and belief—an exterior and historical unity. Now the Roman Church claims to possess both; and it affirms also that Protestantism is deficient in both—nay, that it even seems falling to pieces.

The unity of Romanism as a system may well be disputed. It can be shown that many of its cardinal tenets were not known in the early stage of its existence,—and especially if we yield its full claim of antiquity,—such as the celibacy of the clergy, the worship of Mary, the veneration of images and relics, the infallibility and supremacy of the Pope, and the state of purgatory. Again, it can be shown that there has ever been a great variety of opinion as to its distinctive tenets. The Papal supremacy and infallibility, the relative authority of Popes and Councils, the doctrines of the Eucharist, extreme unction, image worship, purgatory, and the celibate have been widely discussed, and with conflicting

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conclusions. Different Popes have given opposite decisions respecting heresies. In the great Western Schism there were two Popes at the same time dividing the homage of the church. The Franciscans and Dominicans were ever at war respecting the Immaculate Conception of the Holy Virgin. The Roman system, therefore, exhibits a variation by addition of doctrines and practices, the conflicts of parties, the agitations of debate, and all the fluctuations of opinion which usually attend upon them. There has been change, addition, progress, and retrogression. Hence, it may be difficult to make out a compact and logical unity.

The historical unity—the fact of a general submission to the authority of the church—an authority exercised by the priesthood—has been more perfect. The priesthood might disagree about doctrines and practices, but they have never disagreed as to their own supremacy, whether represented by Popes or Councils. The stolid multitudes, in whom free thought was extinguished, had one simple point of union—obedience to the church. And yet four great revolutions—those depicted by Macaulay—have taken place in the very bosom of the church. Those which have been suppressed were suppressed not by the mere moral force of the church, but by calling in the physical force of the State. Protestantism in the history of the church is a secession of one third of its members.

On the other hand, unity cannot be justly denied to Protestantism. Its proclamation of freedom of thought and conscience, and consequent religious toleration; its acknowledgment of the Word of God as the supreme rule of faith and practice—as the ultimate authority; the mission it has assumed of distributing it to all mankind; and its positive denial of what has been introduced by the Church of Rome without warrant found in the Scriptures, form a consistent unity of fundamental principles. But in addition to this, a comparison of the chief confessions and creeds of the Protestants—those most generally received—will give the most perfect unity of doctrine that has ever been attained in the Christian church since the days of the apostles. Varieties in phraseology, and minor differences in doctrine may be found; but the Protestant view of the scheme of salvation, embracing the doctrines of the Trinity, the incarnation, the atonement, regeneration, justification by faith, the life of faith, love and duty, the resurrection, general judgment, and final retribution, presents a unity of system which cannot be gainsaid.

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Nor does the existence of many denominations destroy the historical unity of Protestantism. Denominationalism is a result of freedom of choice as to minor points entirely consistent with a unity of faith as to fundamental points. Hence the different denominations do in general recognize each other as members of the church universal. It is variety in unity, and not exclusiveness and opposition. If it be regarded as an evil, it is only an incidental evil. But we are not prepared to call it an evil; it is rather a necessary fact in the progress of human opinion—in the legitimate advance of knowledge. If, in the view of any body of men, a tenet rejected by others appears essential to the integrity of faith, or, at least, so dear a belief that it cannot without an offense to conscience be thrown into the shade, then a particular denomination springs into existence upon that tenet. And wherever such cases exist, there is a tendency to new denominations. There cannot but be such tendencies where there is freedom of opinion. In its moral effects, too, it opposes a barrier to a vast tyrannical external organization, where a vital life is exchanged for an iron mechanism. Protestantism distributed into several denominations, is really akin to the primitive age when the churches were designated by their localities, and even by the private dwellings in which they were not unfrequently collected. It can be shown, too, that the unity of Protestantism is capable of a much more perfect development than it has yet attained; that the oppositions and conflicts which too often have unhappily existed, have been inconsistent with its acknowledged principles; and that its ties of brotherhood can be drawn closer and closer until all come together in the perfect fellowship of Christ. The capacity of the system for historical unity, and the failure fully to develop that capacity, is a distinction important to be made. And in the last place, it can be shown that this development is advancing.

But while we are not willing to concede to Rome all that she claims of unity, nor to admit what she affirms of Protestant disunion, we contend that our comparative unity is by no means the point at issue between us.

Truth indeed, whenever found, will exhibit unity. Unity belongs to truth. But error has unity likewise. Brahminism, Buddhism, Gnosticism, Mohammedanism, Pantheism, all possess unity; that is, they have some radical principle, some *proton pseudos*, from which their multifarious errors radiate. A general consent or historical unity is always gained where the unthinking multitude are imbued with

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superstition and fanaticism, and brought under the control of a vast external organization, whether civil and military or ecclesiastical, and especially where there is a compound of both, drawing around it both the pride and splendor of worldly state and the solemn pomps and awful mysteries of religion. Where this is perpetuated from age to age until the shadows of antiquity cover its origin, and marvellous legends and imposing monuments of art bind it to household and national sentiments and cause it to fill the popular imagination, its mastery is complete, and nothing less than a convulsive revolution can break the charm by which it holds its votaries. No religions are more remarkable for their historical unity than Mohammedanism and the religions of India and China. They can even claim in this respect no less than Romanism itself. The consent is as general, as strong and earnest, and has endured through a longer sweep of ages.

Now in order to comprehend the Protestant movement, we are not to seek at once for its logical or its historical unity. Protestantism instituted first of all a search after the true religion. It searched through the history of the church, and the writings of the Fathers, but more than all, it searched the Scriptures. Luther had found the true way of salvation from reading the Scriptures. The sale of indulgences called him forth as a public reformer. He did not set about creating a new sect, or logically constructing a new creed. At first, he did not dream even of separating himself from the Roman Church. He saw corruption in the Church; he witnessed flagrant ungodly practices under the name of religion, and he aimed to do his part like an honest and faithful man, for purification and correction. He did not see all the errors when he commenced Reformer. He did not calculate where his efforts would lead him. He did not conjecture what was coming out of all this work. He did just what his hand found to do on the day, at the hour. But his acquaintance with the condition of the church enlarged, as his observations multiplied and extended. He was daily seeing more of men and things. His knowledge of God's Word, too, grew more perfect by study. He himself, it may be, became more spiritually-minded, more keen-sighted, and in every way better fitted for his work. He grew as his work grew. The reformer himself came out of the bosom of the corrupt church; his own character and capabilities, therefore, must develop gradually. The work of reformation is an attempt to make changes in that which had been standing for centuries: who shall see at once where to begin or how best to

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manage the work? Luther is in himself a type of the Reformation, the representative of the men who conducted the Reformation. The Reformation must grow into being, as his mind and heart grow into the gospel system; and the men who become his co-workers must undergo a change similar to his own. If the church be in error, and we are to have a reformation at all, it must come about in this very way,—as a result of many circumstances,—a natural, spontaneous outgrowth. It could not be the work of a party completely formed and consolidated, with its doctrines all settled, its creeds written out, its arguments prepared, its plan of attack defined, like that of a disciplined army, marching to besiege a fortress. There was no such party, and it could not be created by a word. One mind first gained some light; one honest heart was aroused by the enormous abuse of indulgences; and then one voice boldly spoke out. Other minds were thinking and feeling too, but with different degrees of clearness and intensity. Perhaps no one else was just then prepared to speak out. It was a great matter even to think against such an ancient, powerful, and awful religionism. But if any dare to think, who will be so presumptuous as to utter his thoughts? There is one found who does speak. The spell of interdiction seems broken. Now others begin to speak also. Speech quickens thought. Thought leads to more observation and examination. The Holy Scriptures are appealed to, and men begin to use the long-forgotten books of inspiration. Pure gospel doctrines are revived. The more ancient Fathers are read in connection with the apostolical writings. The Word of God is compared with the voice of the church in all ages. The rise of the great apostasy is perceived, its gradual growth is noted, its full development discerned. The men who began with the idea of reforming certain abuses, find that Rome will yield nothing—that she is bent upon maintaining her grand hierarchical organization and supremacy. Then separation is seen to be the only remedy. There must be a new church, or rather a return to the church of Christ and his apostles. This now becomes the leading idea—to restore primitive doctrine and polity. Protestantism is driven to assume the burden of the argument, and to enter upon the gigantic labor of investigating evidences; of expatiating through the whole field of history, to eliminate legends and to find the true course of events; of expatiating through the whole field of theology, to eliminate false philosophies and human dogmas, and to find the faith of the early church; of studying the languages [in

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which the sacred books were originally written, and of collating manuscripts to settle the genuine text and to determine the canon of Scripture; and finally, the labor of fixing the true principle of interpretation, so that men may know what God has revealed. To effect this, it became necessary to proclaim freedom of thought and freedom of investigation, so that all who felt disposed might take part in the great and glorious work. The only unity with which they could begin was the unity of a grand idea, the unity of a rational, holy, and most needed purpose. The logical and historical unity could be looked forward to only as a result to be attained by unconstrained thought and discussion. Nor could any one predict with certainty how long a sweep of time would be required to realize this. Milton in his day uttered these noble words: "Truth indeed came once into the world with her Divine Master, and was a perfect and most glorious shape to look on; but when he ascended, and his apostles after him were laid asleep, then straight arose a wicked race of deceivers, who—as the story goes of the Egyptian Typhon with his conspirators, how they dealt with the good Osiris—took the virgin Truth, hewed her lovely form into a thousand pieces, and scattered them to the four winds. From that time ever since, the sad friends of truth, such as durst appear imitating the careful search that Isis made for the mangled body of Osiris, went up and down, gathering up limb by limb still as they could find them. We have not yet found them all, nor ever shall do, till her Master's second coming: he shall bring together every joint and member, and shall mould them into an immortal feature of loveliness and perfection. To be still searching what we know not by what we know, still closing up truth to truth as we find it,—for all her body is homogeneal and proportional,—this is the golden rule in theology as in arithmetic, and makes the best harmony of a church; not the forced and outward union of cold, and neutral, and inwardly divided minds."

This is the great mission of Protestantism—to collect the scattered limbs of truth, using free research and free speech. By the only legitimate method, Protestantism is seeking for the most perfect unity. The golden rule of theology announced by Milton, is the rule by which genuine Protestantism, rightly understood, has ever worked, and is working now—"still searching what we know not by what we know, still closing up truth to truth as we find it."

Protestantism discusses every thing. She discusses the claims of the hierarchy and every form of polity. She dis-

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cusses the evidences of Christianity, and meets every form of infidelity. She discusses all philosophies, and every form of theological dogma. She enters boldly into every field of investigation that stands connected with her great work—philology, hermeneutics, antiquities, history and geography. Truth fears no inquiry, is startled by no test. As in the science of nature the true philosopher searches for facts and laws, knowing full well that the Author of nature has taken care of her consistencies and harmonies; so in the system of religion, the true theologist searches for what God has revealed, knowing full well that there will be no want of consistency and harmony in the perfected knowledge. It is not for us to invent a system and then to compel the words of Scripture into an agreement with it; but to receive the words of Scripture with a clear, simple, and unbiased understanding, and to trust them to make out their own system. Protestantism is the same free spirit in religion, that the Baconian philosophy is in science.

By liberal investigation and free discussion all kinds of knowledge are advanced, and common systems of law, medicine, politics, and science generally are gained. The same principle governs in theology. Owing to the weakness of human nature, appearing in the prejudices of ancient opinions and of parties, and to the more or less thoroughness of investigation and consequent perfection of knowledge, there will necessarily arise different schools and sects both in the sciences generally, and in theology in particular. These schools and sects are not to be suppressed by arbitrary enactment, or by physical force, for these are not rational methods of dealing with human opinion. Thought and faith are not a blind and helpless submission to human power. It is only by giving the widest scope to thought and inquiry, and by multiplying the helps of correct knowledge, that a genuine unity either in scientific or religious knowledge can be attained.

We accept Protestantism, therefore, with its conflicts and denominationalism. The great question between us and Rome does not merge itself into a question of unity. If Rome has unity, it is but a unity arising from a grim authority exercised over ignorance and superstition, and frowning upon all free inquiry. Protestantism is the very spirit of free inquiry—a free inquiry after truth. We are not anxious about unity, because we know it ever follows in the path of free inquiry, and becomes more perfect as free inquiry advances. We are intent upon finding God's truth, and in that we shall have unity enough. We have succeeded in giving the Bible

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to the world. It is not possible that it should be wrenched from the hands which possess it, and again put under the lock and key of the priests.

This is enough for us. Now we are sure that Protestantism cannot decline, but must ever advance, and that with an increasing ratio. All we desire is, that men should possess the Bible, and be thus all taught of God. God's truth is intended for men, his method of teaching is adapted to men. Under this potent influence and the dispensation of the Spirit which ever attends it, ignorance will depart, prejudice will be eradicated, the shadows of superstition be dispersed, and "the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea." While men can have free access to the Bible, it is as absurd to talk of the decline of Protestantism, as it would be to talk of the decline of astronomy while men are permitted to study mathematics, and to turn their telescopes towards the unclouded heavens.

We have thus shown what are not the questions at issue between Romanisn and Protestantism: it remains only to show what are the questions at issue. These really are only two: Whether all men have a right to possess and read the Bible? and whether each man has a right to exercise his private judgment in deciding upon the doctrines which it contains, and the duties which it enjoins?

If the first be granted, then we grant also that every man may avail himself of all the helps within his reach in making up his judgment as to the contents of the Bible. He may make use of all kinds of learning that relate to the subject; he may read all the books, ancient and modern, that have been written upon the contents of the Bible; he may consult all confessions and creeds; he may resort to all living teachers. And if he find in the Bible itself clear and explicit directions as to the manner and the spirit of conducting his inquiries—such as comparing Scripture with Scripture—such as reading with much meditation and prayer—then he must obey these directions first of all. This no one will dispute. But the decision at which he at last arrives, if he exercise the right of private judgment, must be the free decision of his own mind, the result of his own perceptions and convictions, and not the mere repetition of words which a human authority has imposed upon him.

Men may indeed form erroneous decisions respecting Scripture, as they do on other subjects where the right of private judgment is acknowledged. And they are responsible in the same way. To the Author of the Bible each one is account-

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able. Before the great Master each one standeth or falleth. The right of private judgment we take to be a right inherent in an intelligent, free, and moral being.

Both questions may be presented as follows: When Christ taught on earth publicly, had all the multitude whom he addressed a right to hear him? had every one of the multitude a right to form his own conclusions respecting what he heard? or, were they bound to commit the hearing of the words, and the conclusions to be drawn from them, to some individual or individuals clothed with authority for this purpose? And now that we have the words perpetuated to us in writing, may we read and judge for ourselves, or is there a mediatory authority to which we must defer?

If both points were granted by the Church of Rome, and she were to say at once, all men may read and judge for themselves, then we should all stand in the same relation to her that we do to the several Protestant denominations. We should indeed dissent from many of her doctrines, but our whole discussion with her would be as to the meaning of the Scriptures. And if by an appeal to this authority she could substantiate the Pope's supremacy, the worship of the Virgin and the saints, transubstantiation, prayer for the dead, and purgatory, penance and priestly absolution, indulgences, and all her peculiar tenets, then she would gain a legitimate victory. Only let us have a free Bible and a free judgment, and then if the whole world becomes Roman Catholic, there is nothing more to be said.

But it is at this very point that Rome meets us with her antagonism. She forbids a free Bible and a free judgment. And what does she teach? Why, that the Bible is not given to all men directly, but to the church as represented by Popes and Councils—by the priesthood; that no private judgment is admissible, but that the church is supernaturally endowed to interpret the Bible and to communicate its doctrines to the people. This church, an infallible and authoritative teacher, stands in direct communication with men, and her voice is to be heard and obeyed. It matters not whether she has deduced it from the Bible, or received it by tradition, or evolved it by the judgment of Popes and Councils: whatever she has decided upon as doctrine and duty, is to be received by the people as of unquestionable authority. God has appointed her to this office, has endowed her with these functions, has committed to her head as his own vicegerent the keys of the kingdom of heaven. Men, therefore, have only to hear and obey the church.

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But how shall each individual reach the teaching of the church? Each one cannot go to the Pope and hear his voice. But suppose it were possible; then the Pope could do no more than deliver himself in words as did Christ and his apostles, and all who heard would of necessity exercise their private judgment in comprehending his meaning, as did the hearers of Christ and his apostles in comprehending their meaning, and as we do now when we read the gospels and the apostolic epistles. Private judgment then would not in this case be dispensed with.

But shall each one examine for himself the decrees of the Popes and the decisions of the Councils? This again is not possible to the people at large. Suppose, however, it were possible. Then here also would be an exercise of private judgment, and, it may be, a far more difficult and hazardous exercise of it than in reading outright the gospels and the apostolic epistles.

But, as we said, the teaching of the church cannot be reached by the people through Popes and Councils. How then? Each one reaches it through his *confessor*. There are myriads of priests; and so every Roman Catholic is furnished with a confessor. Through his confessor the church speaks to him. Are all these priests so well instructed in the infallible teachings of the church, and so remarkably endowed, as to give these teachings infallibly? This must be presumed, or the church's infallibility can be of no avail to profit the members. But every one of these myriads of priests, of every grade of education, and of every variety of character, must exercise his private judgment in respect to all that he reads in the canons of the church, and all that he hears from the superior orders. Indeed, there must be an abundance of private judgment on the part of the priesthood, unless each priest is assumed to be inspired in all that he utters in the way of interpreting the language of Popes and Councils. But in this case the members of the church are no better off than those who originally heard prophets and apostles, or those who read their writings now, except that the priests may be thought to speak more clearly and intelligibly. Whether the priest utter his own private judgment of what the Church Universal has spoken, or whether he utter a judgment under divine inspiration, he whom he instructs must form his private judgment of the meaning of the priest's words. It appears, thus, that if there really be instruction given in any supposable manner, private judgment cannot be wholly precluded. Indeed, the entire abrogation of private judgment where any

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fact, truth, or point of faith is communicated and received, is an utter absurdity. The communication must be made in a proposition, of which both the person stating it and the person receiving it must form a private judgment; otherwise, the communication is not made. It is not in the power of Romanism, therefore, utterly to abrogate private judgment. But it is possible to limit it. The subjects, the mode and extent of investigation, the authorities to be consulted, may be prescribed. It may be said, Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther; and, This is the way in which thou shalt go; go not to the right hand nor to the left. If private judgment cannot be abrogated, the *free* exercise of it can be denied and prevented.

This is just what Romanism does—this is her leading principle. She forbids the exercise of private judgment upon the Holy Scriptures. This is the first and most important limitation. Now her members cannot bring a divine and supreme authority against her doctrines and practices. She thus makes herself the supreme authority. The next important limitation is to bring the judgment of every member under the immediate control of the priest. All his thoughts, his doubts and difficulties must be submitted to the priest, who guards every avenue through which dangerous light might enter, and checks every forward speculation. And as the priests are by due subordination connected with a central authority which is absolute, she, by this organization, maintains her supremacy over thought and conscience.

Two great principles became thus at once established, expressed in propositions so simple that private judgment in receiving them has no chance for diversity: the supremacy of the church in general, and the supremacy of the priestly confessor as the immediate representative and organ of the church. Then there are a few grand tenets, closely connected with the supremacy of the church and the authority of the priest, stated with equal explicitness. Their design is to commit the whole work of the soul's salvation to the church, so that salvation shall be impossible out of the church. This work is accomplished by three things: regeneration, whether taken as a spiritual change or an organic union with the church; a constant sustentation of the religious life, whether taken as an inward spiritual life or an unbroken recognition of the organic union; and the forgiveness of sins, or absolution. Now all these belong to the church, and are administered in particular to each individual by the priest. By baptism the priest regenerates. By transubstan-

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tiating the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, and by dispensing the wafer to the people, he sustains in every member the religious life. By the confessional, connected with penances and prayers to the Virgin and the saints, and offerings to the church, all which he has power to prescribe, he administers absolution, or the pardon of sin. But the power does not cease here. There is the state of purgatory, where the soul may be subjected to severer penances after it has left the body, and through which it obtains its final absolution previous to its entrance into heaven. This state of purgatory is also under the power of the church, and souls are held there or dismissed at pleasure. And penances, prayers and offerings may not only avail for one's own benefit in procuring remission or indulgence, but also for the benefit of others. Hence the great system of masses and prayers for the dead.

The priest thus commands the present life and the life to come; while the ceremony of extreme unction forms a connecting link between the two.

The manner in which private judgment is limited and controlled by this system is plain enough. The human intelligence is tasked no farther than to receive the bald statements: The church is supreme, the priest must be obeyed, baptism makes one a Christian, the bread and wine are changed by the priest into the body and blood of Christ, the penances and prayers prescribed must be performed and said, the confessional must be visited and absolution received, the mass must be attended, extreme unction must be ministered to the dying, masses must be said for the souls in purgatory. And these are further represented under the imagery of the ceremonial.

But it is not permitted to question the character of these tenets and observances, or to seek whether the authority which ordains them is really a final and adequate authority. The church must be received as the only true church—the most ancient church—the church apostolical and holy. No free inquiry may seek to compare her claims with the Holy Scriptures, for she has assumed to be their sole interpreter. To doubt, to question, is sinful. An absolute and passive faith is demanded. But since the human mind is prone to a prurient curiosity, and may, in spite of all interdiction, raise inquiries, and finally run into disbelief and rebellion, there must also be connected with this system a physical power sufficient to crush such attempts, and to enforce obedience. It will be a wise thing to keep the people in ignorance, for ignorance

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is the parent of a passive faith, and a diffusion of knowlege tends inevitably to awaken inquiry. This physical power, therefore, is necessary also for regulating the condition of the people.

In accordance with these necessities, Romanism claims in the person of the Pope, as Christ's Vicegerent, to have dominion over the governments of the earth. Hence, when in her full power and glory, she never met her opponents with arguments, but with wrath and extermination. So, likewise, it was not by stimulating investigation and elevating men to liberal thinking, that she made her converts, but by commissioning the swords of conquerors to sustain her priesthood. It was thus that Charlemagne converted the Saxons, and Spain the Mexicans and Peruvians. Where she could not send the sword, she sent missionaries with consummate art to accommodate her system to the superstitions of the heathen. Witness her missionaries in China and Japan. The crucifix and the sword have been her instruments, and not the gospel and schools for the people.

Now Protestantism in her vital principle is a protest against unthinking belief. She began her career by questioning the validity of the tenets imposed by Rome. And when Rome held up her authority as the ground of her tenets, then Protestantism questioned the authority itself. She said to Rome, "You affirm that the Pope is Christ's vicegerent, and that the Roman Church is the church instituted by the apostles. Now prove these things by the words of Christ and his apostles."

We all know how that Rome did not rejoin by opening the Bible, and saying, Search for yourselves: here you will find the sufficient evidence. But she anathematized the Reformers, and called upon kings and emperors to put them down. She attempted to renew an Albigensian crusade. She would have mingled the ashes of Luther with the ashes of Huss and Jerome of Prague. The princes of Germany stood up for the right. They said, "This man shall be protected in making his appeal to the Scriptures. The claims of the church shall be tested by the Word of God. The Bible shall no longer be locked up, and thought shall be free." The peace of Passau secured to the Protestants of Germany freedom to read the Word of God, and freedom to think. The battle of the Boyne secured it finally in the mighty empire of Britain. Gustavus Adolphus sealed the triumphant cause with his blood for the north of Europe. Long suppressed in France by the most remorseless tyranny, it returned as a signal of

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hope amid the new order of things which followed the Revolution—that terrible reaction of the people against civil and ecclesiastical oppression. It is secured now in the best and most powerful nations of Europe. It is secured in the thirty-one States and the six territories of North America, stretching from ocean to ocean.

Where Rome still maintains her power absolute, she excludes the Bible—she puts down the right of private judgment. It has become a saying in every body's mouth, "When Pio Nono fled from Rome, the Bible entered; when Pio Nono returned, he drove out the Bible." While England and America suffer the priests of Rome to have free access, and to establish the Romish worship freely among the Roman Catholics, and even to do whatever they please to make converts in a lawful way, the Pope shuts the English chapel out of the gates of Rome, and after a struggle allows the little American chapel to remain within the gates, on condition that no effort is made to convert Italians. There must be no talk with the Italians about religion; no Bible must be given them.

In a country like ours, where thought and speech are so free, and where Bibles are so plentiful, the priests have a difficult part to act. But it is evident to every one who bestows attention upon the subject, that the great effort is to keep down private judgment, and to keep the Roman Catholics apart from Bible influence. The effort, of course, is successful in general only with immigrants who have not yet been quickened by the spirit of our institutions. As these immigrants are constantly pouring in, the priests have much work to do. No one, however, can be doubtful of the result. The poor, wretched multitudes come here to purge off their gloom in the orient beams of freedom.

There is one disadvantage under which Romanism is placed in our day in many countries, and which would go far to prove her decline were we disposed to enter upon the argument; and that is, that she is compelled to submit her claims to those tests which she denies and deprecates. For example, it has been openly, and truly with much apparent candor, avowed by a high authority, that her object is to convert "the inhabitants of these United States—the people of the cities and the people of the country, the officers of the navy and the marines, commanders of the army, the legislatures, the senate, the cabinet, the President, and all." Now, in doing this she will have to prove that she is the true apostolical church by making her appeal to the Scriptures, and by call-

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ing upon us to exercise our private judgments; and then she will have to prove from the Scriptures, calling upon our private judgments again, all her peculiar tenets, or that what is not contained in the Scriptures the Scriptures have given her authority to ordain. Of necessity she cannot bring us to receive her as the infallible church and the infallible interpreter of the Bible, unless she can satisfy us as to her claims. Now, this is a new position for her to take, and a very fair one. We freely grant she will be entitled to all the success she meets with in this way. But now she must calculate what the effects of this method are likely to be. Accustomed as we have been to appeal to the Scriptures, and to exercise our private judgments, and called upon to do so again by herself on a question which involves so much, we may find that the great doctrines of salvation are as clearly stated by Christ and his apostles as she can state them herself, only that there is a wide difference in the matter of the statement. We may find that the doctrine of regeneration by the Holy Spirit is as clearly stated as she states regeneration by priestly baptism; that the forgiveness of sins granted by God only through faith in a crucified Redeemer, is as clearly stated as she states forgiveness granted by the priest, through penances, offerings, and confessions; that Christ is stated as clearly to be the only Intercessor as she states the intercession of the saints; that the eucharist is as clearly stated without involving transubstantiation as she states transubstantiation; that Christ himself is as clearly stated to be the only Head of his church as she states the Pope to be the head; that the marriage of bishops is as clearly stated as she states their celibacy; that the unlawfulness of making additions to the written Word of God, or taking away from it, and of receiving any other gospel than that preached by the apostles, is as clearly stated as she states her additional tenets of purgatory, of worship to the Virgin Mary and the saints, of venerating relics and images, and whatever else in her teaching transcends the teaching of the Scriptures; and that Christ states his kingdom to be not of this world as clearly as she claims an earthly dominion.

In addition to this, she must calculate upon the influence which the attempt to convert us in this way must exert over her own members. They may catch the infection, and turn to consult the Scriptures and to exercise their private judgments likewise. They will hear the noise of the discussion, and the arguments broached on both sides will fly about by means of newspapers and tracts, and will be repeated from

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mouth to mouth. And since she has no physical force here by which to restrain her members, and to compel them to obedience, she may find as much difficulty in meeting the newly-awakened inquirers within her own pale as to convert those who are without.

This is certainly a new experiment for the Church of Rome, and upon which the history of the middle ages can give her no light.

All that we Protestants have to say is, that we desire most earnestly to see such a discussion going on. We have no objections that Rome should attempt to convert us where we have an unlimited use of the Bible and a free private judgment. On the other hand, the great charity which we wish to do her members is to place the Bible in their hands, and to arouse them to use their private judgments; and we intend to exert ourselves to the utmost to do them this charity.

Here, as we have shown, is the great question at issue between us. We Protestants contend for freedom to read the Word of God, and freedom to judge of it. Rome has ever resisted this. Where she can, she now positively forbids it. But in this free and happy country she is compelled to submit to it. She is going to convert us, and she can meet us on no other ground. She will struggle hard indeed to keep her own members from this ground, but so far from succeeding, she will by her very attempts to convert us help to place them where we stand. If, however, she were to give up her purpose of converting us, we can never give up our purpose of circulating the Bible, and calling upon our fellow-men to read and think. This is our mission. In accomplishing this we gain our victory. We are willing to be ourselves whatever God's Word and free thought shall make us. We desire our fellow-men to be only what God's Word and free thought shall make them. Let that creed prevail, let that sect prevail, let that destiny of the social system and of nations be achieved, let that form of character be predominant, let that heaven and immortality be gained, which the Word of God reveals to free and enlightened souls.

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ART. II.—SYSTEMATIC BENEFICENCE.

The Mission of the Church; or, Systematic Beneficence. By Rev. EDWARD A. LAWRENCE, Marblehead, Mass. Published by the American Tract Society, New-York. Pp. 163.

WE gratefully acknowledge our obligations to the author of this little volume that he has employed his pen in producing it, and to the American Tract Society for its timely publication. It is among the auspicious signs, that the subject of systematic beneficence is both attracting more attention than formerly, and is better understood. There is throughout Protestant Christendom an annual increase of the offerings cast into the treasury of the Lord. The enterprises which Christian benevolence has originated are prosecuted with comparative vigor, and the church begins to look for the subjugation of the world to the Messiah. But while we acknowledge with pleasure the prevailing zeal for the diffusion of the gospel, we are under the painful necessity of affirming that Christians generally are falling immeasurably short of their duty in the great cause. Here and there are to be found "devout men," who do honor to the Christian name. They "live not to themselves, but to Him who died for them, and rose again." They are deeply penetrated with the sentiment that they are the Lord's, and that all pertaining to them is his also. Acting under this impression, their contributions to the cause of benevolence are equal to their ability. Such men are stars of the first magnitude.

But can this be said of an overwhelming majority of professed Christians? Do they practically recognize the fact that they are "bought with a price?" Does the "love of Christ constrain" them? Do they regard themselves as stewards of God? Is the truth deeply engraved on their hearts that their property is lent to them by the Supreme Proprietor of all things, and that they are required to use it for his glory? Do they view it as a talent committed to them, which honesty and fidelity forbid their "laying up in a napkin," or expending in such a manner as to gratify "the lust of the eye and the pride of life?" Alas for the church, that these questions cannot receive an affirmative answer! Thousands who are called by the name of Christ feel so little interest in the prosperity of his kingdom, that they do not

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pretend to make regular pecuniary contributions to promote its enlargement. They seem to forget that it is written, "To him"—the Messiah, that is, to the advancement of his cause—"shall be given of the gold of Sheba." They do not understand the art of inscribing "Holiness to the Lord" on every article of property they possess. Hence many of them give nothing to the cause of God, and others are altogether irregular in their donations. Their contributions, when made at all, are made under the promptings of momentary feeling, and to expect them to give systematically would betray an utter ignorance of the philosophy of impulse. They do not act from principle. No certain calculations can be made in reference to them. Our benevolent societies know not what to expect from them. Of just what proportion in the churches this may be true it is impossible to say, but certainly such a state of things renders decidedly opportune the publication before us on Systematic Beneficence; and we take great pleasure in commending it to the favorable regard of the Christian public.

The book contains three chapters, the first of which treats of the "Elementary Principles of Beneficence." The "elements of Christian beneficence" are shown to be—1. An intelligent spirit. 2. A diffusive spirit. 3. An equitable spirit. 4. A benevolent spirit. 5. A self-denying spirit. 6. A spirit of grateful love. 7. A spirit of prayer. Under all these subdivisions of his subject, the author says much which is well worthy of consideration. We have been deeply impressed with his remarks on the "diffusive spirit" of Christian beneficence, and we cannot forego the pleasure of giving the following extract:—

The spirit of Christian beneficence neither halts nor hesitates at geographical boundaries. Contiguity of guilt and misery has the advantage only as affording opportunity for speedier relief. Hence, the faintest sigh of want, and the softest wail of sorrow, from whatever source they come, touch a responsive chord in the soul of the benevolent man, and vibrate there as the voice of God.

Thus diffusive is the spirit of Christian beneficence. Her "field is the world." Her own nature allows her no narrower limits as the sphere of her action, and the circle of the globe no wider one. With "Onward" for her motto, she shrinks from no region however rigorous, and from no clime however sultry or remote. No barbarism is too rude, and no forms of error too venerable for her assailment. No human condition is so degraded and no misery so woful, no wretchedness is so appalling and no terror so intimidating, as to check her flowing sympathy or daunt her adventurous courage. The arm of power may be raised to protect or to repel her, yet, with her eye upturned to the throne of the Eternal, and her hand fast hold of the cross, she goes forth to her work. See the illustration of her diffusive energy in the propagation of primitive Chris-

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tianity, which, in less than three centuries, she made the sole accredited religion of the civilized world. See her too, in this age, planting her standard amid the snows of Greenland, and on the burning sands of India. She is unfurling the banner of the cross in every quarter of the globe. She is climbing the snow-clad sides of the Himmaleh and the Andes, crossing the Rocky Mountains and ranging the coasts of the Pacific, bearing in one hand the torch of truth, and pointing with the other to the Lamb of God. Nor will she rest till every son and daughter of Adam is blessed by the gospel, and the whole earth smiles with the beauty and verdure of heaven. (Pp. 13, 14.)

To show that the spirit of Christian beneficence is an *equitable* spirit, our author observes :—

Every man is *a steward* of God. All that he possesses is committed to him in trust, with the injunction, "Occupy till I come." At a future day it will be said, "Give an account of thy stewardship." Of every one who hides his Lord's money by hoarding, or embezzles it by squandering, it shall be said, "Bind the unprofitable servant, and cast him into outer darkness." He, on the other hand, who employs it for the glory of his Master, and the good of mankind, shall receive the faithful servant's approval, "Enter thou into the joy of thy Lord." (Pp. 14, 15.)

This is solemn and impressive language. Equity and honesty require the people of God not only to give themselves to him, but to consider all their possessions as belonging to him. In fact, the injunction, "Honor the Lord with thy substance," is only an amplification of the moral law which says, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart." Supreme love to God necessarily involves a willingness to surrender property or any thing else at his bidding. It would be ineffably absurd to say that we had enthroned Jehovah in the affections of our hearts, but could not consecrate our worldly possessions to his glory. Strictly speaking, these possessions are his, and we, as his stewards, are intrusted with the care and use of them. Whenever we give to his cause, therefore, or whatever we give, we may well say, "All things come of thee, and *of thine own* have we given thee." We can give nothing to God which he has not first given to us. All things are originally and of right his; and when any of them are lent to us, it is upon condition that they shall be returned when he calls for them, and in the manner which he specifies.

It should never be forgotten, moreover, that the ability requisite to acquire property is the gift of God. The Israelite is admonished not to say, "My power, and the might of my hand, hath gotten me this wealth. But thou shalt remember the Lord thy God: for it is he that giveth thee power to get wealth." "The blessing of the Lord, it

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maketh rich, and he addeth no sorrow with it." "For she did not know that I gave her corn, and wine, and oil, and multiplied her silver and gold, which they prepared for Baal." From these quotations it is clear that divine agency is requisite to the production of wealth,—that the Lord gives "power to get wealth,"—that his "blessing makes rich,"—and that it is his prerogative to "multiply silver and gold." If, then, God overrules the destinies of his people, and so superintends their secular interests as to enable them to acquire pecuniary ability to do good, it will surely be admitted that it devolves on them to consecrate that ability to his service.

The second chapter of the volume before us treats of "Proportion in Beneficence." The author lays down three general propositions: 1. Every man's charitable contributions should be proportionate to the vastness and importance of the objects sought in beneficence. 2. Every man's charitable contributions should be proportionate to the adequacy of the instrumentality to be applied. 3. Every man's charitable contributions should be proportionate to his pecuniary means and facilities for applying the instrumentality. Under the third general proposition several particular propositions are stated, as for example: Every man's beneficence should be proportionate—1. To the sum total of his property. 2. To his annual income. 3. To what he can earn by industry. 4. To what he can save by economy. 5. To what he can spare by self-denial.

In establishing the first of these particular propositions, our author expresses himself thus:—

> It will be apparent in the outset, that we have to do with something more than the single question of *income*. For although with a man who, from the commencement of his business life, has regulated his charities by the Scripture rule, it might be only a question of income, yet as there are few who have done this, in determining each man's ability it is obvious that any inquiry would be partial, and any result defective, which should not involve a consideration of the sum total of a man's property. (Pp. 76, 77.)

To all whom it may concern, we heartily commend the views here presented. Even among the benevolent there is a tendency in adjusting charitable expenditures to overlook the *sum total* of property, and fix the attention exclusively on *income*. The adoption of this method of adjustment would, in many cases, operate with oppressive inequality. To illustrate, let us suppose that one man has invested a capital of a few thousand dollars in business which yields a handsome income, and that another has made an investment of tens of

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thousands in lands which he is disposed to hold for years, and perhaps for life. There is no income accruing from the latter investment, and if the sum total of property is not to be taken into account in settling the question, "How much owest thou to my Lord?" the man of a few thousand dollars, regulating his pecuniary contributions by his income, will give more than the man who has his tens of thousands so invested as to yield no income. And then, too, if beneficent expenditures were to be graduated by income alone, those who are not entirely free from covetous propensities would be tempted to make investments which would prove ultimately advantageous to themselves or their heirs, but which would be productive of no present gain. Thus a man's sagacity in making these investments would release him from present obligation to give to the Lord's cause. The vanity of such shifts to escape the claims of the cause of benevolence is most apparent. The sum total of property as well as income must be considered in adjusting the proportion of benevolent donations.

Some professed Christians, failing, as the habit of their lives, to cast into the Lord's treasury according to their ability, form the purpose of making up for this deficiency by provisions in their wills. Far be it from us to pronounce indiscriminate censure on those who defer the distribution of their property for benevolent ends till they themselves stand before God. We can conceive of instances in which testamentary bequests are the result of the conjoint operation of Christian prudence and liberality. There are cases, however, in which the influence of the covetous principle has much to do in testamentary regulations. Christians who intend to remember the claims of God's cause when they "make their wills" ought to enter into a rigid analysis of their motives.

But we shall let the author of the work before us speak on this subject:—

In many cases, a will is only an expedient of covetousness, to satisfy conscience, and atone for the sin of sending the needy away empty in our lifetime, by allowing the claims of charity to take effect when we are dead. God has made *you* his steward, and has nowhere authorized you to leave to others that which he has required you yourself to do. The calls of benevolence will never be more urgent than now. Your property will never do so much good as now. Every day that you postpone its devotement, you by so much lessen the time in which it might be bearing fruit unto Christ. Therefore, God would have you the executor of your own will. No one can administer your charities so advantageously as yourself. By so doing, you make the most profitable investment of your money, and avoid the danger of losing, by reverse of fortune, what you had intended to bequeath to benevolent objects. God would also that your

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death be deplored as a loss to the church, rather than welcomed as a gain to its beneficent operations; that the world be blessed with the influence of your beneficent example while living, rather than be left in doubt concerning the motives of your testamentary charity when you are dead. He would not have you deprived of the blessedness of giving, by the intervention of a *will*, rendering it necessary for you to be cast out of your stewardship before your Lord's money can be "put to the exchangers." (Pp. 80, 81.)

We proceed to the last chapter of the book before us, which is entitled "System in Beneficence." The "Provisions of System" are shown to include "instruction concerning the use of property," and the "appropriation by every one, at stated times, of a due proportion of his property to charitable purposes." In connection with this topic, the author considers—1. The *weekly* period. 2. The *monthly* period. 3. The *annual* period. 4. Setting apart a portion of each gain in every enterprise. The "Provisions of System" also embrace "some plan by every church for collecting its contributions, and for applying them to their objects."

It is argued with great ability that the "Tendencies and Advantages of System" are to "diminish the expenditure of benevolent societies;" to "secure a larger number of contributors;" to "secure from each contributor an amount more proportionate to his ability;" to "give to charitable contributions the more Scriptural form of free-will offerings;" to "make these free-will offerings the fruit of a more cheerful spirit;" to "give consistency and efficiency to the character of Christians, by bringing their life into harmony with their doctrines and professions," &c.

Our author, in expatiating on the advantages of systematic beneficence, very naturally refers to 1 Cor. xvi. 2: "Upon the first day of the week let every one of you lay by him in store, as God hath prospered him." He observes:—

The advantages of this plan are obvious. It is the occasion of very frequent recurrence to the providence of God as the source of our prosperity, and of a recognition of our dependence upon him, and of our obligation to him for all that we receive. It is suited to mingle thoughts of him with the pursuit of all our worldly affairs, so that our religion, instead of being secularized by our business, is made to elevate and sanctify it, by leading to its prosecution upon the highest principles. By bringing us to so frequent a review of our stewardship, it deepens the feeling of responsibleness, and quickens the sensibilities to the condition of our fellow-men, and to our final account. The mind being kept thus constantly familiar with the ennobling principles and constraining motives of Christian beneficence, selfishness is restrained, and covetousness meets with constant and almost impassable barriers. Thus a more correct judgment will be formed of the proportion which duty requires, and the devotement of that pro-

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portion will be prompted by more elevated religious affections. (Pp. 122, 123.)

These observations we consider eminently judicious, and they clearly indicate that the author is well versed in the philosophy of *frequent acts* of systematic beneficence. There are circumstances, no doubt, which render a monthly or an annual estimate of what is due the cause of benevolence preferable to a weekly estimate. In some instances the weekly estimate may be impracticable. If so, the monthly should be resorted to; and if the monthly be likewise impracticable, let there be a yearly offering to the Lord. In most cases, however, we are persuaded that a weekly "laying by in store as God prospers" is practicable, and ought to be done. This weekly plan of operation is not only recommended, but authoritatively prescribed by the apostle Paul. He says, "As I have given order to the churches of Galatia, even so do ye." There was an "order," and he spoke by inspiration of God. It was incumbent on the Corinthian church to adopt this apostolic plan, and it is equally incumbent on modern churches to adopt it. The direction is, "Let *every one* of you lay by him in store." The language could not have been more specific,—"*every one of you.*" There may have been wealthy members in the church at Corinth, and there were doubtless poor ones; but all were required "to lay by in store." The apostle supposed that every one would have something to "lay by." Some probably were able to lay by only small sums, but they were not too proud to give even a little. They were glad to gratify, to a partial extent, their feelings of benevolence. It may be reasonably inferred that the "widows' mites" were laid by, on which the Saviour looked as approvingly as in the days of his flesh at Jerusalem. The laying by in store was to have this extent, "as God prospered." All the members of the church were to make a weekly examination into their pecuniary circumstances, that they might ascertain what degree of prosperity God had bestowed on them in their respective secular avocations. They were to decide the point as in the sight of the Omniscient One, and having settled it, they were to act accordingly. The doctrine of beneficence as taught by the apostle required systematic appropriations to the Lord's cause, and those appropriations were to be scrupulously adjusted to the ability of the donor.

We may here refer with propriety to some of the results which would follow the universal adoption of the apostolic plan of securing donations for purposes of benevolence:

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There would be a devout weekly recognition of the hand of God in our worldly prosperity. There would be a practical acknowledgment of the fact that success in business comes from Him. And this is in exact accordance with the truth of the case. It comports entirely with the teachings of the Bible. If God clothes the grass of the field, he surely supervises the worldly interests of his people. If he feeds sparrows, he certainly furnishes his children with the means of subsistence. If his care of them is so special that the hairs of their heads are all numbered, it is altogether credible that he blesses them in their "basket and in their store." He knows what they need, and while they "seek first his kingdom and righteousness," all necessary temporal blessings "shall be added to them." The agency of a superintending Providence is too much overlooked in these degenerate times. Some would almost ostracize Jehovah from the world he has made; and others would suffer him to perform no operation in it except in some peculiar exigency. It would be productive of happy consequences if Christians every where practically recognized, once in every week, their obligations to God for the prosperity that crowns their exertions. By such recognition God would be glorified as the Providential Governor of the world; for it would involve a consciousness of dependence on him as the "Father of Lights, from whom comes every good and perfect gift."

Again, if the apostolic plan of beneficence were adopted, there would be a much deeper interest felt in the benevolent institutions of the age. Such is our constitution that we feel specially interested in those enterprises for the prosperity of which we *do something*. If a man would excite his solicitude in favor of any undertaking, let him invest a portion of his capital in it. His thoughts and anxieties will be where his investment is. So if Christians would have their feelings deeply enlisted in behalf of Missions, Sunday-schools, Bible Societies, Tract Societies, Education, and the like, let them give liberally to these important objects. Their interest will increase with the increase of their donations. Casting their offerings periodically into the treasury of the Lord, they will cherish an ardent solicitude for the accomplishment of those purposes to which the resources of that treasury are applied. Nor is this all. The interest referred to, which systematic contributions will keep constantly alive, will excite a spirit of prayer. Christians will pray for the success of those enterprises in which they feel interested. And this is what the church needs,—the "spirit of grace and supplication,"—such a sense of her dependence on God as will keep her by

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day and by night at the mercy-seat importunately interceding for a "world that lieth in wickedness." Before the kingdom of Christ is established in all lands, the church must pray as she has not prayed since the apostolic age. There must be the "effectual, fervent prayer, which avails much." If, then, systematic contributions to objects of benevolence are happily adapted to excite interest in those objects, and if that interest is equally well adapted to excite a spirit of prayer, how evident the propriety of such contributions.

Once more: If Christians were to comply with the direction given by the apostle to the Corinthian church, the treasury of the Lord would be full to overflowing. The general adoption of this plan of raising funds to sustain the philanthropic enterprises of the church would mark the brightest epoch in the annals of beneficence. The rich would give of their abundance; for they would feel that their wealth created a solemn responsibility. Acting under this impression, they would be "rich in good works, ready to distribute, willing to communicate." Those to whom God gives "neither poverty nor riches," but a competency, would conscientiously consult their ability, and regulate their donations thereby; while the poor would not overlook the obligation growing out of scanty resources, but would make even their "poverty abound unto the riches of their liberality." There would then be equality in pecuniary contributions, and the complaint would no longer be heard that a few Christians, beneficent above the conceptions of the age, are under the necessity of sustaining the evangelical enterprises which constitute the glory of our land. No longer would it be requisite to send agents to the North, and the South, and the East, and the West, to plead the cause of God and solicit contributions for its support. All such agents might become pastors. "Every one" belonging to our American Israel "laying by him in store as God prospers him," there would be abundant means to sustain missionaries in every clime, and to send the Bible to men of every dialect. Then might the bread of life be speedily distributed to earth's famishing millions, and the invitation, "Whosever will, let him take the water of life freely," be sounded in the ears of every child of Adam.

Covetousness has sometimes taken advantage of the fact that there is under the gospel economy no formal demand of tithes as under the Jewish law. But if the views we have presented be correct, it will be seen that no such demand is necessary. The necessity is superseded by the injunction, "Let every one of you lay by him in store as God has prospered him." Christians are supposed by the writers of the

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New Testament to live near the cross; to contemplate with deepest interest the scene of the crucifixion; to see love stronger than death exhibited in tears and blood; and all this for their sake. Who, for such, would think it necessary to prescribe any specific amount of pecuniary contribution to the cause of God? Who would not consider it safe to confide that cause to the expansive liberality of the redeemed followers of the Lamb,—liberality inspired by a display of love which no language can describe? Who would not expect a sight of the cross to expel the principle of covetousness from every heart, and create feelings of benevolence as immortal as the soul? Who might not reasonably calculate that a contemplation of the Redeemer's death would prompt every Christian to the adoption of a course of systematic beneficence to be pursued with unwearied zeal? And were it possible for this zeal at any time to abate, who would suppose any thing necessary to rekindle it but a remembrance of the apostle's language?—"For ye know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that, though he was rich, yet for your sakes he became poor, that ye through his poverty might be rich." In view of this superlative epitome of the gospel, how absurd to think of determining by cold arithmetical calculation the portion of his property which the disciple should give to the cause of his Master! Will there not be difficulty in keeping him from giving his all? Will he not say, I am infinitely indebted to my dying Lord; I am under obligations to him that can never be cancelled; he has claims upon me which I can never meet; I am involved in eternal bankruptcy. I give myself away; I can do no more. Had I a thousand hearts I would give them all to such a Saviour. Were ten thousand crowns placed on my head I would cast them all at his feet, saying, "Worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honor, and glory, and blessing."

We may be thought enthusiastic, but we verily believe that the period will come in the history of the church when it will be regarded an *exalted privilege* to consecrate silver and gold to the advancement of the cause of Christ. More than this, we entertain the opinion that when systematic beneficence comes up to the evangelical standard, the posthumous reputation of the Christian who *dies rich* will be by no means enviable.

It was our purpose to refer to some of the motives which should excite to acts of systematic beneficence, but our article is sufficiently extended.

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ART. III.—THE COMMUNION QUESTION.

1. *Terms of Sacramental Communion.* By ROBERT BOYTE C. HOWELL, D.D., Pastor of the Baptist Church, Nashville. Tenn. Third Edition. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society. 12mo, pp. 271. 1847.
2. *Communion: The Distinction between Christian and Church Fellowship, and between Communion and its Symbols. Embracing a Review of the Arguments of the Rev. Robert Hall, and Rev. Baptist W. Noel, in favor of Mixed Communion.* By T. F. CURTIS, A.M., Professor of Theology, Howard College, Ala. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society. 12mo, pp. 303. 1850.

WE place at the head of this article the titles of two books which deserve the attention of the Christian public, and especially of the Baptist denomination in this country, but which, for some reasons, may be in danger of failing to gain access to all upon whose reception they have obvious and proper claims. The first has been issued in its third edition for nearly four years, and thus far, we regret to acknowledge, has not received so much as a "notice" in the supplementary pages of this journal,—an oversight the more noteworthy, since the book was early republished in England, and has had a very wide circulation in many portions of our own country. The love of sectarian and controversial discussion on the question of Communion among Christians, has never marked our pages. Even to the apparent *neglect* of seasonable occasions for advocating sentiments deeply fixed in our convictions, this Review has, we believe, always aimed to maintain the character of candor and liberality towards other denominations of Christians. While the subject of Church Communion has been so well understood by ourselves, and so often misrepresented by others, we have rather preferred to leave it to the working of its natural influence upon the minds of candid and sensible men. And while as a denomination we hold the singular position of maintaining the purity of one of the leading ordinances of Christianity, in its important bearings, in contrast with multitudes of Christian people who we believe have neglected or perverted it; and while the subject of Baptism, in its manifold relations, is, and ever has been, the great nucleus with which the fundamental questions of Regeneration, the Voluntary Principle in Religion, Church

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Organization and Orders, and the relations of Church and State, have been vitally, logically, and practically connected; and while in the middle of the nineteenth century the most serious questions connected with some political governments, and the position of doctrines in the system of Christianity, as much perhaps as in any preceding period, find their real basis in Christian Baptism and its relations, it may be taken, we think, as an evidence of a desire on our part to maintain courtesy towards brethren of other persuasions, that in the long course of the history of this Review, extending through a period of fifteen years, the whole catalogue of its articles on the main subject of Baptism, together with the wide range of collateral topics, such as Baptist history and statistics, the general religious belief of the Baptists, their connection with religious liberty, their church polity, their theory of membership, and their missionary history, in its various relations in this and other countries, amounts to only twenty-two.

But while we have been so silent in relation to our firm and familiar convictions on the subject of Communion, it is not seldom that other leading journals, the organs of large ecclesiastical persuasions, find occasion to give their readers many an earnest warning as to the bigotry of holding the system of opinions which concentre in the doctrine of "believers' baptism;" and sometimes they give us information concerning ourselves, of which we should be entirely ignorant but for the positiveness and authority with which they assume to give us knowledge. A specimen of this may be found in an article on "*Close* Communion,"—an inviting title,—in the last number of the *Princeton Review*, the organ of the powerful body of the Old School Presbyterian Church, in which the writer, in reviewing Mr. Curtis's book, says that "the subject of Free Communion is beginning to attract the attention of the American Baptist brethren, as it has of the churches of that denomination in England. * * * But we venture to predict that the time is rapidly approaching, when this subject will agitate the Church from the centre to the circumference of the body. The wave is already in motion which threatens, at least, to sweep away this exclusive, schismatic principle of restricted communion from the face of the Protestant world." The reviewer expresses himself pleased with the friendly spirit which Mr. Curtis manifests, and closes by adding, he "should not be at all surprised, if before many years, he (Mr. C.) should be found among the zealous advocates of free communion, among all the sincere followers of the Lord Jesus Christ."

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In speaking of sentiments which we, in all charity, candor, and fidelity, are compelled to hold, the leading theological Review of New-England, the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, in an article in the November number of 1849, contrasting the "Internal and External Element of Religion," has placed the mark of formalism upon our churches as a body; and ranking our sentiments in this respect in the same category with the superstitions of Romanism and Puseyism, goes on to describe them in a strain of severe remark, which, as one instance of the kind, instead of many which we might collect, we will venture to extract, though at the loss of space we would fain reserve for our more direct purpose:—

We will venture to refer to one more fact, evidencing the exclusive nature of formalism, and that too when it gains a partial power even over good men. There are Protestant Christians who even maintain not only that baptism is necessary to church communion, but baptism in one particular form. They hold that those only who have been plunged entirely under water, and that too by one who has been himself immersed, have a right to a seat at the table of Christ. An internal cleansing is not sufficient; an outward application of water to signify this cleansing is not sufficient; they would have just so much water applied, enough to cover the whole body. They contend not for the spirit nor the form, but for the form of the form; not for the substance nor the shadow, but for the shade of the shadow; not for the purified heart, nor the outward rite which typifies it, but for the mode of the rite. This is, indeed, tithing the mint, anise and cummin, and neglecting the weightier matters of the law. They make not merely the rite of baptism, but a peculiar form of the rite, necessary to church fellowship. They require as a condition of communion, not only the water of baptism, but a certain amount of water, enough to cover the whole body. The question whether or not they shall commune with a man, is not so much, Has he been spiritually cleansed? or, Has he had water applied in the name of the Trinity? but, Has he had water enough applied to cover him all over? for only so much, as they appear to think, will signify moral purification. They seem not to know that "he that is washed needeth not save to wash his feet, but is clean every whit." They can commune, as they know they do, with those not purified in heart, who have been immersed; but they cannot sit at the communion table even with the pure in heart who lack immersion. A man may be washed in atoning blood, and have clean water applied to typify the washing of regeneration; but if he has not been washed all over, in the material water of baptism, if a hand or a foot has not felt the baptismal element, he must have the table of the Lord barred against him as an unworthy communicant. Our Baptist brethren are not all of them fully emancipated, as yet, from the bondage to form. We do not blame them for contending for baptism by immersion, but we are grieved to see them lay so much stress on the mere form of a form, the mode of a rite, the manner of *signifying* inward purification. There is, indeed, in that denomination, a growing spirit of emancipation from this yoke of bondage; many of the members of her communion, some of her ablest and noblest leaders, are casting indignantly away the shackles of form, fixing their eyes on the spiritual element of religion, and elevating that to the chief place in their regard. And they stand ready now, just

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as they hope to do in heaven, to embrace in the arms of an open charity and communion, all who possess the principle of spiritual life. God speed the day when the catholic spirit which is now animating the hearts of so many of her mighty men, shall be diffused through the entire rank and file of her great army. (Pp. 739, 740.)

If leading authorities in other quarters thus take it upon them to inform us of facts concerning ourselves of which we are ignorant, and to represent our views of Christianity and its ordinances as we are certainly not conscious of holding them, it may be meek indeed to bear quietly and without reply such misrepresentations, but hardly just to ourselves, or to views which our conscience, judgment, and faith in God's Word, imperatively require us to hold. It becomes a grave question how far it is right to encourage by our silence, repeated animadversions which we feel to be at once unfair to ourselves, inapplicable to the subject, and aside from all right views of the nature of the ordinances of the gospel. Our silence is very likely to be construed as the result of a conviction in our wide community of churches, that the subject is safest when touched the least, and that the invidious ground of "Restricted Communion" can be held only in contravention of the natural promptings of Christian feeling, by a species of minute verbal and metaphysical criticism,—or by indirect and left-handed applications of Christian precepts.

The agreement of opinion on the subject of communion which prevails among Baptists, has not been produced by stress of ecclesiastical legislation overlying and binding the churches to general standards of religious belief; nor has it, as we conceive, resulted from the local, pre-occupying influence of a few particular churches, moulding and assimilating the great mass of those springing from them in the still extending field of American Christianity and civilization. No form of ecclesiastical organization is less favorable to unity of opinion and similarity of polity than the system of independent churches universally prevailing among the Baptists. And the principle of imitation and example can operate with very limited effect among churches separated from each other by wide geographical spaces, and by a variety of social and circumstantial peculiarities. The adoption of Baptist sentiments in many regions seems to have been unsought and spontaneous; and their wide prevalence in this country cannot be traced to any particular quarters. The opinion seems to have existed with some, that most of the Baptists in this country derived their peculiarities from the founders of the

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Rhode Island colony. But Professor Knowles, the accomplished biographer of Roger Williams, admits that "the great family of Baptists in this country did not spring from the First Baptist church in Providence. Many Baptist ministers and members came, at an early period, from Europe, and churches were formed in different parts of the country which have since multiplied over the land. * * * Of the 400,000 Baptist communicants now in the United States, a small fraction only have had any connection, either immediate or remote, with the venerable church at Providence, though her members are numerous, and she has been honored as the mother of many ministers."

Indeed, it is a well-known fact, that the prominence and prevalence of the sentiments of the Baptists, as to the ordinances and doctrines of the gospel, have not been identified with any ecclesiastical leaders or law-givers, nor been limited to any one geographical region or particular language. At the dawning of the Reformation in England, and upon the removal of the pressure of Papal and Protestant persecution, there soon arose to view a great multitude of people professing Baptist sentiments. A large share of these doubtless proceeded from Wales, where these sentiments had been cherished, we have reason to believe, from the time of the introduction of Christianity into Britain. For at the commencement of the Reformation in England, multitudes of Baptists all at once made their appearance. No one can tell when they became Baptists; and in a very short time their sentiments were found scattered all over the English nation. A large part of Cromwell's army, several of his generals, and many of his leading officers were Baptists. They were complained of, by their contemporaries, "as growing more rapidly than any other sect in the land." (*Baillie's* Letters, I. p. 408.

At a period equally early, a similar movement had been long prevailing in Holland and Piedmont. According to an authority quoted by Mr. Curtis, entitled, "*An Account of the Origin of the Dutch Baptists*, published in 1819, by Dr. Ypeij, Professor of Theology at Gröningen, and Rev. J. J. Dermont, Chaplain to the King of the Netherlands," it is admitted that "the Baptists may be considered as the only Christian community which has stood since the days of the apostles, and as a Christian society [community?] has preserved pure the doctrines of the gospel through all ages. The perfectly correct external and internal economy of the Baptist denomination tends to confirm the truth, disputed by the Romish Church, that the Reformation was in the highest degree

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necessary; and at the same time goes to refute the erroneous notion of the Catholics, that their communion is the most ancient."

The nearer we approach the most ancient Christian churches, the more undeniably is the concession forced from even the ablest Pædobaptist historians of modern times, that these early Christians "held that no persons were to be baptized until they came to the full use of their reason." (*Mosheim*, Eccl. Hist., Cent. 12, chap. v., sec. 7.) The critical and learned Mosheim, whose history is yet the great *thesaurus* for accurately defined facts, remarks that "the true origin of that sect which acquired the name of Anabaptist by their administering anew the rite of baptism to those who came over to their communion, and derived that of Mennonites from the famous man to whom they owe the greatest part of their present felicity, is hidden in the remotest depths of antiquity, and is of consequence extremely difficult to be ascertained." (Eccl. Hist., vol. II., chap. iii., p. 127.) Standing farther back, at the door of the highest Christian antiquity,—even in the times of the apostles,—we have the testimony of Neander, the prince of modern ecclesiastical historians, that "the practice of infant baptism was remote from the spirit of this age. Not only the late appearance of any express mention of infant baptism, but the long continued opposition to it, leads to the conclusion that it was not of apostolic origin." (Hist. of the Apostolic Age, vol. I., p. 140.)

From the facts certified by these proofs, which are specimens of hundreds to the same effect, it is not surprising that spontaneously and by common consent the sentiments in question should have prevailed among multitudes, who, freed from the stress of civil constraints, have had ready access to the translated Scriptures, and other valid sources of religious knowledge. Hence, as we conceive, it has come to pass that in this land, so free from civil and social disabilities on account of religious opinions, such a ready tendency is found to the adoption of such sentiments, without the agency of so much of example, imitation and patronage as are ordinarily found to influence the prevalence of social customs and religious usages. The power of organization and concentrated authority has been but a slight element in the prevalence of the sentiments whose wide influence we are noticing. It is a remarkable fact that only one other denomination has had anything like an equal prevalence of numerical strength in this country, and that is a Church which enjoys the highest degree of efficiency from the influence of concentration, system, method,

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zeal, and universal adherence to the standards adopted by the founders of their recent but vigorous church organization. The Methodist denomination regard their whole church system as one of discipline and pupilage; and from this feature, there being a large share of such as are but partial members in the training of the class-meeting, it is rendered difficult to know how to rate their returns, and determine the number of the full and permanent members of their establishment. The statistical returns on this subject, like most other matters of this kind in our country, can only be an approximation to the actual result. Taking the "Christian Almanac" for 1850, issued by that responsible body, the American Tract Society, as the standard of reckoning, we find that all branches of the Methodist community number 1,176,213 of those embraced in its forms of membership. From the "Baptist Almanac," issued by the Publication Society, for the same year, it appears, so far as their correspondence and information reached, there were in all branches of the Baptist community in the United States, 991,142, making the number less by 160,071 than the full returns of the Methodist Church. In point of fact, however, it is believed that if the large number of unassociated Baptist churches were reported, and the numbers in the Methodist Church were reduced to those in equivalent full and regular standing, the difference as to numerical strength would probably be found to be very small either way.

In the absence of any general legislation or authoritative correspondence among the Baptist churches, it is a noteworthy fact, that the authors of the two works under notice, residing in different and distant parts of this land, may be regarded as having correctly expounded a universal conviction and opinion, held by common consent, from what is felt to be Scriptural authority and logical necessity. As to completeness and finish of exposition and argument, the work of Mr. Curtis, in our humble opinion, is a model of its kind. It is, however, no part of our purpose to follow its line of reasoning, by extract or criticism. The candid, rational, and tender Christian spirit that everywhere pervades its clearly written and vigorous pages, has left us but little choice in the selection of his several strongly sustained positions; and we would therefore prefer to draw the attention of our readers to a special and restricted view of one leading argument, which after all we regard as the main point and gist of the discussions legitimately belonging to what is ordinarily called the "Communion question."

It is an undeniable fact, that Baptists feel themselves to be

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placed in the difficulty of holding, with respect to other persuasions of Christians, a very peculiar position. The perplexity of feeling involved in such a position, is often made the more sensibly affecting, as the hope is indulged that the great principles of civil and religious freedom are destined to unite men, more and more, in one moral brotherhood; especially as we firmly believe that the comprehensive power of Christian doctrine and charity, and the diffusion of the gospel among the nations of the earth, will inevitably tend to produce unity of heart among all the members of Christ's spiritual and invisible kingdom. Amid such high views as these, to hold a position towards other Christians, which to a greater or less extent must unavoidably make them feel the effect of some contrast or disparagement, is a hard trial to a tender-hearted and liberal Baptist. And the more sensibly he is made to feel that this position is the object of attention among the large mass of other evangelical Christians, the more he is apt to feel the inclination to modify his principles to the claims of courtesy, or else is braced up to the necessity of firmly maintaining, through evil and good report, those principles of belief which the Scriptures necessitate him to hold. Accordingly, some of the most gifted spirits who have adorned the history of Baptist sentiments, have found the warmth of their "theology of feeling" break away from the restraints of the "theology of the understanding," and from the common sense and logic which derive a necessary belief from the unmistakable import of the Divine Word. The names of John Bunyan, Robert Hall, John Foster, and Baptist W. Noel, are among the choice spirits who have felt the bonds of Christian brotherhood to be of such a nature, that to maintain their position of catholicity of feeling, they have abandoned a position of catholicity of sentiment held by Christian churches in all ages, as to the nature of communion in its connection with the church ordinances of the gospel dispensation.

But the common sense and judgment of mankind, when sustained by universal usage, and the plain import of Divine Authority, are barriers which will always keep the great body of right-minded men steady in their adherence to an obvious principle, however pleasing it may be to yield to the occasional captivations of fancy, and the overflowing transport of elevated emotions. And we fearlessly affirm that there are principles deep in the judgments of Christian men, and laws in the revealed will of God entering into the very nature and constitution of the Christian church, which will always necessitate those holding the system of beliefs attached to the true

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principle of Christian Baptism, to maintain the course so often and reproachfully charged upon them as bigoted and uncharitable. It is needless in this place to point out the well-known distinction, so vigorously and variously illustrated in the work of Mr. Curtis, between proper church fellowship and personal Christian communion with Christians, as such, and not as members of any particular visible church. He illustrates "what will hardly be denied: that as Christians we must and ought to have fellowship with those whom we esteem Christians, as such, though they may not be members of our own, or of any particular visible church, but of Christ's mystical body, the church universal."

To secure the exercise of that candor to which we are entitled from all men, it is only needful that we should refer to the principle received among all Christian churches in common, that baptism must, agreeably to the law of Christ, be received anterior to the Lord's Supper. "The wide circulation of this doctrine," says Mr. Hall, "ought undoubtedly to have the effect of softening the severity of censure on that conduct which is its necessary result; such is that of the great majority of Baptists in confining their communion to those whom they deem baptized; wherein they act precisely on the same principle with all other Christians, who assume it for granted that baptism is an essential preliminary to the reception of the sacrament. The point on which they differ is the *nature of that institution*, which we place in immersion, and of which we suppose rational and accountable agents the only fit subjects; this opinion, combined with the other generally received one, that none are entitled to receive the eucharist but such as have been baptized, leads inevitably to the practice which seems so singular, and gives so much offense—the restricting of communion to our own denomination. Let it be admitted that baptism is, under all circumstances, a necessary condition of church fellowship, and it is impossible for the Baptists to act otherwise. The recollection of this may suffice to rebut the ridicule and silence the clamor of those who loudly condemn the Baptists for a proceeding which, were they but to change their opinion on the subject of baptism, *their own principles* would compel them to adopt. They both concur in a common principle, from which the practice deemed so offensive is the necessary result. Considered as an *argumentum ad hominem*, or an appeal to the avowed principles of our opponents, this reasoning may be sufficient to shield us from that severity of reproach to which we are often exposed, nor ought we to be censured for acting upon a sys-

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tem which is sanctioned by our accusers." (Works, vol. II., pp. 212, 213.)

Now from the din and dust of the controversy on this subject, we humbly conceive that the whole question may be brought into shape in a very small compass, and the essential arguments put in a nut-shell. The solution of the matter rests on an agreement among nearly all Christian churches, as to the relation of the two ordinances of Christianity, and the sentiments of the Baptists as to the object, form, and connection of these ordinances.

We will select almost at random a few specimens of the arguments and admissions of able divines of various Christian communions,—only remarking, that what these fathers in modern theological science assert, is but in keeping with hundreds of similar passages which we could collect from various Christian writings since the earliest times, many of which are compiled in several well-known treatises on this subject, especially in the two works named at the head of this article. Baxter says, (Plain Scripture, Proof 24 :) "What man dare go in a way which hath neither precept nor example to warrant it, from a way that hath a full current of both? Yet they that will admit members into the visible churches without baptism do so." Thus also says Dr. Wall, (History of Infant Baptism, Part II. Chap. IX. :) "No church ever gave the communion to any persons before they were baptized. * * * Among all the absurdities that were ever held, none ever maintained *that*, that any person should partake of the communion before he was baptized." To this effect are the words of Dr. Doddridge, (Lectures, 511, 512 :) "It is certain that so far as our knowledge of primitive antiquity reaches, no unbaptized person received the Lord's Supper. How excellent soever any man's character is, he must be baptized before he can be looked upon as completely a member of the church of Christ." From among the eminent divines in our own country, on this subject, we have the authority of President Dwight, thus, (System of Theology, Sermon 160 :) "It is an indispensable qualification for this ordinance [the Lord's Supper] that the candidate for communion must be a member of the visible church of Christ, in full standing. By this I intend, that he should be a person of piety; that he should have made a public profession of religion; and that he should have been baptized." And perhaps the whole statement of the case can scarcely be put in a shorter compass than in the words of the late Dr. Griffin, (Letter on Communion :) "I agree with the advocates of close communion on two points:

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(1.) That baptism is the initiating ordinance which introduces us into the visible church; of course, where there is no baptism there are no visible churches. (2.) That we ought not to commune with those who are not baptized, and of course are not church members, even if we regard them as Christians. Should a pious Quaker so far depart from his principles as to wish to commune with me at the Lord's table, while yet he refused to be baptized, I could not receive him, because there is such a relationship established between the two ordinances, that I have no right to separate them; in other words, I have no right to send the sacred elements out of the church."

So strong is this agreement between Baptists and Pædobaptists, that no valid justification can be brought in favor of unrestricted and mixed communion, but by boldly assuming the ground of Robert Hall, Baptist W. Noel, and the article referred to in the *Princeton Review*, that there is actually no instituted Scriptural connection between the ordinances. This assertion, so easily made, may be almost as easily disposed of, by reference to a few Scriptural facts, the notice of which, with their obvious and implied exposition of the object and nature of church communion, will close the present examination.

The ordinance of the Lord's Supper is set forth in Scripture as a social religious ceremony, to be celebrated by a church, in its church capacity, and never by private individuals, as such, as a personal means of grace, and never intended for a sick room or a dying bed. It was intended to give a visible declaration of those momentous truths, which had been previously set forth and symbolized in the burial with Christ by baptism, when the professing believers publicly assumed the Christian name. The Scriptural grounds on which the ordinance of the Supper is connected with previous membership by baptism in a visible church, are briefly the following: When it was first instituted it was celebrated by the twelve apostles, who were the first organized Christian church; they had publicly and regularly assumed the name of disciples, and to them were now committed the ordinances of Christ's churches, to be observed in the order in which they were committed to them. This is seen by noticing, in several places, the mention of these affecting truths. (Luke xxii. 14–21; Mark xiv. 22–26; Matt. xxvi. 26–29; 1 Cor. xi. 23, &c.)

If the question should here be raised, What is the evidence by which we can ascertain a Christian Church in existence

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at this time, and in this instance, as a visible and organized body? our answer is, In that preceptive model standard which our Lord has given for the discipline of the church, in the 18th chapter of Matthew. He spoke of the church as then existing, and instructed his disciples concerning their duties with respect to each other. His words could not be regarded in a prospective, anticipative, or promissory sense, for they related to matters then in hand, which the apostles were expected then to understand. If our Lord had not already constituted them into a church, they could not have comprehended his meaning. The church was then a body formed, from what is evidently involved in these facts; and to use the words of Dr. Campbell, "It would be contrary to all the rules of criticism, to suppose that our Lord used this term (church) in a sense wherein it could not then be understood by any one of his hearers." Whether fully organized or not, in its details of government, discipline, and order of worship; under the immediate personal ministry of our Lord, we know that a few days after his ascension, when a multitude were converted on the day of Pentecost, the church was then organized and existing, and those converted and baptized were "*added to the church.*" This was the first organized visible church. It was the church of Christ, constituting one religious society, in the city of Jerusalem. The order of Christian experience, profession and church fellowship, in the apostolic church thus organized in Jerusalem, is marked by a connection too clear to be misunderstood. Thus in Acts ii. 41, 42, when they were thus "added to the church,' "they continued steadfastly in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers." That the expression, "breaking of bread," in this passage, refers to the ordinance of the Lord's Supper in church fellowship, is confirmed by the fact, that the same expression in the Greek, *τῇ κλάσει τοῦ ἄρτου*, is used in other places, such as the 7th and 11th verses of the 20th chapter of Acts, where it is specifically applied to the ordinance of the Lord's Supper,—"when on the first day of the week the disciples came together to break bread." In 1 Cor. x. 16, the expression with reference to the *breaking of bread* also relates to its use in the church ordinance of the communion. And in the next chapter, in verses 18, 20, 22, the observance of this ordinance is spoken of, as it always is elsewhere, as the act of the church when convened, in their organized capacity: "For first of all when ye come together in the church," &c., (*συνερχομένων ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ,*) it being immaterial whether

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ἐκκλησίᾳ here refers to the organized body of believers themselves, or is to be taken in the sense of *church*, as applied to the building, by a common figure of speech, "the thing containing being put for the thing contained." Now from this case of the Corinthian church, as well as from that of the church in Jerusalem, it is obvious that the Lord's Supper is a *church* ordinance, that it is the appointed symbol of church relations, and therefore can only be properly celebrated in participation with those who can consistently hold these relations with each other. This is one of the strong positions maintained through much of the able argumentation of Mr. Curtis in his book. This view as applied to the church in Corinth, is sustained by a masterly criticism on 1 Cor. 10, in his Appendix. Mr. Hall himself has frequently admitted that among the primitive churches the refusal of a person, otherwise acknowledging the gospel, to be baptized, would render it inconsistent for him to be considered as in a state of grace and salvation. And Mr. Noel says: "That there is an instituted connection between baptism and the Lord's Supper I freely admit; and it is no less clear, that after the institution of baptism by our Lord, no person who refused to be baptized was ever admitted in any Christian church to that Supper."

From all these facts and admissions, it then becomes a very simple but serious inquiry, whether any church adhering to the authority of the Christian Revelation may change the ordinances, in nature, form, and object, from what they are represented to be in the gospel? Divinely inspired religious truth is ultimate as to the authority of its facts. If the rule of this authority be suspended or modified at all, we know not the limit by which such alterations may be bounded. If the eucharist were intended as a method and test of charitable feeling, and of personal communion among the participants, or the emblem of celestial communion in a better world, we should expect to find some such intimations in the Scriptures. But this kind of subjective experience in the partakers does not appear to be any part of its Scriptural design. It is declarative of objective truths and facts. It is symbolical and representative in its character. Like the ordinance of baptism, it figures and points out facts which are to be attested by its method and form. It is a remembrance of what Christ has done for the church redeemed and universal; and it is to be observed and perpetuated by his visible churches on earth, till he comes in the glory of his kingdom.

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So much has been made of the eucharist as a test and means of Christian charity among the participants, that its original and objective character has to a great extent passed from the view of Christians. But it still stands forth as a monument of what it was appointed to make known to the world. One of the most impressive arguments for the historical authenticity of the system of Christianity, has thus been commanding the attention of the world for eighteen centuries. This form of argument is impressively exhibited by Bishop Wilson in his treatise on the Evidences of Christianity. The following extract may justify the space we give it, by showing, as it does, the moral effect as well as the proper original intention of the eucharist :—

Monuments were set up in memory of the wonderful facts recorded in the Scriptures at the time when they took place, and have continued ever since. This is one of the marks laid down with such acuteness by Leslie.* We have already noticed that the institutions appointed by our Christian books, and still subsisting, prove their credibility generally; but we now apply the observation to the miraculous part of the history. For the mighty works of our Lord, his resurrection, his ascension, the gifts of the Holy Ghost, the miraculous powers of the apostles, were accompanied with the propagation of a new religion, with the promulgation of divine laws; with all the institutions of a peculiar religious society, called the Christian church; with the celebration therein of the sacrament of Baptism as a direct dedication of all its members to their Lord and Saviour, and of the Sacred Eucharist in commemoration of his death and passion; together with the solemn observance of the first day of the week to record and signalize his resurrection from the dead; in a word, with all the associations and usages which mark Christian nations. These monuments were set up at the time when the wonderful works were done, and as memorials of them. They owed their origin to them, and to them alone. Every individual in every age of the Christian church has known, and knows, that he was baptized into the name of Jesus Christ, as having established his divine mission by a series of wonderful operations; and that he celebrates the Lord's Supper in remembrance of his death, and observes as sacred the first day of the week, in express commemoration of his resurrection. Now it is utterly impossible for an impostor to have invented the extraordinary facts of the New Testament, and then have written an account of them, and imposed it on the descendants of the first Christians; because such impostor must not only have invented the wonderful facts, and forged the books recording them, but must have contrived also the *publications and monuments* connected with these facts, and must further have persuaded the people that they and their fathers had always believed them, and observed the usages from the time of Christ to their own, when every man, woman, and child would have risen up to contradict him. * * * The case refutes itself. In fact there never was a book of forged laws palmed upon any people since the world began. So certainly do the public actions, usages, and habits of the Christian church, from the time of Christ and

* Short and Easy Method with the Deists.

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his apostles, prove the credibility of the wonderful facts from which they took their rise. The pretense to these facts, if they had not been true, would have extinguished Christianity in its birth. (Evidences of Christianity, vol. I., pp. 133, 134, Boston edition, 1838.)

By such a method of proof, we may remark, it would not be difficult to account for the prevalence of the pure gospel and its institutions, even in dark and sequestered quarters of the earth. The scattered and hidden people of Piedmont, Holland, and Wales, through all the night of the dark ages, have preserved but a scanty literary history, and their written chronicles may be often obscure; but they were preserved as a people serving God, and the truth with them, while as to written records, their history may be read only in scattered fragments thrown aside by their enemies in contempt.

What, then, is the ground to be maintained by the Baptist churches, towards those Christians who assert that it is their common duty, irrespective of any reference to baptism, to participate with each other in celebrating the ordinance of church fellowship, appointed to make a public attestation of the facts of Christianity? We can see no other answer, but the simple principle which Mr. Curtis has offered for examination, that this participation *must conform to the principles that guide us in the formation of our churches.*

The leading principle that stands at the threshold of an organized visible church, we conceive to be the devout and accountable recognition of the facts involved in baptism, by conformity to the act. If we are justified in their reception to a joint participation of the eucharist, we declare our belief in their eligibility to membership in our churches, in the character of properly baptized believers. If we cannot acknowledge this eligibility, with our conviction of their invalid baptism, or their want of baptism, we make no other declaration, but simply our own inability to alter what God has established. We pass no uncharitable judgment upon them; and they need detract nothing from our conscientiousness or charity. This position is set forth with great clearness by Mr. Curtis. "As to the objection, that by not uniting with our Pædobaptist brethren in the Lord's Supper, we *unchurch* them, it will be evident, on the least consideration, that our practice in regard to this ordinance, our 'close communion,' as it is often termed, does not intimate this, either directly or indirectly; since we do not profess to partake of that ordinance with all Christians, or with the members of all true churches, any more than the Methodists in their Love Feasts, or any more than the Jews

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in celebrating the Passover, professed to be ready to unite in observing it at the same table with all whom they considered to be true Israelites." "The original word for church is used with different significations in Scripture. In one sense, even the tumultuous assembly at Ephesus is so designated, (εκκλησια,) Acts xix. 32. Any Christian 'congregation,' especially if assembled for worship, would have been thus called in the time of the Saviour and his apostles,—Matt. xviii. 17. All organized religious bodies, acknowledging the Headship of Christ, and assembling for the worship of the Father through Him, we regard as Christian churches." "We will not deny the claims of any body of evangelical Christians, organized for maintaining social worship, to be considered a Christian church. Not a *regular* church indeed. Still we do not doubt that such assemblies may realize many church blessings, particularly this, that when they gather together, though but two or three, in the name of Jesus, He is with them." (Pp. 115, 117, 269.)

But if for the sake of charitable accommodation we are required to say that all sincere Christians are equally eligible and qualified for the ordinance of the communion in *our* church fellowship, then we are compelled to say, in effect, that the ordinance of baptism, and our Scriptural views of its subjects, mode and purpose, are all invalid, or matters of indifference. But this no one could require of us without calling upon us to sacrifice our strongest and most conscientious convictions. In this dilemma we feel that the fault is not ours. If we are accused of strictness, or want of charity and fellowship, then the *burden of proof* must be assumed by those who make this charge. If they can convince us that our Scriptural views of baptism are not valid, then we should abandon them. Or if it can be clearly shown that there is no such instituted connection betwen the ordinances, that the validity of baptism is not a qualification for church fellowship expressed in the other ordinance, then all good people, all true Christians, all serious inquirers, all persons believing themselves to have been baptized in any way, should alike be considered eligible to participation in this act, simply as an act of *social worship*, as we do in any other private, social, or public means of grace. But while they conscientiously believe themselves Christians, and baptized, and while we honor their conscientiousness, their sterling character, and their spirituality, as far as they are possessed, we also believe they have abandoned the Scriptural requisitions as to the subjects, mode

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and uses of baptism, and in so far we see that they are not walking according to the order of the gospel, by which we are bound to administer the principles of ecclesiastical fellowship. And with this full conviction, if we are called upon practically to nullify baptism, and to say of it what we do not believe is Scripturally true, or to invert the order established in God's house, then our fellowship would be a mere matter of expediency and an impulse of feeling, with the sacrifice of conscientious principle, and at variance with the institutions of the New Testament.

ART. IV.—ORIGIN OF THE HUMAN RACE.

1. *The Unity of the Human Races proved to be the Doctrine of Scripture, Reason, and Science; with a Review of the present Position and Theory of Professor Agassiz.* By the Rev. THOMAS SMYTH, D.D., Member of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. New-York: George P. Putnam. 1850.
2. *The Diversity of Origin of the Human Races.* Art. VIII., Christian Examiner, July, 1850.
3. *Contemplations of God in the Kosmos.* Art. I., Christian Examiner, Jan., 1851.

HAVE the different tribes and kindreds of men now spread over the earth always occupied it? Have they dwelt upon it in an endless succession of generations, exhibiting through all time the same peculiarities of bodily conformation and the same types of character? Or was there a time when our planet, now teeming with myriads of nations and tongues and peoples, performed its annual and diurnal revolutions without a single human inhabitant? Has it at some remote epoch of the past witnessed the sublime phenomenon of the introduction to its surface of the first moral and accountable being? And if so, when and where and under what circumstances did this wonderful event take place? Have all the different tribes and families of mankind sprung from that first primeval pair, or has each separate and distinct race had a separate and distinct origin? These are questions fitted to engage the thoughts and quicken the imaginations of all, while

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in the mind of the Christian they cannot fail to awaken a deeper and stronger interest than that of mere curiosity.

If we go back to the earliest nations whose records have come down to us, we find them nearly all in possession of certain traditions relating to these questions, but so interwoven with myth and fable, that little reliance can be placed upon information derived from this source. According to the doctrine most generally received by the ancient Egyptians, the earth has been the theatre of many successive creations, each being preceded by some great catastrophe whereby its previously existing inhabitants were destroyed. These catastrophes, whether caused by water or by fire, were believed to have relation to the moral condition of our race. They were brought about through the direct interposition of the gods, and were designed to arrest the career of human wickedness and purify the earth from guilt. After each regeneration, mankind remained for a time in a state of virtue and happiness. This however did not long continue. They gradually degenerated into immorality and vice, and were again swept from the earth by a deluge or consumed in a general conflagration.

The Hindoo sages who three thousand years ago taught philosophy upon the banks of the Indus and the Ganges, while the nations of Europe were yet shrouded in the darkness of complete barbarism, inculcated also the doctrine of successive creations and destructions of the world. These however were not, as in the Egyptian cosmogony, connected with the moral condition of mankind, but depended rather upon the divine nature itself. The mighty assemblage of phenomena denominated the universe was supposed to be each moment evolved by the direct personal agency of Brahm, their supreme deity. While he continues to act, all created existences, whether beings or things, have their complete and full development. When he sinks into repose, the whole outward world vanishes, and spirits even depart from their several spheres of action, and are re-absorbed in the divine essence. When at length, after ages of slumber, he again awakes to action, then the universe once more appears, pervaded throughout by life, order, and beauty.

The early Greek philosophers appear to have derived their cosmological ideas principally from the Egyptians. The sect of Stoics more especially adopted most fully the system of catastrophes destined at certain intervals to destroy the world. These they also connected with the gradual debasement of mankind from a state of virtue and innocence. When the

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gods could no longer bear with their wickedness, "a shock of the elements or a deluge overwhelmed them; after which calamity Astræa again descended on the earth to renew the golden age."

Concerning the manner in which the world was created, or the order of the introduction of the innumerable forms of animal and vegetable life, these ancient nations seem to have formed no very definite ideas. The story of the mundane egg, derived originally as many suppose from the history of the creation given in the first chapter of Genesis, is found, it is true, in all their mythologies. In the beginning chaos alone existed. After the lapse of many ages there appeared in its bosom an immense egg, "like the sun shining with a thousand rays." Having long illuminated the surrounding darkness, it at length separated into two parts; the upper forming the concave heavens, the lower, the solid earth. But this product of Oriental imagination belongs rather to the realm of poetry than that of philosophy, and can scarcely have been regarded by the nations among whom it prevailed as any thing more than allegory or fable. Even if we accept it as a literal exposition of their ideas in regard to the creation, it throws no light upon the origin of man and the animal tribes contemporary with him.

According to the account contained in the sacred writings of the Buddhists, the most widely spread sect of the Brahminical faith, whose doctrines extend their sway at the present time over half our race, the earth was in the beginning without inhabitants. At this time it was the occasional resort of angelic or celestial beings. These, induced after a time to partake of its fruits, lost their relish for pure and spiritual pleasures, and preferred instead the enjoyments of sense. Remaining permanently on the earth, they became the parents of the human race.

In the mythological system which, previous to the introduction of Christianity, prevailed among the northern nations of Europe, we have a narrative of the creation of the first man and woman more nearly resembling the Mosaic record. They were formed, according to this relation, from two blocks of stone found upon the sea-shore, which having received the proper shape were first rendered animate by the inbreathing of a living soul, and then endowed with reason, sense, language, and the power of motion. This creation was the work of beings of a higher order, preceding them on the earth, whose origin was traced back to Ymir, the ice-giant, sprung from the influence of the sun's rays upon that element.

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In these various cosmogonies, containing here and there a glimmering of truth, derived, it may be, from the scattered and broken rays of a revelation originally communicated to our race, we see the human mind, without assistance from any higher source, struggling to solve the great problems of God and of creation, of its own origin, being, and destiny, and of the being and destiny of the universe; and after having exhausted itself in vain endeavors to grapple with questions too mighty for its powers, at length settling down with a child's faith upon myths and fables of its own creation. Turning from these monuments at the same time of the sublime aspirations of the soul of man and of its utter inability by its own unaided powers to realize them, let us look to the only two sources from which we may hope for light on any of these problems, namely, inspiration and the teachings of modern science.

According to the almost universally received interpretation of the Mosaic history, mankind were originally planted in the south-western part of Asia, along the banks of the Tigris and the Euphrates. This event, so memorable in our world's history, took place it is supposed not far from six thousand years ago. From that first human pair formed immediately by the hand of the Creator have sprung, it is commonly believed on the same authority, all the various tribes and kindreds of men which now people the earth—the remarkable differences of feature, complexion, and character existing among them being due to the influence of various moral and physical causes continued through many successive generations.

Such, it is generally thought, are the teachings of inspiration concerning the origin of our race. Most of the particulars contained in this account are moreover fully sustained and confirmed by other and wholly independent evidence. That man has not always been an inhabitant of the earth, is abundantly shown by its geological history. That his introduction to it is a comparatively recent event, is equally proved by that same history. That his first appearance on the theatre where he was destined to act so important a part, could not have been the blind consequence of a mere accidental concurrence of the atoms making up his physical organization, will readily be admitted by every sane mind. That it was not the purposed result of a long series of spiritual and organic developments, all looking towards and at length terminating in this event, is likewise conceded by all those who are best qualified to judge in the case. Indeed the

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evidence on this point, both geological and zoological, is too clear and too strong to allow of doubt in the mind of any well-instructed naturalist. The only supposition therefore which remains, is that, in accordance with the Scriptural account, man was brought into existence by the direct agency of an intelligent and designing Creator. That he was originally placed in a district of Asia not very remote from that assigned by the inspired historian, is rendered in the highest degree probable by the seats of all the most ancient civilizations, by the numerous affinities of the languages of Europe with those known to have existed at a very early period in the East, by the ascertained routes of the principal migrations of nations, as well as by the almost universal tradition of mankind.

It is further conceded by the ablest naturalists of the present day, that the several varieties of the human family, however widely removed from one another in some of the minor details of their natural history, bear in all the essential features of their constitution unquestionable marks of specific identity. They present the same general bodily conformation; they have the same anatomical structure. Their functions are the same. They are subject to the same diseases and are cured by the same remedies. All the more prominent facts in both their physiological and psychological history are the same; and what is perhaps yet more decisive of the point in question, intermarriages between these several varieties are as productive and are followed by a posterity as permanent as like unions within the limits of the same variety. Nor are the differences, whether of size, form or color, observable among the races of mankind the most widely separated, at all greater than we see in the dog and other domesticated animals universally admitted to belong to the same species.

Thus far, therefore, in our inquiry concerning the origin of men, the supposed teachings of revelation and the facts disclosed by modern science are in perfect harmony. They stand up in grand parallel, forming two separate and independent series of proofs of the same general doctrines. The direct interposition of the Divine power in the formation of man, the comparatively recent date of this event, and the moral and physical unity, the specific identity of the race, are alike established by evidence drawn from both of these sources.

But admitting these fundamental truths as established beyond all question or doubt, it remains for us to inquire in what manner the several varieties of mankind may be supposed to have originated? Have they all proceeded from the same

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primeval stock, and are the differences now existing among them the result of the long-continued influence of external conditions and circumstances? Or has each variety sprung from a separate and distinct source, and does it now bear in all its lineaments and features the marks impressed by the hand of the Creator upon its original progenitor? The Sacred Scriptures, as we have already said, are very generally believed to give their testimony in favor of the former of these suppositions. Many facts also connected with the dialects of the different families of mankind are thought to look strongly in the same direction. Language is the most durable of human monuments. Nations may change the place of their abode; they may change their institutions, their religion, and their customs; they may pass through every grade of social condition, from the lowest barbarism up to the highest stage of civilization and refinement, but through all these changes they will carry with them more or less of their original tongue. It is through the affinities of the languages spoken at the present time in Europe that its inhabitants are known to constitute but one great family of nations. It is through the affinities of these same languages with the ancient Sanscrit that they, as well as the Celtic tribes which preceded them, are traced back to an Indian origin. From similar affinities of the languages of northern and central Africa with branches of the Semitic stock, the inhabitants of this extended region, including not only the tribes of Arabian origin or such as may be supposed to have entered Africa subsequently to the era of Islam, but also races by far more ancient and more widely spread, are known to have come from the south-western part of Asia. On like grounds, the aboriginal tribes of our own country, all of whose numerous dialects are more or less intimately related, are believed to have had an Eastern origin. In concluding his argument from this source, the author of the interesting and instructive volume which we have placed at the head of our article, says :—

Ethnography, then, has furnished conclusive evidence that the family of American languages has had a common origin with that of Asia. A lexical comparison has established an identity in one hundred and seventy words, although this study is yet in its infancy; and this, relying on the correctness of Dr. Young's mathematical calculation, is an argument which cannot be controverted.

In reviewing then the results to which philology inevitably brings us, and of which but a few instances are here adduced, we are obliged to refer the savage and larger portion of America to the North of Asia, and the civilized family of Mexico and Peru to ancient Egypt and Southern Asia.

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The unity of all human languages, therefore, is a conclusive proof of the unity of all the human races.

"All dialects," says the Petersburg Academy, "are to be considered as dialects of one now lost." "The universal affinity of languages," says Klaproth, "is placed in so strong a light, that it must be considered by all as completely demonstrated." "There is a great probability," says Herder, while skeptical of the Mosaic record, "that the human race and language therewith go back to one common stock, to a first man, and not to several dispersed in different parts of the world." "The books of Moses," says Balbi, "no monument either historical or astronomical has yet been able to prove false, but with them on the contrary agree, in the most remarkable manner, the results obtained by the most learned philologers and the profoundest geometricians." (Pp. 219, 220.)

Another argument in favor of the common origin of the different races of mankind is derived from the improvement or degradation which many tribes are known to have undergone in comparatively short periods. As an instance of the latter we may cite the Bushmen of South Africa, who, though sprung from the same stock as the Hottentots, have been reduced by various moral and physical causes to a condition greatly below them. Dr. Smyth adverts in this connection to the remarkable contrast in respect to character and social condition exhibited by the present inhabitants of the British Islands, although descended for the most part from a common stock. In illustrating the subject he quotes the eloquent language of Mr. Martineau of Liverpool. Speaking of these inhabitants, the latter says :—

Taken one by one, even now, they present only harmonious varieties of a single type; and the fact that the Scottish people are of the very same race, yet differ from the Irish more widely than ourselves, is enough to show that the imaginary difficulties of lineage are pliant under the discipline of events. Yet though made by birth of the same blood, set by nature within the same latitudes, led by conversion to the same religion, we have been brought by social agencies into a contrast of condition, to which the world presents no ancient or modern parallel. You might travel from Siberia to Normandy, and scarcely find such extremes to compare as Tipperary and Middlesex. If a shapeless cabin were cut out of the Galtee hills, and set down in the court of the London Exchange, it would be too true a type of the human differences which have been permitted to separate these provinces. Europe presents no poverty lodged in such holes, fed with such meals, clothed in such rags, cheerful under such hopeless privations, as you find in the one; no wealth so solid, no comfort so established and diffused, no habits of order so fixed, no provision for the future so anxious and abundant, as in the other. England is known over the world as the extreme of opulent civilization; Ireland as the outcast of hungry wretchedness. Along the great rivers of every continent, on the bays of every productive coast, in the isles of every rich archipelago, British factories rise, and bills of exchange speak for us a few telling words; on the same spot appears a slouching figure, with a stick and bundle, and careless speech, never far from a blessing or a curse; whose

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aspect publishes our shame. The genius of his country is like a mocking spirit to ours. Full of the wild fire of life, rich in the unwrought elements of humanity, quick to passion, mellow in affection, deep in humor, he flies over the earth, to track the sedate and well-dressed genius of England, and spread out the shadow of mendicancy in the train of its sumptuous advance. 'Ha! ha!' says the laughing spirit, 'go where you will, you old impostor, and I'll be with you, and sit at your door, and men shall look on me and on you; for the face of us two can tell no lies.' And so on along the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, on the railways of France and Germany, it is published, that England—with unrivalled resources, with indomitable perseverance, with faculties for governing unsurpassed even by ancient Rome, with a people abhorrent of oppression and detesting slavery, with a constitution practically free, and a religion singularly earnest—cannot, with centuries at its command, organize the barbaric elements it rules, and reduce the beggary of a nation at its gates. (Pp. 257–259.)

As an example of the gradual improvement of races when placed under more favorable conditions, may be instanced the descendants of the negroes early brought to our country. Although but a few generations have passed since their introduction among us, very decided evidence of advancement in intellectual character and physical development is said to be observable. Dr. Bachman, whose means of forming a correct opinion on this subject have been very ample, says:—

Our experience has produced a conviction that the African race is capable of making considerable advance. Whilst we are free to admit that the negroes cannot, either in our country or in any other, be transformed without amalgamation into a white race, we donot, however, accord with the views of those who represent them as having undergone no change either in form or skull since their introduction into our country.* We have for many years had passing before our eyes innumerable evidences to convince us that this is not the fact. Whilst we perceive no change either in color or hair, we are fully satisfied that even in the maritime country of Carolina there is, in form, in feature, and especially in skull, a very striking departure from the original type. We still have some hundreds of native Africans remaining in South Carolina, some of whom present the tatoo received in Africa. They belonged to tribes that were the progenitors of our negroes. They present in their thick lips, the curvature of the leg, the projection of the heel, the narrowness of the forehead, which is generally wrinkled, and in the thickness of the lower jaw, such striking peculiarities when compared with our native negroes of unmixed blood that have been born in this country and are but three or four generations removed from their African forefathers, that we have for many years past been in the habit of detecting their origin at a glance. (Pp. 260, 261.)

A still stronger example of the improvement of races is presented by the tribes of central Africa, converted to the Mahometan faith. Four centuries ago they were sunk in the lowest barbarism, living without shelter, without clothing, and without families, depending for their precarious and scanty

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subsistence upon whatever nature or chance supplied them. Now we see them gathered into extensive and well-ordered communities, engaged in the successful prosecution of agriculture and the various mechanical arts. Large and flourishing towns and populous cities have grown up among them, between which camels and caravans—"the ships and fleets of the desert"—laden with the wares of a rich and varied commerce, are continually passing and re-passing. Had Christianity with its purer and more expansive faith been thus early given them, what results might we not now have witnessed? How changed would have been the aspect of large portions of that dark continent!

Of the influence of climate and other physical causes upon color, we have perhaps the most striking and satisfactory proof in the case of the Jews. This remarkable people, descended from a common ancestor and prevented by their religious code from mingling with sorrounding nations, have been scattered over the whole face of the earth. Wherever they have gone, they have carried with them the proof of their lineage in their peculiar physiognomy as well as their institutions and habits, while in complexion they have become assimilated to the native inhabitants. "Every shade of color clothes with its livery the body of the Jew, from the jet black of the Hindoo to the ruddy white of the Saxon. The original inhabitant of Palestine was doubtless dusky-skinned and dark-haired, but the cooler sky and more temperate air of Poland and Germany have substituted a fair complexion and light hair. On the other hand, the scorching sun of India has curled and crisped his hair, and blackened his skin, so that his features alone distinguish him physically from the native Hindoo. On the Malabar coast of Hindostan are two colonies of Jews—an old and a young colony—separated by color. The elder colony are black, and the younger (dwelling in a town called Mattabheri) comparatively fair, so as to have obtained the name of "White Jews." The difference is satisfactorily accounted for by the former having been subjected to the influence of the climate for a much longer time than the latter."

The same view of the origin of the different varieties of the human family is thought to be supported by the alterations which several of the lower animals are known to have undergone through their alliance with man. Accompanying him in all his wanderings, and exposed to the same diversity of physical influence, they have come at length to exhibit like differences of character. "Among dogs," says Dr. Smyth,

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"who are regarded even by Dr. Morton as of the same species, the Newfoundland race is semi-web-footed to an extent much greater than the negro. There is also a race of dogs in this country with very short tails, and a race of cats without tails at all. There is also a race of fowls in this country who are rumpless and destitute of the vertebræ. There is a whole race of hogs with solid hoofs. And in all the domesticated animals we see in various ways the power of altered condition, food, climate, and habits, in modifying form, character, and general structure. We thus perceive that changes, the very same in *kind*, and much greater in *degree*, do result from natural causes working upon the constitutional adaptation of the animal organization in all the higher animals, and we are, therefore, led to conclude that, in view of man's admitted cosmopolite character, his power of self-modification, and the immeasurably greater changes to which, in all his diversified conditions, he is liable, much greater modifications of form and development might be expected in branches of the same race." (P. 369.)

Such are generally the grounds upon which the advocates of the common origin of the several varieties of mankind rest their belief, and which they deem abundantly sufficient to justify it. The opponents of the doctrine however, among whom are several living naturalists, with Professor Agassiz at their head, contend that neither the teachings of the Bible nor any of the considerations above adduced warrant the inference which is drawn from them. On the contrary they maintain that all the facts in the case, when properly interpreted, lead to an opposite conclusion. In presenting this side of the question we shall avail ourselves of the very able and interesting articles recently given to the public through the medium of a contemporary periodical, by the accomplished Professor to whom we have just referred. In these papers it is contended—

1st. That the Mosaic account of the early peopling of the earth contains unquestionable allusions to other tribes and families of men which preceded the Adamic or historic race. Cain after the murder of Abel was driven out from among his kindred and the place of his birth, to be a fugitive and vagabond in the earth; and lest in his wanderings among "foreign nations" his life should be taken, a mark was set upon him. At length he settled in the land of Nod, where he found his wife and in process of time built a city.

2d. That the characteristics of several of the existing races, as we know from the Egyptian monuments, were as promi-

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nent and as distinctly marked five thousand years ago as they are at the present time; a fact which not only proves their persistence, but shows the extreme improbability of their having originated in climatic or other physical causes, especially when we consider the short interval of time between that period and the supposed Adamic origin of these races.

3d. That the peculiarities of the different races of men in their present geographical distribution have no relation to climatic or other physical influences, nor do they so far as can be ascertained fall within the range of the changes produced by such influences. We will give this part of the Professor's argument in his own words:—

> If men originated from a common centre, and spread over the world from that centre, their present differences must be owing to influences arising out of peculiarities of climate and mode of life. And these influences must have acted upon them during or after their migration, and, if such changes have really taken place, must correspond to each other in different parts of the world, in proportion as the physical conditions are more or less similar.
>
> Compare now the inhabitants of China with those of the corresponding parts of Africa and America; compare especially with each other the inhabitants of the southern extremities of Africa, America, and New Holland, regions which are, physically speaking, under most circumstances alike, and we shall find the greatest differences between them. This fact will at once appear as the strongest objection to the idea, that the differences between these races arose from changes that took place after they were introduced into the regions they inhabit; especially when it is found that, among all races, the Fuegians, Hottentots, and inhabitants of Van Diemen's Land are the tribes which differ most from each other. We find similar constant differences within corresponding parts of the same continents in the torrid zone. In Africa we have the negro race, with its peculiar features, in Polynesia the Papuan race, and in America the common Indian, though the climate in these three parts of the world does not differ essentially. Again, in the temperate zone, we have in the Old World Mongolians and Caucasians, and Indians in America,—races which do not resemble each other, but yet live under the most similar circumstances.
>
> We can see but one conclusion to be drawn from these facts, that these races cannot have assumed their peculiar features after they had migrated into these countries from a supposed common centre. (*Christian Examiner*, July, 1850, pp. 126, 127.)

4th. That as the lower animals were not distributed from a common centre over the earth's surface, but originally created and planted within the districts where we now find them, and as the abodes of the principal races of men coincide very exactly with these zoological provinces, there is good reason for believing that the latter were also created and placed within the districts now occupied by them, and, as Professor Agassiz would add, in about their present numerical propor-

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tions. But here too he shall speak for himself. In illustration of the laws which are supposed thus to govern the geographical distribution of all organized beings, he says:—

Along the Arctics we have animals which are identical in Asia, Europe, and North America. There is no specific difference between the Mammalia, birds, fishes, and other lower animals, occurring around the northern pole for some distance. We may state that their limits are circumscribed beyond the limits of the natural growth of trees.

Farther south there begins to be a marked difference, and this increases as we proceed towards the tropics. But this difference does not increase in such a manner as to introduce a uniformity between America and Europe, or between Europe and Asia, but it is of such a nature that the animals and plants represent each other in these different continents. Where we have a fox in Europe there is another kind of fox in North America, and another in Asia and Turan; so also the wolves of Europe, of Southern Siberia, and of the prairies of America, are different. Within these limits we have representative species, but linked together by a degree of resemblance so great as easily to cause mistakes by those who are not accustomed to distinguish organized beings; and for a long time the wolves and foxes and bears, and other large animals of America, which have such representative species in other parts of the world, were taken by the first white inhabitants from Europe as identical with corresponding species of Europe; and so with Asia, etc. But the differences are such as really to show that these types merely correspond to each other, and are not identical.

Farther south we find the differences increase, and the corresponding types agree only in a more general manner. They are no longer representative species in the same genus, but representative genera in the same family; so that in the same families we see only distant relations between those types which occur in the tropics, even where the representative species of the temperate zone are closely related.

But what is most important is, that this increased difference does not correspond merely to what we may call climate, or to those physical differences which influence animals and plants. The differences are such as may appear to careful observers almost unconnected with climate, inasmuch as in the same climate, in the tropical regions, for instance, we have animals and plants in New-Holland entirely different from those that occur in Africa and South America. This is the more obvious, as the climatic conditions are far more similar in the southern hemisphere than in the northern, where, nevertheless, representative species occur in the different parts of the world. In this geographical distribution there is, therefore, evidence of a plan carried out almost independently of the climate. There is evidence of a design ruling the climatic conditions themselves; for animals and plants are not distributed at random, or simply according to physical circumstances, but their arrangement reveals a superior order, established from higher and considerate views, by an intelligent Creator.

Now, if we follow in the same manner the races of men upon the surface of our globe, we find a similar definite location. (Pp. 121, 122.)

The arctic race of men, covering the treeless region near the Arctics in Europe, Asia, and America, is circumscribed in the three continents within limits very similar to those occupied by that particular combination of animals which are peculiar to the same tracts of land and sea.

The region inhabited by the Mongolian race is also a natural zoological province, covered by a combination of animals naturally circumscribed

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within the same regions. The Malay race covers also a natural zoological province. New-Holland, again, constitutes a very peculiar zoological province, in which we have another particular race of men. And it is further remarkable, in this connection, that the plants and animals now living on the continent of Africa, south of the Atlas, within the same range within which the negroes are naturally circumscribed, have a character differing widely from that of the plants and animals of the northern shores of Africa and the valley of Egypt; while the Cape of Good Hope, within the limits inhabited by Hottentots, is characterized by a vegetation and a fauna equally peculiar, and differing in its features from that over which the African race is spread. (Pp. 136, 137.)

Under such circumstances, we would ask if we are not entitled to conclude that these races must have originated where they occur, as well as the animals and plants inhabiting the same countries, and have originated there in the same numerical proportions, and over the same area, in which they now occur; for these conditions are the conditions necessary to their maintenance, and what among organized beings is essential to their temporal existence, must be at least one of the conditions under which they were created.

We maintain, that, like all other organized beings, mankind cannot have originated in single individuals, but must have been created in that numeric harmony which is characteristic of each species; men must have originated in nations, as the bees have originated in swarms, and as the different social plants have at first covered the extensive tracts over which they naturally spread. (Pp. 127, 128.)

Such are the reasons assigned for believing that the human family are not, as has been generally supposed, derived from one common origin, but have sprung from as many different sources as there are different races of men. In reviewing these reasons we would offer one or two suggestions.

In the first place, we doubt whether the Mosaic narrative can properly be regarded as implying the existence of nations already spread over the portions of the earth adjacent to that where Adam and his immediate descendants were placed. We are aware that the passage relating to the punishment of Cain, on the ordinary supposition, presents some difficulties; but the embarrassment of the Biblical critic will not, we apprehend, be diminished by the interpretation which it is here proposed to give it.

In the second place, we do not believe the knowledge at present possessed by the naturalist of the power of physical and moral causes to modify the development of mankind, is sufficient to enable him to say that the differences observable among the several races have not originated in that source. On the contrary, we think the remarkable changes which whole tribes are known to have undergone from these causes, furnish a strong analogical argument in favor of such an hypothesis. And lastly, we do not see in the near coincidence of the districts occupied by the larger and more marked groups

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of plants and animals, with the abodes of the leading varieties of the human family, any good reason for believing that the latter, like the former, have originated in the provinces where we now find them. It is only from the want of that power of accommodation to circumstances, that capacity for living in all climates and under all conditions, possessed in so remarkable a degree by man, that we infer the indigenous character of the lower animal and vegetable tribes. If these tribes were originally created with peculiarities adapting them to the influences prevailing in the regions of the earth which they were destined to occupy, we should naturally expect that man, on entering these regions, would take on certain analogous or corresponding peculiarities. All that gives importance to this circumstance in the argument of Professor Agassiz, is the assumption that the fauna and flora of each district are not in simple relation to the geographical features of that district; that the Divine Being, in introducing them, was governed by considerations superior to that of mere physical adaptation—considerations connected with a pre-conceived plan, in accordance with which all the forms of organic life appearing in our world have been determined. Admit this fundamental idea, and his conclusion follows. For if the more prominent features characterizing the leading animal and vegetable groups were determined without regard to the physical influences surrounding them, and are in reality not in harmony with such influences, then we cannot suppose these influences to have originated the apparently related peculiarities of the several races of mankind. As assumed by the argument, the connection between the two classes of phenomena must, in that case, have its source in the conceptions or ideas of the Divine Mind, of which they are respectively developments.

But we are by no means prepared to admit the want of entire adaptation in the structure and functions of each and every animal to the circumstances in which it is placed. Indeed, we are inclined to believe that this is the great and leading principle by which the Creator has been guided in introducing to our world the different classes and families of organized beings. Our inability to recognize in all cases its influence, or even in any case to trace its operation out into all the minuter details of specific character, may be accounted for by our imperfect knowledge of the laws of organic life and our limited acquaintance with the numerous physical causes and conditions affecting it.

That the universe was originally formed in accordance

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with certain archetypal ideas previously existing in the mind of the Creator, there is good reason to believe; and that generally throughout it, the material was formed in subservience to the spiritual, is in the highest degree probable. But, that the successive transformations of our planet have been from the beginning determined solely by the character of the organic beings designed to be placed upon it, is a very different proposition. Its subordinate position in the system to which it belongs, as well as its intimate physical relations with the several parts of that system is, we think, unfriendly to such an idea. The accommodations and provisions afforded to the animal and vegetable tribes at present tenanting the earth are more or less immediately dependent upon the general laws of planetary motion. In the language of Dr. Paley, "a chicken roosting on its perch is related to the spheres revolving in the firmament." The climatic and other physical conditions, therefore, regulating organic life in our world, thus growing out of the constitution of the solar system, and through this connecting themselves, it is probable, with still higher and wider laws pervading, it may be, the whole material universe, we think it reasonable to conclude, that the character of each animal and plant, as well as the time and place of its appearance, have been determined by the state of the earth's surface, rather than by any pre-conceived and pre-ordained plan of procedure in the work of creation.

There is another question relating to the origin of our race, to which we may properly advert before dismissing the subject. Under what circumstances, and in what condition did the first human beings make their appearance on the earth? Did they come from the hand of the Creator perfectly formed and in the full possession of all their faculties and powers, ready to enter at once upon the discharge of all the various offices and duties of life? Or had they, as all their posterity, to undergo a series of changes and transformations, before arriving at their adult state? Professor Agassiz is inclined to the latter supposition, although the teachings of Scripture as well as the necessities of the case have generally been supposed to justify, and even require the former. From the very humble beginnings of life in our world, as revealed by the investigations of the geologist, taken in connection with the remarkable and important fact that all organic beings at the present time originated in seeds and ova, he is disposed to think these the forms in which they were at first created. The supposition, he admits, is embarrassed by some difficulties in the case of mammiferous animals—the class including man—

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where the ovum is received into a specially prepared organ, and the embryo formed from it nourished and developed through a direct connection with the parent; but he does not despair of such an extension of our knowledge in this department of natural history, as shall ultimately remove these difficulties. Near the close of his article entitled "Contemplations of God in the Kosmos," he says:—

Our next step would require an investigation into the real degree of maturity and perfection in which animals and plants were created. Here, again, it seems more in accordance with the law under which we see them propagated, to admit that they originated as eggs, endowed with all the germs of that development which is peculiar to each species; that they grew successively to their normal state; and that, sowed in large numbers over districts which they were to occupy, they established from the beginning that harmony which still prevails. We are at least justified in adopting such a conclusion for all those animals which are developed from eggs in water, and may therefore assume, that the protecting influences under which they passed through their metamorphoses agreed with the conditions under which they now propagate, thus acknowledging a mode of creation which is far more in accordance with the laws that now prevail in nature than any other supposition; granting, of course, that for each species the circumstances must have varied then, as they vary now, respecting the character of the egg, as well as the time required for its natural development. Is it not much more in harmony with the laws of nature to admit that the Creator, in the beginning, sowed the seeds of animals and plants in large numbers all over the fields they were to occupy, in the same proportions as we see them now dropped from the stock from which they originate in the normal process of reproduction? Such views agree too well with the present state of our knowledge of animal and vegetable life, and the means by which it is maintained, not to appear natural; and, though we may fail now to extend them to terrestrial animals which are nursed within the maternal body, we must contend that they account fully for that class of animals which are normally developed in water, and for the whole vegetable kingdom. And it may be that, in the course of time, we shall acquire sufficient insight into the development of terrestrial animals to include them in the same category, though at present their eggs are nursed, without exception, by their parents. But may it not be admitted, that, since we have but recently ascertained the identity of the development of all animals from eggs, and we see already the possibility of the larger proportion of them having arisen from eggs, we may also discover the way in which the eggs of higher animals, even, may be reared, for the first time, without a parent, as it is rather against the uniform processes of nature to admit different modes of creation, though we must recognize the different circumstances under which it took place? (*Ibid.*, January, 1851, pp. 15–17.)

The explanation which is thus offered of the original production of organic beings is undoubtedly a splendid generalization, carrying us far beyond what have heretofore been considered the proper limits of philosophical inquiry; but the learned Professor will forgive us some hesitation in accepting it, at least so far as it relates to man. The analogies upon

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which it rests are, as we think, but remote and shadowy; and were they ever so real and ever so strong, analogy alone would be insufficient to support an hypothesis embarrassed by so remarkable difficulties. That the first human being, originating in a microscopic ovum, passed through the successive stages of fœtal development, and the almost equally dependent state of infancy, with no other aids and assistances than the surrounding elements afforded, is a supposition almost surpassing in wildness and extravagance the oriental fiction of the "mundane egg."

While however we are unable to adopt all the reasonings or coincide with all the views contained in these papers, we are glad that they have been given to the public. It is only by the collision of opinions that truth is disengaged from the husk of error which too often surrounds it. On all the great questions relating to the origin and destiny of our race, we welcome light and suggestion from whatever quarter they may come. Especially do we set a high value upon the offerings of a mind enlarged by the most varied and profound study of nature, penetrated by a deep sense of her harmonies, and breathing withal an earnest, reverent, and truth-loving spirit. From such a source the great interests of religion and humanity have nothing to fear. It is only from the timid and indiscreet zeal of those who would screen the tenets of their faith from free and full discussion, that these interests are liable to suffer. Nothing can be more unwise than to oppose what is thought to be the teaching of the Bible to the doctrines of any of the physical sciences. If the latter have been too hastily assumed, and subsequent discoveries do not confirm them, they will soon pass away through the mere progress of the science itself. If on the other hand they are well-founded, they will ultimately prevail, and the Biblical critic will be obliged to withdraw from the position he has taken, to ground which may be more tenable. When the dogmas of creeds and churches were thrown across the paths along which the sciences of astronomy and geology were advancing, we know the result. These sciences went forward in spite of the obstacles opposed to their advance, and—what deserves to be particularly regarded in this connection—they now furnish the most remarkable confirmations as well as the most sublime illustrations of many of the truths belonging to the revealed system which they were supposed so seriously to threaten. Even in the facts employed in the above argument for the diversity of origin of the human races, we recognize the veritable weapons by which the development hypothesis,

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so long the opprobrium of both physical and metaphysical science, has been finally met and vanquished. If they have carried the author somewhat too far in the opposite direction, leading him to ascribe to original constitution, peculiarities which have in reality been produced by causes acting upon mankind subsequently to their creation, there is nothing remarkable in the circumstance.

We are glad for another reason of the appearance of these papers. They furnish an example of a mode of inquiry which we hope to see more generally adopted. They examine in the light of physical facts, questions which have commonly been regarded as belonging exclusively to the department of metaphysics. We have long been of the opinion that this is the true method of investigating many of these questions, and until it is generally recognized, we believe but little progress will be made towards their settlement. The constitution of matter, the nature of material causation, the introduction to earth of the different forms of organic life, the origin of physical evil, the design of pain in the animal economy, and the institution of death are surely subjects for the investigation of the chemist, the geologist and physiologist, rather than for the intellectual philosopher. So long as they are contemplated exclusively or even principally from stand-points in metaphysics and theology, no just conceptions can be had of them. It is only by studying them in their natural and proper relations and connections, that we can hope to arrive at a knowledge of their real significance and true character—of the ideas and purposes of the Divine mind in which they originated, and of which they are the outward, tangible, sensible expressions. Indeed, we believe the pure metaphysics will always remain comparatively barren of useful results. As in the mathematics, facts must be supplied to form the basis of the reasoning, or its processes will have no practical value; and these can be acquired only by the study of the actual world around and within us.

Equally important do we deem the natural sciences as a means of disciplining the faculties and fitting them for the discovery of truth. Indeed, without such training, and the knowledge acquired along with it, one cannot at the present day be considered as qualified for the investigation of any of the great problems of philosophy. He has no solid ground of facts to stand upon, no light of analogy to direct his steps. In groping his way amidst the surrounding darkness, he is obliged to rely solely upon the instincts of his intellectual and moral nature; and these, however useful within their proper

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sphere, both as guards and as guides, are not alone sufficient to conduct him to a true knowledge of any part of the universe. When we consider how large a portion of the best talent of our race, from the time of Plato down to the present, has been exerted in this profitless direction, it is hardly possible to conceive the results that might have been achieved in every department of science, had all these minds been under the guidance of just ideas in regard to the legitimate objects and modes of investigation. We hail, therefore, the appearance of these papers of Prof. Agassiz as an omen and precursor of better things to come. Presenting so faultless a model of philosophical inquiry, they cannot fail to exert an important influence upon the general mode of treating analogous questions. If, in the language of one who has himself successfully labored in the same direction, "the battle of the evidences will have to be fought on the field of physical science, and not on that of metaphysics," these and other papers of a similar character, which of late have found a place in our periodical literature, will have no humble part in preparing the way for it.

ART. V.—THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.

1. *The Island-World of the Pacific.* By Rev. HENRY T. CHEEVER, Author of the "Whale and his Captors." New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1850.
2. *History of the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands.* By JAMES JACKSON JARVES. Boston: Tappan & Dennet. 1843.
3. *A Residence of Twenty-one Years in the Sandwich Islands; or the Civil and Political History of those Islands.* Hartford and New-York. 1847.
4. *The Missionary's Daughter: A Memoir of Lucy Goodale Thurston, of the Sandwich Islands.* American Tract Society.

IN some important respects, the missions of the American Board at the Sandwich Islands are justly entitled to an honorable precedence over all others. They have more nearly accomplished their peculiar work. Their history affords the best illustration of the success of Protestant missions to barbarous tribes. There were, it is true, in the rise and the progress of these missions, some things peculiarly favorable.

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The inhabitants were shut up in their few islands. The first converts were not in danger of being lost to the eye of the missionary in the cities and jungles of an inaccessible interior. His labor was always on the coast. The people could not be migratory, however idle and adventurous. Their insular position forbade it. These circumstances, doubtless, have contributed to the early conversion of the islanders. They should be borne in mind whenever one is disposed to compare the history of these missions with that of similar Christian enterprises in Asia or Africa. The conquest of all these islands likewise by Kamehameha in 1795, was a remarkable preparation for the introduction of Christianity, in which the hand of Providence was as conspicuous as in the legal overthrow of the ancient system of idolatry by his son Liholiho, which immediately preceded the arrival of the first missionaries in 1820. It is easy to see that had the numerous chiefs retained their former independence, and continued, like African kings, to make war upon each other, not only the formal abolition of idolatry would have been long delayed, but innumerable difficulties, in the way of the simultaneous occupation of missionary stations throughout the group, would have presented themselves.

At the same time, there was enough in the character and habits of the islanders to put the heroic faith of their Christian benefactors to the severest test. Their religion was a confused mass of dark superstitions based upon the slavish fear and ignorance of the people.

> Spared by a parent's hand, a boy lived only to become the victim of a priest; an offering to a blood-loving deity, or to experience a living death from preternatual fears; a slave not only to his own superstitions, but to the terrors and caprices of his chief. Life, limb, or property were not his to know. Bitter, grinding tyranny was his lot. Theft, lying, drunkenness, riots, revelling, reachery, revenge, incest, lewdness, infanticide, murder; these were his earliest and latest teachings. Among them was his life passed. Their commonness excited no surprise. La Perouse, though fresh from the Rousseau school of innocence of savage life, thus expressed his opinion: "The most daring rascals of Europe are less hypocritical than these natives. All their caresses are false. Their physiognomy does not express a single sentiment of truth." The native, accustomed to scenes of blood, seeing his neighbors or friends fall about him, took no warning, but enjoyed his animal pleasures with a heartiness which vigorous health alone could give, and a thoughtlessness of the morrow and carelessness of results, which deceived many with the opinion that they were a happy, cheerful, and simple race. (Pp. 96, 97.)

In order to compute the obstacles with which the mission has been obliged to contend, we must add to this original

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depravity the corrupting influence of ships' crews. The whole truth on this point has never been told. Mr. Cheever, who commends the motives which have restrained the missionaries, blames their forbearance. We agree with him on this point. We fear that the whole blood of the natives has been irreclaimably poisoned, and that the native constitution is effectually undermined. Within the past thirty years the native population has been reduced from about 300,000 to 78,854, according to the census of 1849. In the year last mentioned the number of the deaths exceeded the number of the births by more than six thousand. There is a loose philosophy which explains this depopulation by saying that barbarous tribes must always fall a prey to their own civilization, as plants which flourish in the shade of a forest will die in the warmth and light of a conservatory. The inference from this opinion is a constructive argument against Christian missions, the fairness of which we should be ready to deny, even were the facts as they are represented. But the facts are widely different. Notwithstanding all their native vices, the islanders were rather remarkable for their health, robustness, and even physical beauty, until the national stock was impaired, and the Hawaiian constitution became venomously diseased, through the agency of depraved foreigners.

At the same time that this evil rose against them, the missionaries encountered the fierce opposition of the commanders of whale ships and men-of-war, seconded by the base calumnies of a few foreign residents. The Government of the United States has done what it could to atone for the outrageous conduct of Lieutenant Percival in 1826. But the mischief to the missions could not be repaired. Indeed, it seemed at one time that the three great powers of the civilized world, England, France, and the United States, were in unholy league against the pious labors of a few schoolteachers and preachers of the gospel. And yet in the face of this powerful opposition, by which the poverty and feebleness of a handful of missionaries were presented to the view of the simple natives in striking contrast with the wealth and rank and power and numbers of those who, in a certain sense, were the representatives of Christian nations, and on the originally corrupt soil of Hawaiian character, the work of improvement has been constantly advancing. The Hawaiians are now a free and Christian people. They afford the best illustration we have to show, of the doctrine of modern missions, that Christianity must precede civilization.

The native population is now reduced to about 75,000

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while the number of communicants in the churches is nearly one third part of the whole ; that is, almost the entire adult population is now connected with the mission churches. The accompanying changes in the moral and social condition of the people, together with their acquaintance with the arts of civilized communities, are scarcely less remarkable. Indeed, the sure tokens of an advancing civilization are freely admitted by all intelligent writers, not excepting those few voyagers, of whom we are happy to say that only one is a fellow countryman with the missionaries, we mean the author of "Typee" and "Omoo," who, while they acknowledge the pleasing change, find the cause of this moral regeneration rather in the visits of ships' crews than in the assiduous labors of missionaries.

We do not think that the reports of the mission have done justice to this subject. We learn more respecting the present civilization of the Islands from Lieutenant Wilkes than we do from the *Missionary Herald*, and more from Jarves' "History of the Hawaiian Islands" than from the ample pages of Bingham's "Residence." Indeed, the missionaries frankly tell us that the improvement in civilization is not what a New-Englander would naturally expect to find among a people where the children all go to school and their parents go to church. We are not surprised at this. Had it been otherwise, the parallel would have presented a degree of national refinement not very flattering to the rest of the civilized world. The progress in religion is absolutely without a second instance in modern times,—of course we mean among an equal number of people. Civilization is a slower work, often depending on material agencies, which it is not the province of the gospel to furnish by any direct means. Yet in this matter of civilization a good beginning has been made, and we are surprised that the missionaries have not given us more of their knowledge on this point. The theory of Protestant missions is, that the gospel must precede the introduction of the arts of civilized life among barbarous tribes. But it does not deny that civilization will follow. On the other hand, it teaches that there are no means of reclaiming a people from the savage state to one where the rights of both the individual and the government are respected by all parties, except where the Christian religion has been taught in its purity, and become generally understood. All intelligent and candid minds naturally ask for these proofs of the utility and success of Christian missions. If they have studied the history of social life and manners in the most cultivated nations of the earth, such

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minds will not expect to find a similar refinement in the Sandwich Islands. It does not exist there. But changes have been wrought there during the last quarter of this century, which evince the vast superiority of Christian missions over all other agencies in effecting the civilization of savages. It seems to us that our position as Protestants and friends of Protestant missions to the heathen, requires that we furnish all the facts in our possession which illustrate the benign and elevating influence of Christianity upon a debased and disor ganized society.

We have just read with the liveliest satisfaction an address before the Legislature of Rhode Island on the education of idiots and imbeciles. In 1847 the gentleman * by whom it was delivered visited the great Hospice de Bicêtre, about two miles from Paris, one of the noblest institutions of Europe. His account of what he saw and learned upon the spot has disclosed to us one of the most remarkable triumphs of benevolence and science in this age of wonders. We responded to his generous appeals in behalf of the same class of unfortunates in our own land. And we could not but inquire, why should not our Missionary Boards take greater pains to exhibit the wonderful changes which their agents are effecting in the manners of savage nations? We venture to say that no candid man could deny the wisdom of the missionary enterprise, or withhold from it his hearty approbation.

Not long since we read an article which appeared in the *Christian Examiner* for May, 1848, entitled "Catholic and Protestant Missions." The writer does not attempt to compare the two, but he gives some of the materials for such a comparison. He certainly bears no ill-will towards the Catholics; and he seems disposed to do justice to the success which has attended Protestant missions, particularly those which form the subject of this article. But while the writer examines with care, and has fairly reported the statements which friends and enemies have made respecting the present civilization of these Islands, it does not seem even to have occurred to him to inquire, whether any similar results have followed the heroic labors of the missionaries of the Roman Catholic Church, to whom he awards their just meed of praise. This omission is most significant. It is what any Protestant writer, not immediately identified with the cause of missions, nor compelled to answer the hasty objections which were once offered against the enterprise, would nat-

* Samuel G. Arnold, Esq.

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urally make. For no one expects that Catholic missions to the heathen, if *peacefully* prosecuted, as in Japan and Canada, and not by the sword, as in Mexico and South America, will ever yield any other results than such as the *United States Catholic Magazine* and the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi* would call "spiritual fruits."

The change which has been effected in public opinion on this subject, in England and in this country, since the days when Sydney Smith convulsed the readers of the *Edinburgh Review* with laughter, at the expense of such men as WILLIAM CAREY, is mainly owing to the undeniable civilization which has followed the introduction of the gospel among barbarians and idolaters. On no subject connected with modern enterprise has the public press undergone a greater change than on the subject of Protestant missions to the heathen. The *Christian Examiner* is itself an excellent illustration in point. One of the recent numbers of the leading quarterly in this country, the *North American Review*, while administering a mild rebuke to the *Examiner*, because its notice of Professor Gammell's History of Baptist Missions had been offered in a spirit quite at variance with the *liberal* professions of that able periodical, pauses to take the higher Christian grounds on this subject, and to enforce its claims to the respectful consideration of all intelligent and benevolent minds. And still later, the *London Times* comes to us with its unqualified acknowledgment of a sound and growing civilization in the Sandwich Islands, for which not only the islanders themselves, but all Christian nations trading in those seas, are indebted to the labors of American missionaries. For this testimony, and for the enlightened views which it indicates, we are indebted mainly, not to the returns of missionaries, nor to the Annual Reports of the Executive Committee of the American Board, but to voyagers and residents, some of whom, like Jarves, cherished strong prejudices against the missionaries, until they were removed by careful inquiry and personal observations at the Islands. The latest work relating to these Islands is Mr. Cheever's interesting volume on the "Island-World of the Pacific," and we must rank him among this class of writers. For although a clergyman, and the personal friend of some of the missionaries, his work affords internal evidence that he has taken nothing at second-hand, which it was in his power to ascertain by inquiry and experiment. He seems to have no wish to disguise the remaining and sufficiently mortifying defects of the Hawaiian character. These allowances are made so often, that the reader begins to experience

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a nervous fear that the people are ready, on the first occasion, to lapse at once into the abominations from which they have been recovered, and is painfully reminded of Æsop's fable of the cat, whom the god had transformed into a beautiful bride, but who sprang from the side of her lord when the first rat rustled the arras. But this only makes Mr. Cheever's testimony the more valuable. We are to look at the present civilization of these Islands, not in the light of New-England manners, but in contrast with their former degradation. We then discover the immense stride which the nation has taken from the lowest state of barbarism to a position of comparative elevation with respect to all the attributes of civilized life.

And here we will offer a word in passing respecting Mr. Cheever's book. It has both disappointed and pleased us. Its title is much too ambitious. The Sandwich Islands, and they are the only ones which the writer notices at length, form but a small portion of "the Island-World of the Pacific." The work is very unequally written, some parts having been carefully prepared, while others are evidently only the first notes of the traveller taken on the spot. The numerous poetical quotations, which form a large portion of the work, are singularly out of place; the prose rarely putting the mind of the curious and impatient reader in a mood for converse with Montgomery, Cowper, and Wordsworth. And yet Mr. Cheever has given us one of the best helps to a knowledge of Hawaiian character as it is, which we have ever secured. He takes us in, and introduces us in the most familiar manner possible to churches, schools, native huts, and the every-day work of missionary life, until we know how the people look, and how they spend their time, and can tell respecting the national character, about how many points have been reclaimed by the power of Christian example and Christian knowledge, and how many still bear the offensive impress of an original barbarism. We know of no other book which discriminates so well in these respects, and convinces the reader that he has found out what kind of Christians these Hawaiian Congregationalists are. It is not a book of history. It supposes that the reader is familiar with the pages of Bingham and Jarves. The thread of the writer's personal narrative is broken so often, that one wearies with the labor of trying to connect it. But then it affords life-like pictures of what now exists, and of the work still in progress there,—the very thing we needed. In one respect Mr. Cheever's statements have very much surprised us. We were not prepared

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for such an account of the idleness of the people. While admitting that general physical depravity which seems fastened like the leprosy upon the national constitution, he yet regards the *general indolence* as largely concerned in the rapid depopulation of these healthful Islands. We hope this judgment is just. Indolence may be cured, though leprosy cannot. The people have already abandoned too many things worse than idleness, for us to despair of their conquering this infirmity. Nor shall this serious and just charge be entertained as making too much against the Christianity of a people who have just emerged into the light of civilization. It is too much to expect New-England industry from reclaimed savages living within the tropics, and *without a market for their productions.* What would be the habits of our Western farmers with no market for their wheat and maize? What numbers of them, transformed into trappers and hunters, would thread the rivers and roam the forests. Until the recent settlement of California, the Sandwich Islanders have never had a market to stimulate the industry of the whole people. A writer in one of the March numbers of the *Polynesian* for the year 1850, says that in the region where he resides, the call for the products of the earth created by the California markets has aroused almost the whole population to action. He adds: "I hazard nothing in saying that there has throughout the whole of our district been tenfold more planting done this year, thus far, than for the same time during my acquaintance with the people. It pleases me to see so great an improvement in the industry of the people, with only the very partial stimulus by which it has been effected; and I look forward to the time when, encouraged by the experience that the fruits of every man's labor are his own, the Hawaiian will stand forth high in the ranks of enterprise and thrift, and thus repel the common but unjust imputation of inborn laziness."* Very recent intelligence, received from the Islands in January last, by the California mail, shows that the people are awake to the immense advantages now open to them on our Pacific shores.

Our view would be very incomplete if we took no notice of the public school system, now in successful operation in all the Islands. It is modelled after the one whose general features have been adopted by the several States of this Union. It embraces schools of different grades, with provisions for the education of native teachers. The government schools, in

* Appendix to the Island-World, p. 400.

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1849, contained more than 19,000 scholars,—a much larger proportion of the whole population, we believe, than attend school in any of the American States. Some time since, the Government assumed the charge of the schools, and created the office of Minister of Public Instruction, which is at present filled by Mr. Armstrong, who was dismissed from the service of the Mission Board for this purpose. At an earlier period the Government established a school at Honolulu for the education of the sons of chiefs, of which Lieutenant Wilkes speaks in the highest terms of commendation. And recently the Government has assumed the expense of the seminary, or college, at Lahailauna; the Board making a donation of the buildings, library, and apparatus.

Following in their train, and not far distant, as we believe, is the event which will prove that the work of this noble Society, with reference to these Islands, is accomplished. We allude to the entire separation of the native churches and missionary pastors from their present connection with the American Board. The subject was referred to in the Annual Report for 1849, and in the Annual Survey of the Missions presented in the *Missionary Herald* for January of the next year. From this number, p. 12, we make the following extract:—"The Committee seek to facilitate the independent settlement of the members of the mission as pastors and teachers at the Islands, and to place those who cannot yet obtain a living on the same footing with our home missionaries; and they expect to enable and induce the missionaries generally to remain at the Islands with their families, and thus insure, through the Divine blessing, a Puritan basis for the community, whatever it shall be, which is to exist on those Islands."

Such is the quiet announcement of an auspicious era in the history of the Sandwich Islands, and in the history of modern missions to the heathen. We know not that we have ever read a single paragraph of missionary intelligence with such lively emotions of pleasure. Not that this result was unlooked for or uncertain, for the events of the past few years have been steadily contributing to it. But the announcement is earlier, by many years, than we had expected. It is a strong confirmation of the hopes and faith of those who, with no warrant but the command of Christ, have long labored in this cause. Among all the splendid achievements which the first half of the nineteenth century has to show, we know of none to which the Christian philanthropist can look with deeper satisfaction, than to the redemption of these Islands.

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The increased value which property and labor have there acquired in consequence of the settlement of California, will contribute to render the churches independent of the Mission Board. The disposition of the native Christians to relieve the Board of their present charge has long been evinced. Their churches now contribute about $1,500 a year at their monthly concerts. The whole amount of their contributions for various purposes the last year, so far as reported, is something more than $7,000.

The only other mission whose success approaches that of the one we are now regarding, is the Baptist mission among the Karens of south-eastern Asia. There are now about 14,000 Karen converts, connected with a Christian population, variously estimated from fifty to seventy-five thousand. In some respects the two people, the Islanders and the Karens, originally presented the same encouragements to missionary labor, while in other respects their character and condition were widely unlike. In both instances the people were unincumbered with the two greatest obstacles to missionary success, a priesthood, and a written literature. The success of the Karen mission will appear the more remarkable in this comparison, when it is considered that it was established about ten years later than the mission in the Pacific, and has been maintained at a much less expense of men and of money. Besides this, while at the Islands the missionaries have always had access to the natives, and have resided among them uninterruptedly from the beginning, the Karens, as a people, are cut off from all communication with the missionaries during about seven months of each year. We regard the conversion of both these nations as destined to exert an important influence in different quarters of the globe. At first view it would seem that beyond the spiritual good of the individuals converted, the event will prove to be of small importance to the rest of the world; that both of the races are too singularly isolated, the one by geographical position, and the other by their social inferiority to the Burmese, to justify the expectation that their Christian example and moral and intellectual improvement will accomplish much for the benefit of other tribes.

As to the Karens, however, the history of Christianity leads us to expect that these singular people, underlying the more conspicuous grades of society beyond the Ganges, are destined, first to carry the gospel throughout all those distant regions, and then through the elevating power of their principles and Christian life, gradually to change places in the social scale with their neighbors, and to rise to that rank and influence

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which superior knowledge and character, by a beneficent law of Providence, always ultimately attain. It is a striking fact that the intellectual and moral constitution of the Karens, as developed by Christian cultivation, exhibits to a large degree the qualities necessary for such a destiny.

With respect to the Sandwich Islands, it is not easy to conjecture what part they will yet serve in the work in which the two great commercial powers, Great Britain and the United States, have taken the lead, and which must be prosecuted until the whole world has been civilized by means of Protestant missions. If, as we will still hope, the physical constitution of the natives can be preserved from entire decay, by the new habits of industry which are now in process of formation, then we see in the recent events on our own Pacific shores, something of the original design of that all-comprehending Providence, which thirty years since guided the first missionaries to those distant islands. The Pacific coast, now open to the enterprise of our countrymen, is nearly equal in extent to its parallel border on the Atlantic. Already a State has been formed with a population of two hundred thousand. At the present rate of increase by immigration from all lands, in twenty years those shores will sustain a population greater than that of this country when the Federal Constitution was adopted. Long before that time, the commerce of the world, which has been driven for ages around the great southern promontories, will have forced its way across North America by railroad, and through the Isthmus by canal, and will flow in nearly a direct line eastward and westward, from Western Europe and Eastern Asia. The number of merchant vessels which arrived at Honolulu in 1849 was 162. The changes which the settlement of Oregon and California has rendered almost certain, with the immense trade and intercourse which will be established between the two continents, must swell this number far beyond any ordinary estimate. A glance at the map shows that the Sandwich Islands are destined to be as much distinguished for their commercial uses, as they now are for their speedy conversion to Christianity. What effect all this is to have upon the community which will possess those Islands; how much it is to differ from the native race, and how large will be the native element; whether foreign nations will continue to respect the present government, or whether, indeed, that government will prove itself equal to the new duties to which it will be called, are questions which time alone can determine. But time will not long delay the solution of these problems; and we

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await it with kindling interest and hope. Certainly it is no small boon conferred upon the civilized world, to have abolished the pest-house of Hawaiian licentiousness, knavery and crime, and, in advance of the unforeseen commerce of this age, to have filled this great entrepôt of the Pacific with Christian men and Christian churches, and there to have established the enlightened maritime regulations which exist at New-York and Liverpool.

We trust, too, that the cause of Christian missions will derive equal advantages from the conversion of these Islands. In the recent Annual Survey of the Missions of the American Board, given in the *Missionary Herald* for January, 1851, we find the following cheering announcement:—"Partly for the purpose of developing and keeping in vigorous exercise the graces of the native Christians at the Sandwich Islands, it has been proposed to form a new mission in one of the numerous groups of local islands lying some two thousand miles farther west, to be supported in part by laborers and contributions from the native churches." Let this good work be prosecuted. Let these people repay the kindness of American churches in this manner. It is said that their language and race were originally identical with those of all Polynesia. Let them lead the way, or at least swell the train of the pioneer missionaries to those idolatrous millions.

Art. VI.—ORATIONS AND SPEECHES OF CHARLES SUMNER.

Orations and Speeches. By Charles Sumner. In two volumes. Boston: Ticknor, Reed & Field. 1850.

It has been said that, in this generation, when a man has any thing to say, he puts it into a novel. The remark has as much truth in it as most pithy sayings, but, so far at least as this country is concerned, it might quite as well have been said, that when a man has any thing to say, he puts it into a lecture, an oration, or a speech. The amount of production in this department of American literature would be absolutely appalling, were it not for the consoling reflection, that most of it serves a temporary purpose, and is speedily forgotten. If all the first-rate orations before the various literary societies of our too numerous Colleges, all the excellent sermons before our religious and charitable associa-

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tions, all the good lyceum lectures, were duly printed and preserved, no man could fail to be touched with a new sense of the woes that assail the scholar's life.

It is a perilous thing for the eloquent public speaker, the charm of voice and manner, the magnetic influence of an approving audience all withdrawn, to tempt the ordeal of the press and the calm study of the closet. When we lately saw announced by Messrs. Little and Brown, Orations and Speeches on Various Occasions, in two large octavo volumes, by Edward Everett, high as was our estimate of the ability and scholarship of that remarkable man, we could not but admire the courage and confidence with which he ventured to court the criticism of his countrymen, by collecting in an enduring form those occasional discourses which had won in their day so much applause. We all know the success with which this experiment has been made. The Grecian beauty and finish of their style, and their exceeding good sense, will make these works of Mr. Everett a permanent part of the literature of his country, and so a lasting monument of his fame.

The same publishers announce as forthcoming, a new edition of the Orations, Speeches, Arguments and Diplomatic Papers of Mr. Webster. The position of these works cannot of course be doubtful. Many men will question the soundness of some of his opinions; his present relation to *the* great question of the day is a subject about which all men do not think alike; but by common consent he is the foremost man of all his time, and his works will not be forgotten while our language is remembered.

We do not mean to suggest a comparison between Mr. Everett or Mr. Webster and Mr. Sumner, but we do mean to say, that by collecting and publishing his Orations and Speeches, he has added to his reputation, and this is no small praise. If any man has a claim to kind treatment from our ungentle craft, it is Mr. Sumner. With the most abounding good-nature, he avails himself of every opportunity which comes in his way, and not unfrequently turns out of his way, to speak a word of encouragement or of eulogy. We cannot go with him in all his praise, but we admire the generosity of his nature. And by the way, considering the great variety and abundance of wicked men, we think he has singled out the warrior for a somewhat too sweeping and exclusive condemnation. But even here the goodness of his heart appears. It is upon warriors as a class that he pours out the vials of his wrath, and for each individual of the

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unhappy race he would doubtless have the same kindly feeling which Uncle Toby had for the Devil: "I am sorry for him, quoth my Uncle Toby."

We place these volumes among the note-worthy books of the day, and shall therefore give some brief account of their contents, refer to some of those things in them which we consider of the greatest value, and hint at one or two matters, as to which it seems to us that Mr. Sumner would derive benefit from further observation and reflection.

By invitation of the authorities of the city of Boston, Mr. Sumner delivered an oration on the 4th of July, 1845. He took for his subject, The True Grandeur of Nations. The oration is an eloquent and elaborate attack upon the war system of nations. It was speedily published, and has, we believe, been extensively circulated by the Peace Society. His next appearance before the public was as the orator of the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Harvard University, at their Anniversary, August 27th, 1846. Within four years previous to that time, Pickering, Story, Allston, and Channing —honored sons of Harvard—had died, and a review of the lives and services of these men, treating them respectively as types of the Scholar, the Jurist, the Artist, and the Philanthropist, furnished the orator with a most appropriate theme, and it was most successfully treated. Excepting a tendency to exaggerated praise, easily pardoned to the occasion and the ardor of personal friendship, we have no fault to find with it, and it is, we think, the happiest effort of its author. White Slavery in the Barbary States formed the subject of a lecture before the Boston Mercantile Library Association, delivered February 17th, 1847, and the motto selected for the title-page indicates plainly enough the purpose which its author had in view:

> ——Mutato nomine, de te
> Fabula narratus.

Fame and Glory are discussed in an oration before the Literary Societies of Amherst College, delivered August 11th, 1847, and the Law of Human Progress is treated of in an oration before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Union College, on July 25th, 1848. The second volume contains an Address before the American Peace Society; a Speech before the Prison Discipline Society; a Speech on the Mexican War; an Argument before the Supreme Court of Massachusetts in favor of the claim of colored children to attend the public schools; three most eloquent tributes to the memory of his friends Pickering, Story, and Wheaton; and the remainder

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of the volume is made up of political addresses and letters, setting forth with much ability the opinions of the author upon the question of American Slavery.

These productions indicate a wide reputation. To have been invited to deliver these orations and addresses, would not have happened to any man not favorably known as a writer and speaker. To have selected such themes, is not an accident, but a plain indication of the character of the man. We have here the ardent friend of Peace; the eloquent defender of the high claims of Literature and of Art; urgent appeals in behalf of a more Christian view of Glory; unwavering faith in Human Progress, and firm allegiance to Equality and Freedom.

It is no part of our present purpose to discuss the soundness of Mr. Sumner's opinions. In some of them we fully agree; from others we differ so widely, that we could not set forth the grounds of such difference without more space than we can command here: our object is rather to speak of that in him which has our cordial sympathy.

And let us speak first of the wide and liberal culture of which these volumes afford the most abundant proof. Mr. Sumner is yet a young man, and his country may hope for still further evidence of his learning, his industry, and his talent; but if he should do nothing more, he would leave a monument of well-directed labor fitted to awaken and guide the emulation of ingenuous youth.

But more important than learning and labor is the spirit in which he works. It is the spirit of the true scholar, ever learning. The horizon of his mind is wide, and constantly extending. What he has beautifully said of another, may be truly said of him:—"He was of that rare and happy constitution of mind, in which occupation is the normal state. He was possessed by a genius for labor. Others may moil in the law as successfully as he, but without his loving, successful earnestness of study. What he undertook he always did with his heart, soul, and mind; not with reluctant vain compliance, but with his entire nature bent to the task. As in his friendships and in the warmth of society, so was he in his studies: his heart embraced labor, as his hand grasped the hand of a friend."

Indeed in many of the characteristics of his mind, he is not unlike the master whom he loved so well, and whose memory he has so fondly cherished. Judge Story was remarkable for the variety and extent of his labors, more remarkable for the exulting joy with which he performed his tasks,—

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hardly tasks to him,—and still more remarkable for his influence over the minds of others, especially of the young, stimulating and quickening them, and summoning up all their energies. For these things we think he will be remembered, rather than for the force of his reasoning or the accuracy of his knowledge. Mr. Sumner has written upon some of the most important subjects which can engage the attention of man, and it is impossible to read any thing which he has written without a new interest in his theme, or without gratitude for the illumination which he has shed over it. But as it seems to us, he seldom says the last word upon any subject; the enthusiasm of the first reading gradually passes away, and the mind is not satisfied. Precisely so have we felt in relation to some of the legal writings of Judge Story. Mr. Sumner is liberal and catholic in his own opinions, and generous in his treatment of those who differ from him. He is also remarkable for fidelity to his convictions. No man can read these two volumes without being persuaded that their author is thoroughly in earnest, and perfectly honest. These good qualities are not too common, and when we find them, we feel it to be no less our duty than our pleasure to commend them. We know not where among the literary men of our country we could point to one whose example in all respects is more worthy of imitation than that of Mr. Sumner. We should be glad to know that these volumes were generally and carefully read by the students in our colleges and literary institutions.

In his letter to the Free Soil party, accepting their nomination for Congress, he says:—"It has been my desire and determination to labor in such fields of usefulness as are open to every private citizen, without the honors, the emoluments or the constraint of office. I would show by my example (might I so aspire!) that something may be done for the welfare of our race, without the support of public station, or the accident of popular favor. In this desire I had hoped to be allowed to persevere unto the end."

Many of his friends will regret that he was ever persuaded to forego that determination, so far as to allow the use of his name as a candidate for political office: not because they doubt that he was influenced by a sense of duty, and surrendered to that his personal inclinations, but because they are doubtful of the good he can accomplish in this new path, and are sure of the value of his labors in more congenial and accustomed fields. In the oration upon Fame and Glory,

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he has unconsciously drawn his own character; it is a favorable specimen of his style, and he will allow us to suggest, that such men will find their true sphere elsewhere than in the Senate:—

Such are some of the exemplars of True Glory. Without rank, office, or the sword, they accomplished immortal good. While on earth, they labored for their fellow-men; and now, sleeping in death,—by their example and their works,—they continue the same sacred office. To all, in whatever sphere or condition of life, they teach the same commanding lessons of magnanimous duty. From the heights of their virtue, they call upon us to cast out the lust of power, of office, of wealth, of praise, of a fleeting popular favor, which "a breath can make, as a breath has made;" to subdue the constant, ever-present suggestions of *self*, in disregard of those neighbors, near or remote, whose happiness should never be absent from our mind; to check the madness of party, which so often, for the sake of success, renounces the very objects of success; and finally, to introduce into our lives those lofty sentiments of *Conscience* and *Charity*, which animated them to such godlike labors. Nor should these be mere holiday virtues, marshalled on great occasions only. They must become a part of us, and of our existence; ever present in season and out of season, in all the amenities of life; in those daily offices of conduct and manner which add so much to its charm, as also in those grander duties whose performance evinces an ennobling sacrifice. The first are as the flowers, whose odor is pleasant, though fleeting; the latter are like the precious ointment from the box of alabaster, poured upon the head of the Lord.

To the supremacy of these principles let us all consecrate our best purposes and strength. So doing, let us reverse the very poles of the worship of past ages. Men have thus far bowed down before stocks, stones, insects, crocodiles, golden calves,—graven images, often of cunning workmanship, wrought with Phidian skill, of ivory, of ebony, of marble,—but all *false gods*. Let them worship in future the true God, our Father, as He is in heaven, and in the *beneficent* labors of His children on earth. Then farewell to the syren song of a worldly ambition! Farewell to the vain desire of mere literary success or oratorical display! Farewell to the distempered longings for office! Farewell to the dismal, blood-red phantom of martial renown! Fame and Glory may then continue as in times past, the reflection of public opinion; but of an opinion sure and steadfast, without change or fickleness, enlightened by those two suns of Christian truth, love to God and love to man.

From the serene illumination of these duties, all the forms of selfishness shall retreat, like evil spirits at the dawn of day. Then shall the happiness of the poor and lowly, and the education of the ignorant, have uncounted friends. The cause of those who are in prison shall find fresh voices; the majesty of Peace other vindicators; the sufferings of the slave, new and gushing floods of sympathy. Then, at last, shall the Brotherhood of Mankind stand confessed; ever filling the souls of all with a more generous life, ever prompting to deeds of beneficence; conquering the heathen prejudices of country, color, and race; guiding the judgment of the historian, animating the verse of the poet, and the eloquence of the orator, ennobling human thought and conduct, and inspiring those good works by which alone we may attain to the heights of True Glory. Good Works! Such even now is the heavenly ladder, on which angels are as-

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ceading and descending, while weary humanity, on pillows of stone, slumbers heavily at its feet.

Mr. Sumner used to be a peculiar favorite of Boston and Cambridge, and if we are correctly informed, is just now unpopular with some of his old friends. We hope this will prove a profitable experience to him. Doubtless he estimates popular censure and applause at their true value. We have heard of a Society, in and about Boston, called the Mutual Admiration Society. There is some foundation for the joke. Boston and Cambridge are most excellent places. The members of the Mutual Admiration Society are most estimable men,—gentlemen and scholars: but they do not constitute a tribunal of last resort. This is a great country, and there are a great many good men in it, and it can do no one any harm to be reminded that wisdom and virtue do not dwell exclusively under the shadow of Bunker Hill.

There is one other suggestion. It is easy to form some judgment of a man from the central idea around which all his opinions form themselves. It is easy to see that Mr. Sumner's central thought, like that of the late Dr. Channing, is the Dignity of Human Nature. Do history, observation, the Bible, and self-scrutiny sustain this view of human nature? Will any reforms based upon this view of man's nature succeed? We think not. Perhaps we ought to explain our meaning a little more fully, although we have not space for a full examination of the subject. Our difference with Mr. Sumner is the old opposition between those who believe in the doctrine of Total Depravity and those who do not. We believe that man is pratically and substantially and in the usual sense of the words, a fallen being; that by nature he is not subject to the Law of God, neither indeed can be; that no individual of the human race ever was, or ever will be in any true sense, virtuous, without a radical, practical and substantial change of heart; and that no such change of heart ever did or ever will take place in any individual of the race, without the agency of an influence beyond and above himself—a divine influence—the regenerating work of the Holy Spirit. Now we will not undertake to say that Mr. Sumner would deny this. We find in his works no assertion of a contrary doctrine. But we mean to say that the whole spirit and tenor of his works amount to a practical denial of this central truth. If a man write and speak upon moral questions and omit all mention of a principle which lies at the foundation of all moral reasoning, he might as well deny it in terms, so far as his influence is concerned. Let

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any man carefully read the Address before the Peace Society, the Oration upon Fame and Glory, the Oration upon the Law of Human Progress—let him meditate upon them until he is fully imbued with the scope and tendency of the writer's thought, and then let him read the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans; and if he believe that St. Paul's view of man's character and condition be correct, we think he cannot avoid the conclusion that Mr. Sumner's is fundamentally wrong. As will be seen from the previous parts of this article, this is said in no spirit of censoriousness or unkindness. We have mentioned the name of Dr. Channing, and we desire never to do so but in terms of respect. We certainly do no injustice to those who take what they call a more favorable view of human nature than we do, in representing Dr. Channing as their leader. We are not disposed to deny that he and those who preceded and have followed him, have exerted in some respects a favorable influence upon the theological opinions of the country and the age, by correcting a tendency to certain formal technical and gloomy opinions; but we think they have also inverted the true order and disturbed the true proportion of doctrine, and that those who put in the foreground and mainly insist upon the Dignity of Human Nature, are contending with stubborn facts, and will never make any wide or permanent impression upon mankind. And we also think that those who lay at the foundation of all their reasoning the doctrine of the Depravity of Human Nature, and so prepare the way for the reception of the other doctrines which logically result from that, will be in the future, as it seems to us they have been in the past, the men who most deeply move the hearts and most thoroughly mould the characters of other men.

There may seem to be little difference in theory between the men who arrive at results so widely different. Jonathan Edwards would doubtless have assented to much of what Dr. Channing has said of the Dignity of the Human Soul. Dr. Channing would admit the truth of much that Edwards has written of the Wickedness of the Human Heart. But we think the grand result of the writings of Dr. Channing is to make man feel his own importance, and of the writings of Jonathan Edwards to make him feel his own dependence. Now it may be, no doubt it is, well to remind a man that he is greater than the whole material universe, but it is much more important to make him feel as a good man did when he saw a criminal on the way to execution, "There goes John Newton, but for the grace of God."

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Art. VII.—JOHN ROBINSON AND THOMAS HELWYS.

Whoever looks abroad over these American States observes the workings of institutions such as have never before blessed the world. Not till the darkness of the Middle Ages had yielded to the rising dawn of the new and better Ages succeeding,—not till Feudalism was giving place to doctrines and actual developments in which Human Rights were recognized, did it please God to discover to the civilized world this Western Hemisphere, and to lay here the foundations of new Empires. How marked too was the presence of his guiding Hand in partitioning this Hemisphere among those who struggled for the prize! That portion which lay nearest the Old World was unquestionably the most important;—it had not indeed mountains whose bowels yielded silver, nor streams whose waters washed out gold, but it had a genial climate and a productive soil, capacious harbors and far-reaching inland water-courses, with a broad, unmeasured, and unimagined interior, capable of sustaining the population of Europe five times told. Into whose hands should it fall? By what people should it be settled, and whose institutions should find here opportunities for boundless development? It was a critical period in the history of the world. Suppose for one moment that Spain had won the prize,—Spain, rich, proud, the first of European States in material possessions and in rank, but at the same time most bigoted of all in obsequiousness to Rome,—dry, like Gideon's fleece, amid the dews of the Reformation,*—and sworn to an everlasting war against civil and religious freedom! Or suppose that this portion of the Continent had become the possession of France, which, standing for a while poised between the Reformation and the Roman Apostasy, at length fell back to the latter, and wedded herself anew to the work of human enslavement! Both sought the coveted acquisition. Spain planted her standard amid the luxuriant flowers of the South, and France believed that the lilies of Bourbon would grow on the cold shores of the St. Lawrence. Spain sent her pioneers along the Gulf of Mexico to the Mississippi, and France with equal zeal established posts along the Northern Lakes, and far down the same great river of the West. These powers had belted the Eastern half

* Macaulay.

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of the Continent, and its partition between them was the only prospect which opened to the human eye. Alas for the world if such had been the fate of America! But Divine Providence was at this very time training another people to become the possessors of this wide domain. The Reformation had stirred the English mind to its depths. Looking back now upon the history of England for centuries preceding the period of which we are speaking, we are able to see in the commingling of races and of institutions, and specially in the demands for a purer worship which had often sprung from the people, and in the recognition and settlement of great and immutable principles of law which had agitated Parliaments and Courts, the progress of a Providential discipline which prepared England to become Protestant. True, she did not become so without long struggles in Church and State. Parties of the Old Learning and the New contended violently for the mastery, and through successive generations confessors and patriots bore their dying testimonies at the stake and on the scaffold. But the principles of civil and religious liberty had found a place in the English mind from which they could not be dislodged. Every struggle, whatever the immediate issue, was a triumph on the side of freedom. Principles are more powerful than arms, and the contest is never doubtful. When England accepted the Reformation,—and England, as God had trained her, could not do otherwise,—she committed herself to the glorious destiny which she has fulfilled. She became the Mistress of Nations, and under God the Regenerator and Hope of the world.

To England, pledged to such a mission, God gave for the time this Western domain. His purposes, however, could not then be foreseen. Those whom the mother country sent hither, some as exiles and some as adventurers, brought with them the agitations which rent society at home, and out of which were to be eliminated the principles and the institutions of freedom. The scenes amid which they planted themselves, the occupations to which their necessities gave rise, the opportunities for popular government which their Charters secured and their condition rendered indispensable, all conspired to carry forward the developments of freedom more rapidly than was possible in the land which the colonists had left. And now the purposes of Providence became apparent. The Reformation was not more a necessity to England, than was the Revolution to the Colonies. That Revolution lay along the path of inevitable destiny. It gave to

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a Continent the institutions of which the Reformation in England was the prophecy and the pledge. It consecrated this wide and glorious domain to the illustration of civil and religious liberty.

It requires an effort of attention, and a comparison of our condition with that of the people of other countries, to estimate justly the blessings of our freedom. It is a freedom limited and regulated by law, but the limitations and regulations lie just at those points beyond which freedom becomes anarchy and a curse. It is the inalienable right of every American citizen to seek his own happiness in his own way, provided only that he shall not invade the equal rights of his neighbors. Every sphere of life is open to every man. The largest wealth, the highest stations, are the fair prizes for which all are the equally protected competitors. As matters of fact, our merchant-princes and our Senators and Presidents are often from humble spheres of life, and have worked their way to wealth and rank by the force of talents exercised where opportunities were free. Our institutions are precisely in harmony with man's nature, and meet his conscious wants. They invite him to progress, and have their best illustration when he avails himself most of the privileges which they furnish.

It is not so in the older nations. There are seats of power which it would be treason to attempt to reach even by honorable means. The avenues to wealth and even to knowledge are obstructed by oppressive restrictions, and society is divided into castes by barriers which it is scarcely possible to surmount. And this whole frame-work of oppression is held together by the presence of a military force, which, under the pretext of defending against invasion from abroad, really is maintained to preserve the thrones of tyrants and the ascendency of privileged classes at home. The foreigner coming to our shores finds it difficult to put himself fully in sympathy with his new condition. Our equality of rights and opportunities is to him a new experience, and amid the absence of a military force he wonders what holds our society together. At length he learns that the conservative forces of American society are spiritual,—that the spirit of freedom is likewise the spirit of law,—that an intelligent and virtuous community of freemen will maintain social quietness and order, by a law WITHIN as unfailing as that law of the material world which holds the planets in their steady pathway around the sun. There may be, there are, crimes against peace and order, and there must be laws and constabulary

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forces for the lawless and disturbers of the peace, but it is not these laws and forces which maintain the quietness of our great family of free citizens. Never was there a government where so little outward force was seen,—never one where so little was needed. The secret lies in the fact that here man has attained and understands his rights; he has attained true freedom, the very spirit of which is reverential to law.

But it was not our purpose to speak at length of *civil* freedom. Our *religious* freedom is even more our distinction and honor. IT IS FREEDOM. Other lands may boast of TOLERATION; we boast of FREEDOM. None with us has the right or the power to *tolerate*. There is neither magistrate nor priest of their great clemency to *permit* A to be an Episcopalian, or B to be a Presbyterian, or C to be a Baptist, or D to be a Roman Catholic. They are the one or the other because as FREEMEN they are so persuaded, and because, under responsibility to God only, they so CHOOSE to be. Such is the religious liberty of these States. No denomination is patronized,—none is proscribed. The State confines its jurisdiction to civil affairs only, and so long as its peace is preserved, leaves the domain of Conscience to the unshared supremacy of its rightful Lord. With us the State and the Church have learned respectively their spheres, and each confines itself within its own realm. Our institutions can boast no higher honor than the solution of this problem. To many foreigners it is a marvel that the State can preserve order without the organized alliance of the Church as a moral police, and not less a marvel that the Church can thrive without drawing patronage and aid from the State. To us it is no marvel. The State derives aid from the Church unquestionably, but derives that aid only as the Church untrammelled and free promotes sentiments of piety and virtue among the people. Purer because she is free, she for that reason thrives best and accomplishes most. Her very freedom quickens thought, and awakens energy, and incites to prayer, and her power to conserve the State can be illustrated and known only when the last link which binds her to the State is sundered. She demands the right to declare a free gospel to free consciences, and having that she demands no more. The support of her ministry and worship she will derive from the willing offerings of those whom her teachings bless.

How happy our lot is in respect to religious freedom is seen, as in the former instance, by comparing our condition with that of the people of other, and even the most favored nations. The rising Baptists of Germany, for no other crime than

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their faith, have been subjected to fines, imprisonment and banishment, and even while we write are enduring these vexations and wrongs. Baptists have shared the same fate in Denmark, and the banishment of a Baptist minister from Sweden is fresh in the recollection of the reader as an item of recent news. France has belied her clamorous boasts of republicanism as much by petty persecutions at home as by crushing the rising liberties of Italy. But it is not necessary to seek out special instances of persecution to illustrate the wide differences between our condition and that of nations where the Church is connected with the State. The whole system of religious establishments is evil only; and when it ceases to be a persecution it becomes a bribe. Under such establishments religious freedom in its broadest and truest sense is an impossibility, and the compulsory taxes which wring from Dissenters the stipends with which priests whom they never hear, and whose doctrines they do not believe, are paid, are among the minor evils of such a connection. It is not necessary to allude to Catholic countries where penalties follow the slightest indications of free thought, or to recur to the history of those times when the Inquisition sought victims for the rack, and the souls of martyrs ascended to heaven amid the flames by which their bodies were consumed.

It is perhaps sufficiently plain, and is generally recognized, that our institutions are a growth of many ages,—the fruits of contests carried on through successive generations. It may be doubted, however, whether the stages of the growth, and the histories of particular contests, are as well understood as is desirable,—whether indeed we should not prize far more highly our "goodly heritage," and render a warmer tribute of gratitude for it, if we more distinctly recognized the actors and the incidents in the Struggles and Triumphs of Religious Liberty. Our special liability is to overlook the earlier struggles, and the noble bravery of the earlier combatants. We venture to say that it is a limited number, of even intelligent readers, who are accustomed to trace the progress of civil freedom further back than the Revolution of 1688, or at farthest than the period of the contests with Charles I. and the overthrow of the monarchy. True, they carry in their recollection the testimony borne in general phrases, as in Hume, that England is indebted for the liberties of her people, more to the Puritans than to any other class or party, but a search into the grounds on which such testimony is borne,—an inquiry into the circumstances of the rise of the Puritans,—the principles which they affirmed,—the parties into which

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they themselves were divided,—their relations to the State,—the struggles through which they passed in their earlier collisions with the ruling powers,—their sufferings as patriots of whom the world was not worthy, and the steady triumphs which prepared them for the more notable events of the seventeenth century;—these are matters too often regarded with indifference and overlooked.

It is so likewise in relation to religious liberty. There are multitudes who, though they may have read of earlier demands for the rights of conscience, have nevertheless no distinct apprehension of hard contests for religious freedom previous to those which brought the Pilgrims to Plymouth Rock. The first great shock, in which the inalienable rights of free consciences were fully and distinctly affirmed against the remnants of tyranny which still lingered among the best of English Protestants, is most generally supposed to have occurred *on these shores*, when Roger Williams confronted the powers of Church and State in Massachusetts. Even Bancroft, in his warm eulogy of the Baptists as the true champions of intellectual freedom, accounts Roger Williams as a discoverer of principles, and writes his name by the side of those of Kepler and Newton.* The truth, however, is that the contest in the colony of Massachusetts Bay was an imported contest;—it came, with all its distinctly recognized principles, across the Atlantic in the breasts of men who had fought the same battles in Holland and England. John Cotton and Roger Williams had had their teachers in such men as John Robinson and Thomas Helwys. Indeed, the whole series of struggles in behalf of religious freedom which had occurred in England since the Reformation, had been marked by developments of similar character. While the far greater part of those who claimed for themselves the right to worship God according to the demands of their own consciences, clung still to partial and inconsistent views, there were others, fewer in numbers perhaps and less influential, who had attained to clearer perceptions, and were the true lights of their times. The discussions which sprung up between these parties, and their common resistance to the tyranny of the State, had been steadily preparing the way for the developments of a later period. The course of human events is never accidental—never capricious; it is a connected series, and the men and

* Bancroft says, "He was the first person in modern Christendom to assert in its plenitude the doctrine of the liberty of conscience, the equality of opinions before the law, and in its defense he was the harbinger of Milton, the precursor and the superior of Jeremy Taylor." (Vol. i, p. 375.)

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events of one age are as the excitations and causes of preceding times have made them. The issues of the reign of James I. had been long in course of preparation; and John Robinson and John Cotton, Thomas Helwys and Roger Williams, were but the exponents and representatives of the long progress of opinion. It was the glory of the two last named, that the one gave full form and expression to the rights of conscience as an article of religious belief, and maintained his views with singular personal boldness and magnanimity—and of the other, that he stated and defended the doctrine of "soul-liberty" with great skill and force in his writings, and honorably illustrated it in the planting of a civil State where consciences, however diverse or eccentric, were never oppressed. That small territory, scarcely noticeable upon a map of the great confederacy of States of which it is now a part, has furnished the example of religious freedom which that confederacy has copied; and across this wide continent the millions of our people account it as their highest distinction and happiness to dwell under institutions which had their first illustration around the shores of Narragansett Bay.

We now invite the reader to dwell for a few moments upon the period immediately preceding the settlement of Massachusetts and the controversy with Roger Williams. We shall see, what has been affirmed, that that controversy was no new one, but was essentially the same with that which the same parties, Baptists and Independents, had waged on the other side of the water.

The seventeenth century had opened.* In the year 1611, the present English version of the Holy Scriptures was given to the world. The event constitutes an era in the world's history. That year has however another distinction which will make it ever memorable. In 1611 the Baptists issued a Confession of Faith in which they say, "that the magistrate is not to meddle with religion, or matters of conscience, nor compel men to this or that form of religion, because Christ is the King and Lawgiver of the Church and Conscience." The gift to the world of that version of the Holy Scriptures which has shed the light of salvation wherever the spirit of Anglo-Saxon adventure has borne the English tongue, and the announcement by a Christian denomination of that true liberty of conscience under which each man, as his inalienable birthright, interprets that Word for himself and follows freely its biddings, were worthy to be contemporaneous events.

* Some of these thoughts were expressed by the writer in the *New-York Recorder*, of which he was then editor, in February, 1848.

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The tyranny of the English Establishment had driven a large number of worthy men into exile in Holland. Some of these were Baptists, some Independents,—fellow-sufferers for their testimony to the truth. Prominent among the former were John Smyth, a learned man, and once a clergyman of the Establishment, (near fifty years afterwards, and without any known authority, spoken of in derision by his enemies as a Se-Baptist,—that is, one who had baptized himself,*) and Thomas Helwys;—prominent among the latter was John Robinson, renowned over the world as the "father of the Pilgrims." Mr. Smyth very soon died,—not however till he had written largely in favor of his new views, and with so much ability, that Bishop Hall tells Mr. Robinson: "There is no remedy; you must go forward to Anabaptism or back to us; all your Rabbins cannot answer the charge of your rebaptized brother. * * * He tells you true,—your station is unsafe; either you must go forward to him or come back to us." That Mr. Smyth was a man of superior abilities is further indicated by the fact that Bishop Hall spoke of Mr. Robinson as no more than his "shadow." Mr. Smyth was succeeded by Mr. Helwys. And what then do we hear of this Christian pastor and his brethren? Do they remain in their exile? No. Do they migrate to distant portions of the world to find a spot in the wilderness, where they may both assert and enjoy the rights of conscience in quietness? No. They determine "to challenge King and State to their faces, and not give way to them, no, not a foot." Accordingly, hanging out their flag in the Confession to which we have referred, THEY RETURN TO THEIR OWN COUNTRY, to assert there their rights of conscience, and to suffer for them if need be. They believed that a conflict for the rights of conscience was imminent, and they were ready to participate in its dangers. Englishmen they were born, and Englishmen they would die. But in this movement they had not the sympathy of Mr. Robinson and his associates. So strong was the opposition from this source which they encountered, that in the year 1612, Mr. Helwys felt called upon to defend the return of the Baptists in a book which he published at that time. Among the considerations put forth in justification of their course, we find the following:—

1. That fleeing from persecution hath been the overthrow of religion in this island; the best able and greater part being gone, and leaving behind them some few who, by the others' departure, have had their afflic-

* This calumny has been of late successfully refuted by E. B. Underhill, Esq.

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tions and their contempt increased, hath been the cause of many falling back, and of their adversaries rejoicing.

2. Great help and encouragement would it be to God's people in affliction, imprisonment, and the like, to have their brethren's presence to administer to their souls and bodies; and for which cause Christ will say, "I was in prison, and ye visited me; in distress, and ye comforted me."*

It would be difficult to find heroic conduct justified by more honorable motives.

If now we advance a little further, (1615,) we find these Baptists sending forth a volume entitled, "Objections: Answered by way of Dialogue, wherein is proved, By the Law of God, By the Law of our Land, and By his Majesty's [James I.] many testimonies, That no man ought to be persecuted for his religion, so he testifie his allegiance by the Oath, appointed by Law." And what does the reader imagine to have been a special occasion for the production of this work? If not already aware of the fact, he will be surprised to learn that Mr. Robinson had put himself in opposition, not only to the return to England of the Baptists, but likewise *to their sentiments on the rights of conscience.* Though an exile himself for conscience' sake, his mind still held fast the doctrine of the magistrate's jurisdiction over spiritual matters; and he was ready to defend this doctrine against his Baptist brethren who at that very moment were "challenging King and State to their faces."

Let us then leave the Baptists contending for the rights of men, on their own soil, and amid the perils of persecution, and turn to the writings of Mr. Robinson here alluded to, which were sent forth from his more quiet asylum in Holland. His book, published in 1614, is entitled, "Of Religious Communion, Private and Public, With the silencing of the Clamours raised by Mr. Thomas Helwisse against our retaining the Baptism received in England; and administering of Baptism unto Infants. As also, A Survey of the Confession of Faith, published in certain Conclusions, by the remainder of Mr. Smyth's company."

The latter part only of the book concerns our present purpose. We are indebted for the extract to the Hanserd Knollys Society's edition of the "Objections" above named.† Mr. Robinson knows too well the perfect loyalty of his opponents, and their quiet and conscientious demeanor as good subjects and citizens, to indulge in the common calumny which charged them with insubordination and rebellion, but he in-

* See Benedict's *History of the Baptists*, Colby's ed., p. 330.

† Page 92.

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sists that the Baptists are wrong in denying to the magistrate authority in matters of religion. He says :—

> They add, "that the magistrate is not to meddle with religion, or matters of conscience, nor compel men to this or that form of religion, because Christ is the King and Law-giver of the church and conscience, James iv. 12."

And will the "father of the Pilgrims" put himself in direct and formal opposition to this sound and comprehensive statement of the rights of conscience, and the prerogatives of Christ? He proceeds:—

> I answer, that this indeed proves that he may alter, devise, or establish nothing in religion *otherwise than Christ hath appointed*, but proves not, that he may not use his *lawful power lawfully* for the furtherance of Christ's kingdom and laws. The prophet Isaiah, speaking of the church of Christ, foretells that kings shall be her nursing fathers, and queens her nursing mothers; which, if they meddle not with her, how can they be? And where these men make this the magistrate's only work, "that justice and civility may be preserved amongst men," the apostle teaches another end, which is, that we may lead a peaceable life under them in all godliness. It is true they have no power *against* the laws, doctrine, and religion of Christ; but *for* the same, if their power be of God, they may use it lawfully, and *against the contrary*. And so it was in special foretold by John, that the kings of the earth should make the whore desolate, and naked, and eat her flesh, and burn her with fire.
>
> This Mr. Helwisse frivolously interprets "of their spiritual weapons;" which are no other than the spiritual weapons of all other Christians. Besides that, it is contrary to the clear meaning of the Holy Ghost, which is, that these kings should first use their civil power *for* the beast and whore, and after *against* them to their destruction.

Thus wrote John Robinson,—not at this time only, for we have before us passages from other works of his in which kindred sentiments are held forth. Will the reader carefully examine what we have quoted? The magistrate may "use his *lawful power lawfully* for the furtherance of Christ's kingdom and laws." Magistrates "have no power *against* the laws, doctrine, and religion of Christ; but *for* the same, if their power be of God, they may use it lawfully, and *against the contrary*." Was ever license for tyranny over souls granted in broader terms? Who but the magistrate himself shall determine the lawful use of power, what are the laws and kingdom of Christ, and what the contrary? And then how significant the illustration which Mr. Robinson cites from "the kings of the earth," with the protest that "spiritual weapons" are *not* intended! "These kings should first use their civil power *for* the beast and whore, and after *against* them to their destruction." In other words, if Mr. Robinson's views of prophecy were such as the use of the illustration would in-

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dicate, it was designed and authorized by the Almighty, that as the civil authorities had built up Mohammedanism and the Papacy by persecuting the saints, so now the civil authorities might turn round and burn Mohammedans and Papists, and—which was the doctrine to be deduced—by a fair inference inflict penalities on all varieties of heresy! The persecutions of New-England were but the practical exemplification of these teachings.

Let not the reader, however, imagine that we determine our estimate of the character of John Robinson by his opinions on the authority of magistrates. He was a good man,—an honor to the noble race who hail him as a spiritual father. If it were our purpose to vindicate his character,—as certainly it is not our purpose to defame it,—the materials are abundant. Few men have made a deeper impression on the world; fewer still an impression so largely beneficent. We say only that on the point under notice he was in error, and at a time when the antagonists whom he affected to despise as "ignorant" and "frivolous," were pouring upon him a flood of light which he strangely failed to recognize. From him we turn to the testimony of those antagonists, referring the reader to a few striking passages in the book which the Baptists sent forth in reply to this animadversion upon their faith. How wide the difference! How honorable to them the contrast!

The power and authority of the king is earthly, and God hath commanded me to submit to all ordinances of man, and therefore I have faith to submit to what ordinances of man soever the king commands, if it be a human ordinance and not against the manifest word of God; let him require what he will, I must of conscience obey him, with my body, goods, and all that I have. *But my soul*, wherewith I am to worship God, *that* belongeth to ANOTHER KING, whose kingdom is not of this world; whose people must come willingly; whose weapons are not carnal, but spiritual. (Hanserd Knollys Society's edition, p. 107.)

I acknowledge unfeignedly that God hath given to magistrates a sword to cut off wicked men, and to reward the well-doers. But this ministry is a worldly ministry, their sword is a worldly sword, their punishments can extend no further than the outward man, they can but kill the body. And therefore this ministry and sword is appointed only to punish the breach of worldly ordinances, WHICH IS ALL THAT GOD HATH GIVEN TO ANY MORTAL MAN TO PUNISH. The king may make laws for the safety and good of his person, state and subjects, against the which whoever is disloyal or disobedient, he may dispose of at his pleasure. The Lord hath given him this sword of authority, foreseeing in his eternal wisdom, that if this, his ordinance of magistracy were not, there would be no living for men in the world, and especially for the godly; and therefore the godly have particular cause to glorify God for this, his blessed ordinance of magistracy, and to regard it with all reverence.

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But now the breach of Christ's laws, of the which we all this while speak, which is the only thing I stand upon; his kingdom is spiritual, his laws spiritual, the transgression spiritual, the punishment spiritual, everlasting death of soul, his sword spiritual, NO CARNAL OR WORLDLY WEAPON IS GIVEN TO THE SUPPORTATION OF HIS KINGDOM. (Ib. pp. 121, 122.)

Magistracy is God's blessed ordinance in its right place; but let us not be wiser than God to devise him a means for the publishing of his gospel, which he that had all power had not, nor hath commanded. Magistracy is a power of this world; the kingdom, power, subjects and means of publishing the gospel, are not of this world. (Ib. p. 133.)

If I do take any authority from the king's majesty, let me be judged worthy my desert; but if I defend the authority of Christ Jesus over men's souls, which appertaineth to no mortal man whatsoever, then know you, that whosoever would rob him of the honor which is not of this world, he will tread them under foot. Earthly authority belongeth to earthly kings; but spiritual authority belongeth to that one spiritual King who is KING OF KINGS. (Ib. p. 134.)

Well spoken all,—and we commend to the special attention of all those who think it necessary to defend the Puritans by decrying the early Baptists as ignorant, fanatical, and disturbers of the civil peace, the unanswerable argumentations by which these positions were supported. We regret to say that Mr. Robinson was not convinced, for we find him at a later day (1625,) affirming still the authority of magistrates in matters of religion.

Such were the relations of the Baptists of that early period to the party which most nearly sympathized with them. They had taken bolder strides,—they had attained the true idea of religious freedom, and had thus clearly and vigorously stated it to the world. But the days of their suffering for conscience' sake were not yet ended. The followers of John Robinson crossed the Atlantic, and they and the Baptists soon met again on the shores of New-England. The sword of the magistrate was now held by those who held Robinson's principles, and the Baptists at an early day felt its edge. The struggle was a protracted one, but truth was mightier than the sword, and in the end the principles of religious liberty, which were a part of Baptist faith, triumphed and became the crowning glory of our institutions.

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Art. VIII.—MORAL AND RELIGIOUS TRAINING OF THE PEOPLE.

1. *Popular Education: For the use of Parents and Teachers, and for Young Persons of both sexes. Prepared and published in accordance with a Resolution of the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Michigan.* By Ira Mayhew, A.M., late Superintendent of Public Instruction. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1850.
2. *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Board of Education, with the Report of the Secretary of the Board,* [Rev. Barnas Sears, D.D.] Boston. 1851.
3. *Christianity as applied to the Mind of a Child in the Sunday-school.* By Albert Barnes. Philadelphia: American Sunday-school Union.

One of the indications of brightest promise for our country's welfare, may be found in the increased interest awakened for the right training of the young. It was true of a small portion of the European settlers of this northern portion of the Western Continent, that from the first they placed a high estimate on the education of their children. Hence provision was incorporated into the municipal and colonial governments in some instances, for securing the regular support of common schools in every small township, and of grammar schools also, or academies as we have ambitiously denominated them, in those of more considerable size. In comparatively a small number, however, of the constituents of our national Union, was such a feature manifest previous to the war of the Revolution. When the people formed "a more perfect union," that is to say, a general government for national purposes, this matter of education was left, wisely we have no doubt, but at least necessarily, to be cared for by each State according to its pleasure. The very structure of our government, however, is adapted to impress powerfully the indispensableness of securing by some means the very general diffusion of intelligence and public virtue.

While despotisms may remain all the more stable from one generation to another, because of the ignorance or the vices of the lower strata of the population, who need know only enough to comply unhesitatingly with the mandates of their superiors, directly the reverse must be true of a self-governed

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republic. Let any large portion of her sons sink down
state of serfdom, ignorant as well as wicked, and the
tainty of commotions, and the wild whirl of lawless anar
becomes universally obvious. Nor is it sufficient that i
lectual enlightenment be widely diffused, in order to se
the permanency and happiness of democratic institut
Men in the masses, as well as individual specimens, ma
intellectually elevated almost infinitely, only to do evil m
conspicuously and powerfully. Hence results the unavo
ble necessity, in order to give security and hope to our
government, that the entire community should be early
wisely trained to the exercise of the domestic and the pub
virtues. And since all history and experience prove h
inadequate is the influence of a short-sighted self-intere
either to originate or sustain such virtue, the higher sancti
and impulse of religion must be brought into requisition
this purpose. There was probably more doubt of the indi
pensableness of religion to good morals half a century sin
than now. Some public men of high distinction then lent t
influence of their names and example to sustain this halluc
nation. But every year's history, either on a broad or narro
field of observation, is demonstrating most conclusively, th
the attempt to divorce these is unnatural and suicidal.

To this wide conviction of the correctness of these views
which prevails among us, we attribute the steady advance o
intelligent efforts for more thorough and general education.
This at least is one of the main reasons; while a higher and
more practical benevolence than formerly was exercised, as is
seen in caring for the dumb, the blind, the idiot, the insane, and
the prisoner, may also have co-operated in securing the same
results. Whatever causes have operated in this direction,
the effect is no less certain than gratifying—public education
has become year by year more highly esteemed by the
masses, and more vigorously sustained. The common school,
providing at the public expense for the education of all the
children, not long ago confined to a few States, has already
reached and become domiciliated in nearly one-half the States
of the Union; and though as yet in imperfect infancy in some
of these, having still to grapple with infelicities, and to over-
come obstacles of no trifling magnitude, our confidence in its
inherent power and its wise adaptedness becomes more firm
with each revolving year. The crisis of its fate, if not fully
passed, is passing. Its friends begin to breathe more freely,
to speak more hopefully and confidently, and ere long we trust
every State in our confederacy will move forward and take

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its place in line, to prosecute this noble march for the extirpation of ignorance and vice.

The chief hindrances to the attainment of this result are two-fold. In the first place, the expense of a good common school system for any community is no trifle. Where adequate provision is made for the enlarged and liberal training of all the children, and the tax for defraying the various items of the charge comes to be compared with all the other assessments made on the people, it will not unfrequently be found to equal or even greatly exceed all the rest. Where it is a new element of governmental requisition, to which neither these tax-payers nor their fathers have ever before been required to submit; where, as will often be the case, the larger amount required to be paid comes from those having no children to educate, it is not so wonderful as lamentable that a people proverbially jealous of their rights, should demur and clamor against this exaction. Accordingly we have seen in our own Empire State, within the last few years, a constant and severe struggle, not ended even yet, against the power of taxation for the adequate education of all the children. Every appeal to the people has resulted in sustaining this power. But it may readily be seen that in a community less intelligent, or more thoroughly swayed by a short-sighted and narrow selfishness, the opposition arising from this source will be powerful. As a specimen of the reasoning by which this enforcement may be justified, we introduce here the remarks of Daniel Webster, in a Convention to revise the Constitution of Massachusetts in 1821:—

"For the purpose of public instruction," said that eminent statesman, "we hold every man subject to taxation in proportion to his property, and we look not to the question whether he himself have or have not children to be benefited by the education for which he pays. We regard it as a wise and liberal system of police, by which property and life and the peace of society are secured. We seek to promote in some measure the extension of the penal code, by inspiring a salutary and conservative principle of virtue and of knowledge at an early age. By general instruction, we seek, as far as possible, to purify the whole moral atmosphere, to keep good sentiments uppermost, and to turn the strong current of feeling and opinion, as well as the censures of the law, against immorality and crime. And knowing that our Government rests directly on the public will, that we may preserve it, we endeavor to give a safe and proper direction to the public will. It is every poor man's undoubted birthright, it is his solace in life, and well may it be his consolation in death, that his country stands pledged by the faith which it has plighted to all its citizens, to protect his children from ignorance, barbarism, and vice."

The religious element of this education furnishes another occasion of jealousy and opposition. The entire structure of

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our government recognizes the inviolability of the rights of conscience, and that the claims of religious duty—man's obligation to his God—shall not be mixed up with civil polity, or the enactments of petty legislation for regulating the intercourse of men with each other. The intention, and to a good degree the effect of this is to elevate religion. If human enactments might embrace this, then would it be subject to all the vicissitudes which the caprice and whims of men would generate. Wisely, therefore, has it been arranged by our General Government, and at last by all the States, that the things which belong to Cæsar and those that belong to God shall not be commingled, lest they be confounded, and the latter degraded by the contact. But in this matter of general education, we have seen that to train up the young so as to make them good citizens, and fit them for usefulness or even safety as constituents of a self-governed State, they must be to a certain extent, at least, imbued with the religious sentiments which enforce personal accountability. This, then, is the point of practical difficulty in our system of public education. It is one which would not be at all felt where religion is established by law, as in that case the established Church would monopolize the religious training; but it rises to very noticeable prominence here, where a reasonable and worthy sensitiveness is felt, lest some gradual approximation to the dreaded union of Church and State should be introduced under the auspicies of this educational enterprise. How can it be expected that the infidel, or the Romanist, or other abettors of religious views diametrically opposed to the generally prevalent convictions of the community on this subject, shall be content to be taxed to pay for teaching what they regard as most perverting and unwise? There is plausibility at least in this view of the subject; nor has the answer hitherto given to these objections entirely silenced, much less satisfied those who have urged them. It is in brief this: "We do not teach sectarianism in these public schools. Contenting ourselves with the inculcation of those general and practical religious principles which are held almost universally, using the Bible freely, but leaving it to be its own interpreter, to make its own impression on the young mind, without foisting into the schools the dogmatism of any of the sects; breathing the common prayer in which all can conscientiously unite for the blessings of our heavenly Father; and then reverently reading His own precious Word, so as to fill the young mind and heart with its peerless disclosures of Divine love and mercy, cannot give reasonable ground of offense to any good citizen."

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So far as we have observed, and our opportunities have been extensive, where this system is wisely administered, there is even less objection to its practical working than to its theory. A really good and wise teacher, benevolently desirous of accomplishing the greatest possible amount of benefit, will so conduct this system of instruction, as to convert enemies into friends, or at least to disarm them.

Without detaining our readers longer on the very general but fundamental and important principles of elementary education in our country, we revert to the thought stated in the beginning of this paper, that there is now observable a decided increase of interest in the promotion of the Common School enterprise. The proof of this is found in the establishment by several States of Boards of Education, with a competent executive officer, generally the Secretary of the Board, who is required to give himself entirely to the superintendence of the Public Schools. For more than a dozen years past, Massachusetts has signalized herself by such a course. Her zeal and good example have provoked to emulation many of her sister States, and under such auspices great improvements in the system of education, in its instruments and practical working, have already been effected. The first place among these is justly assigned to the teachers themselves. To improve their character, their efficiency, and the estimate in which their services are held, a two-fold course of measures has been pursued. First, by means of Normal Schools, Teachers' Institutes and Conventions, and similar instrumentalities, great pains have been taken to elevate and increase their capability of imparting instruction. In the next place, equal pains have been taken to diffuse widely among the people a higher appreciation of the value of capable teachers, thus securing to them more adequate remuneration for their services, as well as a steadier demand.

A similar degree of attention was next directed to schoolrooms, to elementary books, and to suitable libraries for both scholars and teachers. In these respects, though much yet remains to be done, the progress within thirty or forty years—even where at that distance of time the position of the common schools was *then* the very best known, and of course was regarded by those communities with not a little self-complacency—has been astonishingly great. When contrasting the common schools of our childhood with what may now be witnessed in similar localities, a most gratifying improvement is manifest; and this becomes the more encouraging from the farther consideration, that the excellence already

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reached is not to be the ultimate point of progress, but each year is witnessing new efforts and enterprises for the attainment of still higher and more satisfactory success.

To such movements in not a few of the States, we are indebted for publications like the two first named at the head of this article. Indeed the Annual Reports of the Boards of Education, or of the State Superintendents of Common Schools, or of a National Society for Promoting Popular Education, have of late years come to be regarded as among the most important and interesting public documents annually spread before the people. They are perused in frequent instances, not merely by the professional man, where a literary taste might be gratified by it, but the humblest artisan, mechanic or laboror feels that in these reports there is something which comes home to his bosom and business with a directness and power not to be resisted. The periodical press, responding to this call, gives a far larger degree of attention and prominence than formerly to these documents. Neighbors, when they meet in casual intercourse, find here a topic of common concernment for their discussions. It is most gratifying to see how genial an influence goes forth over the whole mass of society, by having in these subjects a ready resource to which all feel more or less impelled to give heed; relieving them from the acrimony of party politics, the feuds of local excitement, and the scandal of neighborhood gossip; giving higher and worthier elevation to the communings of immortal beings, on themes which enwrap the tenderest and most potent influences for the welfare of the rising generation.

"Mayhew on Popular Education," very briefly noticed in our last number, is well deserving of a more full consideration in our pages. It seems to have originated in a course of lectures which the author prepared and delivered in different parts of the Peninsular State, and then, by request of the Legislature during its session, repeated in the Hall of Representatives. At the close of the course, both the Senate and the House requested their publication. They contain a noble contribution to the cause which they illustrate and advocate. A mere outline of the successive chapters of the book, will give a correct idea of its extent and comprehensiveness. The first discusses the question, "In what does a correct education consist?" The next three chapters—which are really among the most interesting and valuable in the volume—are devoted to Physical Education; embracing its importance, the laws of health, and the philosophy of respiration. Then follows the

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Nature of Intellectual and Moral Education, in one chapter; next the Education of the Five Senses, embracing for illustration the ingenious course requisite in educating those who are blind, deaf, and mute, with its surprising success. Then the necessity of Moral and Religious Education occupies a chapter, and the remaining three chapters are given to a consideration of the importance, the practicability, and the means of Universal Education. This outline sufficiently indicates the breadth of the discussion. No more interesting field could be opened than the one which Mr. Mayhew has here entered. It is but simple justice to the author to say, that he seems to have brought a chastened spirit, a calm, sober, well-balanced moderation into constant exercise in the execution of his design. There is a blessed absence of the trickery of attempted fine writing. The style is generally clear,* occasionally too diffuse for nervous energy, but perhaps better adapted for popular usefulness than if more condensed. There is no straining after originality either in the thought or in the manner of expression. Indeed, if Mr. Mayhew had been either more proud or more vain, he would less frequently have availed himself of the opinions of others in their own words, when he was entirely competent to give us as good or even better in his own. Doubtless these quotations, however, were esteemed by our author as adding the weight of an independent and sometimes a high authority to the enforcement of sentiments which he was more anxious to impress on his readers, than to win admiration for himself.

From nearly every chapter of this volume, it would be easy to extract passages which would both adorn and enrich the pages of a Christian Review; but we shall render the public a better service by commending, as most conscientiously and earnestly we do, the wide circulation and thorough study of the book itself. It may properly be regarded as a family book, furnishing an amount of varied instruction and entertainment to the intelligent households of our countrymen for which they will be sincerely grateful. Legislators, school committees, and especially teachers of every grade, will also find it invaluable. The worthy author, having given half-a-score years of the vigor of his life to the promotion of the great

* Writing on Education, and for the masses, Mr. M. should not have left any sentences as obscure as the following:—"To youth, education imparts that knowledge whose ways are usefulness and honor, and by due restraint and subordination, makes individuals to intwine with public good in a just observance of laws, comprehending the path of duty." A few others we have noticed which are not strictly grammatical.

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work of popular education, partly in New-York and more recently in Michigan, was prepared, as no mere theorist could be, to develop and apply the principles which underlie this system of youthful training. Some may disparage his writings as lacking original genius; but it may be well to remind such, in the words of Robert Hall, that "originality is the last thing we desire when seeking important advice."

In passing to the consideration of Dr. Sears' Annual Report for the present year, we do not doubt that it will awaken the pleasure of our readers to be brought into contact again with one who, in various ways, has contributed so much to their gratification and improvement in former years; and we the more willingly retire behind the exhibition of his own views and plans, which the learned and accomplished author, with characteristic simplicity and modesty, has here furnished. We can only notice, however, a few of the more important topics discussed.

Both the Board of Education and the Secretary, in their respective reports, thus advert to the possible necessity of a legal enforcement of the attendance of children at school :—

The Board would respectfully call the attention of the Legislature to a subject of a difficult and delicate nature, but one which they cannot but consider of very great importance.

So long as large numbers of children are known to be growing up in ignorance, and so long as many children and youth are found among the criminals convicted by our courts of justice, so long we may feel sure that the great work of educating our population is very imperfectly accomplished. The numbers of foreigners who have recently come into the State, and who do not usually feel the solicitude for the education of their children that is natural to those who have been always living under our free institutions, would seem to render necessary measures different, perhaps, from any which have been heretofore used, as they must meet cases which have not before occurred. While it is desirable to ascertain how far the laws relating to the employment of children under fifteen years of age have been executed, it seems only just to inquire whether there are sufficient reasons why these laws, now binding upon manufacturing establishments only, should not, in their spirit, be extended to all persons and corporations whatsoever, so that measures may be devised to secure to all children under fifteen years of age, and to all others who are growing up without instruction, some of the advantages of our system of school education. Many children, it is feared, are now so employed, especially in the large cities, that they are prevented from obtaining the instruction which the Common Schools of the State are intended to furnish.

The attention of the Legislature is respectfully solicited to this subject, and with it to another intimately connected with it, the importance of withdrawing from places of temptation and exposure, and gathering into schools, children who now, from having none to care for them, or none who value the advantages of early education, are suffered to run at large, and are growing up to be depredators, or at least burdens, upon society.

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The Secretary gives his brief, but emphatic and earnest utterance on this subject in these words :—

The non-attendance of a part of those children for whose benefit the Public Schools are especially intended, particularly the children of foreigners in our large cities and manufacturing towns, is assuming a fearful importance; and it will not be safe long to delay such measures as may be necessary to avert the impending danger.

There is no one aspect in which the Common School can be viewed, which involves more important and solemn considerations than this: Whether the voluntary principle shall be at all departed from, or whether, under certain circumstances of necessity, the compulsory attendance of children on schools which the public provide for the common benefit, may not be demanded, by grave considerations involving the public welfare, or even its safety? All will agree that legal enforcement is undesirable, and should not be resorted to till all the appliances of moral suasion have been exhausted. Much of the value and attractiveness of the Common School will at once be dissipated if a portion of its inmates are forced, by legal penalties, to attend. Nor do we believe force would ever become necessary, if all practicable methods were employed to awaken the interest and guide aright the action of the community in this matter.

We give next a few sentences from the opening paragraph of the Secretary's Report :—

It is becoming more and more apparent to the whole community, that our Public Free Schools are destined to exert a controlling influence upon all the great interests of society. The expression of public opinion in regard to the tendencies of popular education among us, is heard only in the language of eulogy. Our danger now lies, not so much in any opposition that may arise against the system, as from a feeling of complacency in it as it is, and from inadequate effort put forth in its support. Only a small part of its capabilities have yet been brought out, while the hindrances and embarrassments which clog its operations are numerous. To point out the one no less than the other, and to exhibit them frequently in contrast, is as conducive to the public good as it is appropriate to the duties of my office. If it can be made evident to the common mind, that there are faults and defects unnecessarily connected with the administration of the system, or that a much higher degree of success is easily attainable, strong hands will be ready for the work, and they will never be taken from it till these faults shall be removed, and that success attained.

The topic most fully discussed by the Secretary in the present Report, is the necessity of a more perfect *Gradation of the Public Schools.* We can find room for only two of the numerous arguments by which he enforces the great advan-

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tages of a proper classification; and we confine ourselves to those having a more direct moral bearing.

It is essential to the true discipline of a school that there be no leisure time in school hours for any other purpose than that of preparation in the appointed studies. Where this is the case, it requires but little supervision to keep the whole school in good order. The mind that is not kept active in study, will, from the natural restlessness of youth, be active in something foreign to the business of the school-room. It is the misfortune of many of our schools to be made up of such heterogeneous materials as to baffle all attempts at regular classification; and the consequence is, that, before the long circuit of the recitations of numerous small classes is completed, each class has an interregnum of several hours, in which it may pursue its studies or amusements, as the fancy takes it. It is quite as much the tedium of the scene as the love of mischief, that leads to disorder. It is of no use to increase the task assigned. Children cannot entertain themselves over a dry text-book for so long a period. Such a general condition of the school gives a dangerous power to those uneasy spirits who exhaust their ingenuity in stirring up others to annoy the teacher. Not a single recitation can be conducted properly when the teacher must direct his eye frequently to every part of the room, to prevent anarchy. The teacher and his class must be kept in sympathy both with the subject and with each other. The diversion of the attention to answer questions from others,—to subdue a refractory pupil,—to shake the finger at one,—and to awe another into silence by a significant look, arrests the course of thought, chills the glowing feelings, and often destroys utterly the effect of a recitation. It is not difficult to picture to ourselves a teacher hearing a reading lesson, for example, in the midst of such annoyances. Perhaps the piece to be read is expressive of tenderness or sublimity. While he is working upon the imagination of the class, and endeavoring to bring vividly before it the objects which impressed the mind of the author, another scene, strangely at variance with this, attracts the eyes of the class to another part of the room, and a few words of reproof from the teacher are much more effectual in banishing the spirit of the piece from the minds of the class, than the spirit of discord from the school-room. If the exercise is continued, the remaining part of it will be likely to be purely mechanical in its execution, and ludicrous in its effect. Though a skilful teacher may be able to do much to mitigate these evils, they are inherent in the system, and cannot be avoided, except by some such change as has been recommended.

In regard to teachers for small children, Dr. Sears says:—

To put young children under a male teacher in the winter schools, is in almost every respect undesirable. They are not so well governed. They are not so well taught. They are a great hindrance to those more advanced. They are exceedingly troublesome to the teacher. It is bad economy. They occupy part of the time of a teacher who is paid, it may be, at the rate of forty dollars a month, and are less benefited than they would be under a female teacher whose services could be had for half that sum. It is not necessary to repeat what has so often been said in regard to the happier adaptation of the female mind than that of the male to the government and instruction of children. How many a tender child is injured by the stern administration of just the man required for full-grown boys; by harsh decisions formed in haste, when there was not time to weigh all the circumstances of the case; and by the ill-treatment, rough

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language, and bad example in morals and manners of the older scholars! The intellect of children stands equally in need of the training which woman is best qualified to give. She is accustomed to take concrete views of things. Neither her mental constitution, nor her habits, have led her to contemplate things chiefly in the abstract. She paints to the imagination, where the male teacher defines and reasons. She gives form and color and life to what the male teacher treats as an abstract principle. She can more easily bridge over the chasm between the natural life of infancy or childhood, and the artificial thing called a school. It is only by putting himself under an unnatural constraint that the male teacher can, in this respect, perform what is easy and natural to the female. He is prone to take too long steps in his instruction, to which the minds of the pupils are not yet adequate. Not only has his mind been disciplined by severe study, which may be as true of the female teacher, but it has received its masculine type with fixed habits of thought. He has not the patience to graduate his elementary instructions by so minute a scale, and to advance by so slow a pace as is required by the conditions of the young mind. He is full of energy and power, and wishes to rush forward with his pupils to the higher studies. The very same qualities of mind which unfit him to be a teacher of young children, qualify him both to govern and to teach boys of more advanced years. This class of pupils, which always present themselves first to our minds when we think of a country winter school, are already feeling the power of those strong impulses which indicate the approach of manhood. Boldness, courage, and strength, which easily degenerate into recklessness and violence, are characteristic of that age. Female influence may be successfully exerted upon them, and may subdue them; but this very thing may lead to effeminacy. We do not wish them to be made women, but men. Those powers do not so much need to be checked, as to have full scope given to them; for the exercise and growth of these are necessary to fit one for the perils and hardships of the business man's life. The energy and fire of an intellectual male teacher, make him desire just such materials to work upon. The spirited and buoyant youth take pleasure in trying their powers under such a teacher. The intellectual strife which ensues, produces in them that inward satisfaction and sobriety, which prevent the breaking forth of their energy in a more exceptionable form. I might add, in this connection, that the teacher of numerous classes in all branches of study and in all stages of advancement, has no time for preparation on the different lessons, and must, therefore, enter upon the task of instruction in a state which totally unfits him for teaching skilfully. Not only are the lessons too numerous to admit of special and thorough preparation, and of too miscellaneous a character to excite in his mind a deep and abiding interest, but the labor of hearing them, even in a mechanical way, is so exhausting to one's physical energies as to preclude the possibility of daily and systematic preparation. In every point of view, therefore, the establishment of different classes of schools, with teachers adapted to each, is an object to be desired.

We hasten to notice the last of the publications named at the head of this article, and which for various reasons has a more direct bearing than the others on the topic before us. "Christianity as applied to the Mind of a Child in the Sunday-school," is the title of the Annual Sermon in behalf of the American Sunday-school Union, delivered at Philadelphia in May last, and several times since repeated in some of

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the principal cities of our land, by special request. It has but lately been issued by the press, and we know not how widely an occasional pamphlet of this kind, humble in appearance, and bearing what is to some minds* the repulsive impress of a Sunday-school emanation, may find its way to the public eye. The name of the author, ALBERT BARNES, who has written more and better as a popular Bible commentator than any other of our countrymen, may do something towards commending it to general notice. If so, we shall sincerely rejoice.

We will only detain our readers farther, with a somewhat full analysis of the discourse of Mr. Barnes. His text is that memorable thank-offering of our Saviour, Luke x. 21, and its sentiment is, that Christianity is applicable to children. The three points of remark are: The child, with reference to its capability of being influenced by religion; The adaptation of the Christian religion to the capacity of the child; and The Sunday-school as a means of applying it to the mind of a child. Under the first head, the mental capabilities of the child are noticed briefly, but especially its moral tendencies. There is in the soul of the child no germ of goodness, that may by cultivation be expanded into true religion. Spiritual life, if it ever exists in the soul, is to have *a beginning* as really as life would if the dead were raised from their graves. This being is susceptible of being moulded into any kind of character. Nothing is so much the fruit of cultivation as the human mind. In training a child then, every thing in the ultimate result may depend on the direction which shall be given to its expanding powers. There is a religious susceptibility in every child, forming the ground and hope of religious culture. The understanding, the conscience, the memory, the desire of immortality, and the power of hope and fear, are among the elements of this religious susceptibility.

The second point, relating to the adaptation of the Christian system to mould the mind of a child, is confirmed by the text, in which the Saviour declares that his gospel was

* It will probably excite no wonder that Ralph Waldo Emerson should thus speak: "Our Sunday-schools and churches and pauper societies are yokes to the neck. We pain ourselves to please nobody. There are natural ways of arriving at the same ends at which these aim, but do not arrive. * * * Why drag this dead weight of a Sunday-school over the whole of Christendom! It is natural and beautiful that childhood should inquire, and that maturity should teach; but it is time enough to answer questions when they are asked. Do not shut up the young people against their will in a pew, and force the children to ask them questions for an hour against their will." Such caricatures are the legitimate result of exalting the taste, the fancy, the refinements of sentimentalism above the dictates of duty, and the Word of God. Infidelity is its sure result.

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rather adapted to those whom he calls '*babes*' than to those whom he calls '*wise and prudent*,' in the sense in which they were who then claimed to be sages and philosophers. It is next confirmed by the Scripture representations of the childhood of the Saviour, his example, and his instructions. The Bible itself, as a book adapted to be put into the hands of children,—so simple as to be intelligible to them, as to all in humble life, to the ignorant, to slaves, to those interested by narrative, by incident, by thrilling stories, by proverbs and parables,—is another confirmation of this point.

The third inquiry is, whether in the Sunday-school system we are using the wisest and best means to secure this end, viz., to bring Christianity to bear on the minds of children. The friends of the system are bound to show that it is a safe and fair way of applying the gospel in this period of the world,—a system which would have been started or approved by the Saviour had he lived amid the appliances of the present age. Four remarks are here made to show just the place which the Sunday-school system is designed to occupy.

1. The first is on its relation to parental duty. It does not in any way release the parent from his just responsibility. Looking at things as they are,—the number of parents professedly pious, poorly qualified to give any religious instruction; the vastly greater number making no pretensions to religion, wholly disregarding the Sabbath, and forgetting God; infidels, or entirely worldly and unprincipled,—who does not see the necessity of such a provision for the children? The true relation of the Sunday-school to the religious training of the children of our country is two-fold: in regard to the larger portion, it furnishes the only hope that they will receive *any* proper religious instruction; while for the more privileged, it furnishes a supplemental aid, of which the Christian parent may avail himself,—not to be exonerated from effort and prayer, but to cheer and assist him in them.

2. As an arrangement for giving useful employment to the unoccupied talent of the church, the Sunday-school is regarded as worth all it costs. The waste of religious talent is great and lamentable. How much youthful vigor is unemployed for the purposes of religion; how much learning does nothing for the defense or the elucidation of the Bible; and how much rich and ripe Christian experience stagnates for want of being made practically and widely available. This system brings all these into beneficent activity.

3. The third point relates to the creation of a youthful Christian literature. The Sunday-school system could not succeed without a literature of its own,—could not get along

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without books; and it would not get along *with* the books which were at command when the system commenced. For then there was no religious literature adapted to children. It was all embraced in the New-England Primer, Janeway's Token for Children, and Dr. Watts's Divine Songs for Children. The Sunday-school department of literature is the growth of the present age, has all the freshness of the dew of youth upon it, and competes successfully with the books that are made to captivate and mould that mind on other subjects. The American Sunday-school Union now presents to the world nearly eight hundred bound volumes, most of which have been prepared and published expressly to answer the purpose of a Union Sunday-school Library, besides nearly an equal amount in elementary books and periodical publications, of various and happily adapted efficiency. From other sources twice as many more have probably been furnished. The eminently Biblical character of this literature, and the fact that it tends to make primary and prominent those fundamental truths in which all evangelical Christians agree, is cause for devout thankfulness.

4. The bearing of this system of operations on the diffusion of the Christian religion throughout our country, is decidedly more effective as a preliminary agency than any other. Its tendency to supplant infidelity and Roman Catholicism, and in some happy measure to keep pace with the rapidly advancing wave of our sparsely scattered population, must be obvious. To a considerable extent Sunday-schools may be established where there is no Christian church; and when successful, they will be the means of establishing a church, promoting the observance of the Sabbath, temperance, industry, good order; through the children they will often bear blessings to their parents, and thus confer immense benefits on the entire community. To give a good book to a boy in the West, which he will sit down to read by the wayside or by the fire-light in the humble hut of his parents, where otherwise no good books would be found; to place a library of such volumes in a neighborhood, sure of their circulation and perusal through every log-hut in it, is certain to affect benignly the religion and literature of our country.

Thus meagrely we have sketched the leading ideas of this discourse, which covers more than fifty closely printed pages, giving to a great theme the ample and thorough discussion for which the author is so generally distinguished. It would seem but simple justice to him, to give one or two of the concluding paragraphs unmutilated. There is noble eloquence in the thought which they so simply enunciate, and in the un-

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ostentatious benevolence which they record. When the great and good willingly turn from other departments of labor, or the high seats of honor, as Governors, Congressmen, Presidents of Colleges and of Theological Schools of the highest grade, to give themselves to the societies and institutions "which take care of the children," it is an omen for good which is not likely to be disregarded. God grant the auspicious fulfilment of the augury!

And does no one see already the effect of this whole effort on the religion and literature of our country? Is not the public mind becoming more imbued with the sentiments of religion? Is there no connection between these two facts:—the one, that the public press is decidedly more favorable to religion than it was thirty years ago—that the conductors of public journals are more willing to spread religious intelligence, and to defend the truths of Christianity, than they then were; and the other, the fact, that during that time a Christian literature adapted primarily to the young has been making its way, silently, over the land? We believe that the true philosopher will yet see that the movements which we make in spreading a youthful Christian literature, and in so humble a work as appears to be that of establishing a Sunday-school, may be more closely connected than any thing else with a fact that is yet to stand forth before the world—that all our literature is to be imbued with sound Christian principles; that our statesmen are to be men who have early studied the Bible, and who shall carry its principles into the halls of legislation; that colleges, churches, and schools are to spread over all the prairies of the West, and that the children of that mighty population which is coming to our shores shall learn the nature of our institutions, and be trained up here in the fear of God. The Sunday-school seems to be a small thing. The Sunday-school book appears to be a small affair. The Sunday-school library is a small collection of small books. But look on the children thus educated, and the books thus circulated. It is no small thing to spread, as the American Sunday-school Union has done, in a single year, (1849–'50,) over the land, religious books that, in the aggregate, amount to more than one million of volumes. It is no small thing to send out more than a hundred Sunday-school missionaries, as was done by that Society in the same year, gathering and revisiting more than three thousand five hundred schools, embracing more than a hundred and fifty thousand scholars, most of whom had never before been in a Sunday-school, and placing them under the care of twenty thousand teachers.

It is no small thing, that "every ten years, five millions of persons who had been Sunday-school scholars, enter into active society."* Think of these millions as fathers, mothers, citizens, voters—lawyers, physicians, judges, legislators, ministers of religion, teachers (in their turn) of the young. Think of the influence of early training; of the effects of the books read in early life; of the prayers offered for those children; of the blessings which God has graciously promised to bestow on the efforts made to train up the young in the right way; of the favors which we all desire that He should bestow on this land, and which we believe He intends to bestow; of the purposes for which we believe He has raised us up as a nation in respect to the spread of religion and liberty among the other nations of the earth; and then, from this point of view, endeavor to estimate the value of the efforts made to establish Sunday-schools throughout our beloved land.

* Judge McLean's Letter, Ann. Rep. 1849.

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ART. IX.—THE PRESENT ASPECTS OF THE PAPAL MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND.

BY AN ANGLO-AMERICAN.

THE *Christian Review* for January pursues a course of observation on the late policy of Rome in regard to England, predicated on the "conjectures" of a preceding paper. Concurring, generally, in the remarks of both papers, the present writer would further consider this policy and its results, with respect to the Church and Dissenters of England more particularly. As an Anglo-*American*, however, he would not trouble the readers of the *Review* with his remarks, did he not believe those results to involve some considerations important to all Protestant Christendom.

Substantially the last of these papers is correct—that, where Rome *is known*, there is but little ground for "surprise" in the late movement of the Papal See; that the wonder is, so many men in England and elsewhere should have been surprised by it. The fact, however, furnishes a very instructive proof how much better Rome is known than *remembered*. We all know her in books, and in the natural course of any tolerable theological education. But how readily do we forget her matchless dodges; her superior claims to the Protean character of a power now visible, and now invisible; now crushed, and now rampant. Christian reader, was there ever a more striking fulfilment of the prophetic outline of a character, than in the late (and present) "so general excitement among English Protestants," compared with the words of St. John, "They who dwell on the earth *shall wonder* (whose names were not written in the book of life from the foundation of the world,) when they behold the beast that was, and is not, and yet is?" The length and breadth of the very general surprise that has been sprung upon thousands of able, learned, and pious European theologians, should be well impressed on the American mind. For can we be quite sure that this arch-dodger has no possible, kindred surprises in store for us?

We turn to the number of *Blackwood's Magazine* for the last month of 1850. The writer contends that *this* is no "exaggerated description of the national feeling," and appeals to the numberless speeches at parochial and provin-

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cial meetings, the letter of the Premier, &c., in proof. "If a Religious Revolution consists in a powerful change in the religious feelings of a country," he begins, "then are we at this moment in the midst of a Religious Revolution. If a spirit of ardor suddenly starting forth in a period of apathy, if public zeal superseding public indifference, and if popular fidelity to a great forgotten cause, pledging itself to make that cause *national* once more, exhibit an approach to a miracle, then there has been made an impression on the mind of England not born of man." "The Papal Bull has aroused a storm of wrath." "Popery has now, before our eyes, to the astonishment of our understandings, and to the resistless evidence of its own passion for power, returned to all its old demands, and more than its old demands; and as if to make the evidence more glaring, returned at the moment when England is at the height of power, and Rome in the depth of debasement; when England is in her meridian of intelligence, and Rome in her midnight." We must extract another sentence or two. "In all the annals of usurpation there never was a broader grasp than in the [late] Bull; in all the annals of effrontery—never a more impudent assumption." "The nation [has] burst out into a flame of indignation, wherever man meets man: in whatever occupation, in whatever rank of life, under whatever form of politics, in all hues of religious opinion, there was but one language."

It will be necessary, to accomplish our own purpose, to put on record here the substance of this remarkable State and Church paper, for which we are further indebted to Blackwood:—

"Pius P. P. IX.—The power of ruling the *Universal Church*, committed by our Lord Jesus Christ to the Roman Pontiff in the person of St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, hath preserved through every age in the Apostolic See, [a] remarkable solicitude (!) by which it consulteth for the advantage of the Catholic religion in all parts of the world, and studiously provideth for its *extension*." "Among other nations, the famous realm of England hath experienced the effects of this solicitude." "*Wherefore*, having taken into consideration the present state of Catholic affairs in that kingdom, and reflecting on *the very large and ever increasing* number of Catholics there; considering also that the impediments which principally stood in the way of the spread of Catholicity were daily being removed, we judged that the time had arrived when the form of Ecclesiastical Government in England might be *brought back* to that model in which it exists freely in other nations."

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His Holiness then distributes all the counties of England and Wales into twelve bishoprics, under the one archiepiscopal province of Westminster; the names of the former being, Southwark, Hexham, Beverly or York, Liverpool, Salford, Shrewsbury, Newport, Clifton, Plymouth, Nottingham, Birmingham, and Northampton.

It is here to be observed, as a point of importance, that not one of these new bishoprics (although taken together they include the whole kingdom and principality) wears the same *name* as that of any bishopric of the Established Church.

And thus are we brought within the range of our own more particular conclusions, and to a point of utter difference with Blackwood, who characterizes the publication of this bull as an act of "headlong absurdity." Never, as we view this matter, was the Papal See more cunningly advised; never has she acted with more subtle, while daring statesmanship. The proof is not only in the fact of her having taken all the other State-craft and Church-craft of England by surprise, but in the dexterity (unsurpassed) with which, while the whole English Constitution in Church and State is assaulted and trampled on, no law of England, whatsoever, is directly broken. Lord John Russell the Premier's knowledge of the law is at first "taken a-back." He *suspects* it must have been violated; but it shall be seen to; if it have not, something to meet the case, and put down the assumption, shall be devised. Such is the substance of the first part of his letter on the subject. Yet the pretension *is*, according to his Lordship, "to supremacy over the realm of England, and a claim to sole and undivided sway, which is inconsistent with the Queen's supremacy, with the rights of our bishops and clergy, and with the spiritual independence of the nation." But on no violated *legal* rights could his Lordship fix! And subsequently it has been said, the Queen has stated that she is not advised to interfere. Here then is, at least, a very curious and altogether anomalous case. The Pope, with a few strokes of his pen, has resumed the ecclesiastical supremacy of England—passing by, in utter contempt, if not scorn, her Majesty the Queen, the whole Protestant bench of Archbishops and Bishops, and all the Protestant clergy, who, to a man, have sworn to the *Queen's* supremacy; and yet neither Queen, bishops or clergy have a scintilla of legal or effective remedy against his claims. It will open a sure and fine field for jarring but powerless opinions, and protracted debate in the meeting of Parliament. The oath of supremacy which every clergyman of the Church of England takes, and under

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which all the ecclesiastical benefices of the kingdom are held, is remarkably strong. It affirms "the Queen's Majesty" to be "the Supreme Governor" of that realm, "as well in all spiritual and ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal."

This state of things, then, while it may not, and as we think does not, present any actual or tangible *injuries inflicted* on England, either in her Church or State, is pregnant with not a few dangers for both,—*dangers* by the very nature of the case and the position of the parties, rendered imminent, and such as all past history would teach us to believe not likely to be realized.

On the *Church* of England the Papal arrangement looks down with that degree of pride and contumely which *must* affect her character and popular influence. It is a Damocles' sword suspended over her bosom—her very vitals. Here is a rival Hierarchy, possessing claims to orders, learning, and talents equal even now perhaps to her own, (and antiquity, unity, and self-consistency greater than her own,) which will be daily and industriously exhibited to the rich and poor of a pomp-loving people;—a Hierarchy that has a graduation and versatility of orders and character, which the Protestant Episcopacy has never attained; that can play the prince and the pauper; perform in the pompous procession or the veriest puppet shows of religion, as occasion shall require; and bear upon each extreme and every part of society, as the Established Church, with all her advantages of position, has never been able to do. Southey, with his broad, keen glance upon the common people, saw and observed upon this long ago; gravely counselling the Church of England to affiliate if possible the whole corps of the Methodist clergy, (making Adam Clarke and some of the more cultivated suffragan bishops,) as a counterpoise to the growing Dissenting influences of his day; and expressly as a politic and parallel movement with the affiliation of the Jesuits and monastic orders of this same Church of Rome. It is surely remarkable that these very orders, with the Jesuits and the Pope at their head, should now come into regular action and influence on this common people. There can be no question that the Catholic priesthood will boldly represent England to their flocks as "brought back," to use the Pope's phrase, by these measures to the good old times of the Papal ascendency. A *Te Deum* has already been sung over them to this effect in Liverpool.

The dangers of the Church of England are manifestly increased by her well-known *doctrine* respecting Rome. She is still "to be held and reputed a part of the House of God,"

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according to Hooker;* "a limb of the Visible Church of Christ;" and he considers it an error of the Puritans and Presbyterians of his day not to acknowledge this. Her Orders are valid orders, according to the approved authorities of the Anglican Church; her priesthood a regularly ordained and true priesthood. Hammond contends for "the liberty of maintaining external communion with other churches" beside those of the English Establishment—"particularly with those which live in obedience to the Church of Rome."† "The Church of England has, ever since the division in the XVIth century, admitted the validity of the orders administered by the bishops of the Roman obedience" says Mr. Palmer,‡ on the ground of its being "unlawful to reiterate ordinations once validly performed." And, practically, she never re-ordains priests or deacons from among the Papists of England or Ireland, on their conversion to the Anglican Church. The case of the late popular Dean Kirwan of Ireland, and various other instances of the kind, might be quoted in proof. So that while all the ordinations of other Protestant churches (not Episcopal) are held to be schismatical or invalid,—and the orders conferred, in the kind legal phrase of England, only "pretended holy orders,"—bishop, priest, or deacon, coming into the English Church from Rome, is, on abjuring particular points of the doctrinal differences between them, a good and true bishop, priest, or deacon. Very adroitly and conveniently, then, will the new English Catholic Bishops be found planted side by side with those of the Established Church. "Lord Bishops" of an elder branch in the true ecclesiastical peerage and succession, they will be, at once, "Lords" by courtesy in genteel circles; and much stranger things have, in the last half century, occurred in England than their being, ere long, called up and recognized, even with their present allegiance to Rome, as Lords of Parliament. It is only a spiritual dignity, Cardinal Wiseman will say, while it may be policy so to say; only a fair representation of "the every where increasing numbers of the Catholics" (as the Pope says) among their ecclesiastical peers. All over England, in the meanwhile, are distributed the legitimate and ecclesiastically-acknowledged priests and deacons of "the Roman obedience," ready, at short notice, for the abundant "good things" of the Church; some of which, in courtesy, and while they act as Dissenters,

* Works, vol. ii. 478, edit. Keble.
† On Schism, ch. ix. § 3.
‡ Treatise on the Church of Christ, vii., 442 and 405.

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can and will be given to them by the liberal gentry of England; a large and startling *legal* share of which will also, ere long, be claimed for them. Why should the increasing numbers of the Catholics maintain *two* sets of legitimate priests? Why, when there is *no difference* in church authority, and the validity of the sacraments administered, not be permitted to choose between them? To Ireland, it has long been contended by able Protestant statesmen, (and half admitted occasionally by those in power,) that the Government owes a regular provision for her Catholic priesthood. The late movement will largely facilitate the reception of such a claim on behalf of those of England.

Important *historical facts* are not to be overlooked—we may be certain will not be suffered long to sleep in forgotten folios, here. Catholic money, in the stubborn shape of thousands and tens of thousands of pounds sterling, has contributed to the endowment of the Universities, the Cathedrals, and all the larger Church benefices of England. Now that Pio Nono, in his "spiritual" solicitude for England's good, has "brought back" the intended and therefore rightful heirs, will not British justice be forcibly appealed to for the restoration of a respectable portion of this their rightful inheritance? We remember a case in point. A long-forgotten Sir John Cloudesley (of the name we are not so sure as of the general facts) left the sum of £900 per annum for a noble establishment of priests to say or sing perpetual masses for the repose of his soul. When the late Mr. O'Connell came to find, as he easily might, that this handsome sum had been appropriated at the Reformation by the Protestant Church, he asked, in the House of Commons, whether her clergy were willing to say these masses? The answer, of course, was, that they were legally forbidden. "Then," said he, "hand over the money to my Church, which would regard it as a great act of duty and charity to say them." The race of O'Connells, we may be sure, is not extinct. This annuity is held by an opulent parish near London.

If the American reader is disposed to ask, with some impatience, But what is the importance of all this to us? we reply, the overthrow of the English Church, as an Establishment, by one class of measures or persons, might be an incalculable blessing to the church of God, universally. But her overthrow by the hands of Rome, or to the material aggrandizement of Roman Catholic power in the world, would be, unquestionably, as extensive a curse. Two important points of difference between *her* and all other opponents of the Church

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of England should be well considered. She *seeks* a secular establishment for herself; holds every where to the doctrine of Church and State; and she is essentially a persecuting Church. Let the revenue of the English Church be applied to the secular wants of the State, or to those of the poor, specifically; or let it be divided fairly among all the Christain sects of England, (including even, if it be claimed, the present race of Catholics,) and you would greatly benefit the realm and all its connections. You would cut off some of the last and most extensive sources of intolerance, church tyranny, clerical ignorance, and personal hypocrisy on God's footstool. But pour the revenue into the lap of Rome, destroy the Church of England by the substitution in her place and honors of this her heady and high-minded rival, and you increase almost indefinitely the resources of all religious corruption and church pride; you arm an old and stern persecutor with whips and scorpions for all Protestant Christendom; you put back perhaps for centuries, for entire generations certainly, the entire progress of Civil and Religious Liberty.

We *well know* the Church of England; have studied long and closely her entire history; known her in books, in her creeds, her formularies, her past and modern conduct, her great and her little dead and living men. We owe her no favors, and could never tolerate her intolerance sufficiently (though under no small temptations) to join her communion. She has been an enemy occasionally, and sometimes for generations, to all the free play of light within or about her. Her bishops have been, for the most part, unconverted men, we fear; supple courtiers generally, and men strictly tenacious of their power. They have been often covetous, sometimes profane men. Taken together, and as a class, these Honorable and Right Honorable prelates have been generally the least honorable portion of the Church, religiously considered. But this Church, with all her many faults and errors, has been the strongest bulwark of the Protestant Reformation; the steadiest, if not the purest, Daughter of the Reformation. Her bishops were in the vanguard, and fought unflinchingly the battle of civil and religious liberty at the Revolution in 1688; their firm and straightforward conduct, more than that of any other class of public men, led to the expulsion of the bigoted James II., and the defeat of the last efforts of the Stuart princes for arbitrary power. He could not intimidate nor deceive them, as he did deceive many of the leading Dissenters, including the pure-minded William Penn. She is savingly-sound in her creed, as the bulk of orthodox Protestants admit; re-

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markably Scriptural (on the whole) and strikingly beautiful in various parts of her Liturgy. She causes statedly and on every Sabbath *more of God's pure Word* to be well read out to the unlearned, than any Church in Christendom. She has been the author and patron of much sound learning; of many admirable defenses of the Faith; and of a vast number of superior Sermons. No men have preached *all* the doctrines and practice of the Faith better; none (as we have thought) so well, the cardinal points of *Christ crucified*, as some of her modern Evangelical clergy. She has given and preserved to us—the ENGLISH BIBLE! For such a Church to be strangled *in the murderous gripe of Rome*, would be for a lamentation, we hold, unparalleled in modern ecclesiastical history.

On the whole, we submit that Americans have a deep interest in the present ecclesiastical position of England. Watching carefully its issues, they may be not unprofitably reminded of *what Popery is still.* They may learn to bless God, more than ever, for the happy settlement of this Union and its Constitution without the wretched mixture of the iron and clay of an Established Church in its foundations; learn the vast difference of a strong people putting on that kind of harness and putting it off. We pray God that it may be put off in England peaceably and promptly. The only propitious issue of the late Papal movement which we can anticipate, is the hastening of such a crisis. But let no friend of Christian Liberty lay the unction to his soul that Rome will ever honestly assist in such a deliverance for England or any State. Her little finger (as an oppressor) will be thicker than the Church of England's loins, if she can manage to usurp her place; and rather would we see the exact position of the Church and Dissenters of England remain what it is for another century, than give place to Popery there by exchange, or by subjection, even for an hour.

We have said that the whole Constitution of Church *and State* in England has been assaulted in the late Papal movement. Although Romanists, by the well-known Act of Catholic Emancipation, passed in 1829, have been admitted to both houses of Parliament, and generally to civil office, it is still the doctrine of the best authorities that England is to be regarded as a State "essentially Protestant." The oath asserting the supremacy of the crown has been dispensed with, in the case of Catholics; but they swear that they will never use any office or place to which they are appointed, so as to disturb the existing settlement of the Protestant Established Church; the Lord Chancellor must always be of that Church, as must the reigning King or Queen; and if the latter should

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be united in marriage with a Catholic it would, *ipso facto*, be a legal forfeiture of the crown.

The celebrated statutes which define a *præmunire* have never been repealed. They subject the offender against them to the forfeiture of all his property, real and personal, to the crown; to imprisonment during the king's pleasure, and to his being considered out of the protection of the law. In later times the chief offense aimed at has been held to be "any attempt to introduce the Papal authority into" that "kingdom." All "appeals to Rome" are regarded by various statutes of Henry VIII. as coming within this offense. So that England has *never*, since the reign of Queen Mary, had an accredited public agent of any kind at Rome. We well remember that so late as the administration of Mr. Canning, when that Minister was asked in the House of Commons, why he had not ascertained directly from Rome what was the nature of certain obligations of the Catholics, he referred to these statutes as precluding all such communications. The 16 Richard II., called "the statute of præmunire," is entirely occupied with such attempts as shall make "the crown of England, which hath been so free at all times that it hath been in no earthly subjection," to be "submitted to the Pope," so that "the laws and statutes of the realm by him may be defeated and avoided at his will;" and by 5 Elizabeth all who "defended his jurisdiction, or abetted the publishers of bulls, &c." were held to be guilty of these attempts. It must be held a matter of grave doubt, we think, whether the English procurers and publishers of the late Bull have not placed themselves within the range of these statutes. They have acted, assuredly, in direct opposition to the spirit of them; as also to the Act of Settlement by which the Queen *is* Queen; and which expressly limits the succession of the British crown to its legal heirs "being Protestants." The strictly legal heir (disregarding this limitation) is found in the family of the King of Sardinia.

The late Lord Eldon cherished a bigoted attachment, we know, to the Church of England. He was, however, but too truly prophetic in his apprehensions of ultimate danger from the concessions of his day to the Catholics. "He thought" the Relief Bill "the most dangerous," he said, "that had ever been presented to Parliament;" protested that "no limitations" would be thereafter set to the Catholic demands; and quoting an expression of a Catholic divine of that day, "in his pastoral letter," that "matters would never be set right until there was a Roman Catholic king and a Roman Catholic legislature" in Ireland—added, "In that opinion he

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could not avoid concurring." We find a quotation from the evidence of this said divine (Dr. Doyle) "before their Lordships'" House, which is sufficiently startling. But for the reference to that "evidence" it would be incredible. When asked if, by virtue of his oath, (of allegiance to the crown,) he should feel himself obliged to disclose to his Sovereign any treasons committed, or about to be committed, which had been revealed to him in confession? he said, "No: it was true *that the words of his oath required him to do so*, but every body knew that the Roman Catholic clergy did not think it their duty to disclose what was revealed to them in confession."

Enough, perhaps, of the interests of a foreign State, on this question. Let us not, however, in conclusion, overlook the fact that for the present position of those interests both civil and ecclesiastical, England has been mainly indebted to her own High Church or Puseyite party. We learn that Dr. Pusey has written in defense of the Queen's supremacy; but "Father Newman" (the Luther of the party) is found in no such self-condemning attitude; nor "Father Ignatius." the new title of the Hon. and Rev. H. Spencer, brother of Earl Grey; nor the Rev. Henry Wilberforce, the most remarkable convert perhaps of that system. The noble and influential converts to Puseyism are still (as we are advised) on the increase in England; and the Premier is wide awake to her spiritual dangers from that quarter, as even greater and more immediate than from any thing which Rome has as yet *done*.

We are particularly struck with the Pope's assertion of *his* ecclesiastical supremacy in England, as immediately following the Queen's action on *her* supremacy, in the Gorham case,—more properly, the Puseyite case of Baptismal Regeneration. Tyndal prayed at the stake, that it might be a result of his martyrdom, to open the King of England's eyes to the thraldom he was under to Rome. It will be worth the martyrdom of her Majesty's supremacy if it should open the Church of England's eyes to her thraldom to equivocal creeds and female authority in the Church. That authority alone, be it remembered, decided the practical construction of those creeds. Doctors disagreed throughout the entire realm. Rector, vicar and curate were arrayed against curate, vicar and rector, from Cornwall to Berwick-upon-Tweed,—something near three thousand clergymen on one side, with the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and over twelve thousand perhaps, with all the Scottish Episcopal bishops, the Bishops of London, Exeter, and Bath and Wells, on the other. Had not this amiable young lady, the Queen, "in Council," interposed; had not her official wisdom been

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more efficacious for peace than that of any enrobed in clerical silk, or dignified by lawn sleeves; the strife as to what the Liturgy *means* had not been settled to this day. But her sceptre happily beats asunder the uplifted and threatening crosiers; her crown overshadows the conflicting mitres, and a voice which St. Paul would have silenced, as he tells us, in any of his "churches," opportunely determines throughout all England what may be held for legal, if not for spiritual, regeneration! The very next year of grace, however, protrudes the shadow of the Triple Crown over the entire scene! The strife about Regeneration is doubtless, among the chief disputants, for ever hushed! Already that respecting true Ecclesiastical Supremacy is far louder. The silenced Puseyite parties to the former, we can only here add, were up to the very month of the Papal movement stoutly disputing that supremacy of her Majesty—which the Pope at once and so valorously puts down. What, than this concurrence of strifes ecclesiastical, could be more propitious to his pretensions, or demonstrate more happily the congeniality of his spirit with that of these parties!

P. S. While writing the above, the public papers have confirmed our anticipation—that the manner in which the late Papal movement should be dealt with, will be a leading topic in the ensuing session* of Parliament. We will subjoin, therefore, that Dr. Southey, in his popular "Book of the Church," states the intent of the "Statute of Præmunire" exactly as we have done. "It struck at the root of his (the Pope's) power, by making it highly penal to procure from him *any* instrument in diminution of the authority of the Crown." (Vol. ii. p. 1.) Our view of its practical effect down to the present day is confirmed by the humorous "additional chapters from the History of John Bull," in the number of Blackwood for January. "I find it a main inconvenience that *I am not allowed*," says a supposed member of the Ministry, "to write direct to Peter (His Holiness) whenever I have occasion to know the last quotations of indulgences, holy water or pardons!" and that "Squire Bull had long ago expressed his determination that none of his servants should hold direct intercourse with Peter." This writer insinuates that the Prime Minister himself will be found in "a scrape" connected with the incipiency of this business; and truly enough concludes: "It is easier to open a negotiation with *Peter* than to get out of one. The difficulty is not to catch the lobster, but to force him to leave go after he has fastened *on you* with his claws."

* Now, the *present*.—ED.

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Art. X.—NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

University Education. By Henry P. Tappan, D.D. New-York: George P. Putnam. 1851.

A Memorial concerning the Recent History and the Constitutional Rights and Privileges of Harvard College, presented by the President and Fellows to the Legislature, January 17, 1851.

These publications we select from a large number which have lately appeared in different States of the Union, as indicating the interest which is beginning to be felt by the American people in questions relating to liberal education. These questions, we are happy to perceive, are no longer regarded as subjects of mere speculation, which concern retired academics alone, but as matters of general importance which are intimately connected with the well-being and the progress of society. In all ranks of life there is beginning to be felt a demand for a higher and fuller education—an education which, in some better sense than has hitherto been realized, shall train the faculties of the youth of the country and prepare them to discharge worthily the offices of life in the midst of our free institutions. We accordingly find that the subject of collegiate education and the interests pertaining to it are now coming to be almost universally discussed, not in the circles of educated men alone, but in gatherings of the people, in meetings for public reform, and in the Legislatures of States. These topics occupy a prominent place also in the periodicals and the higher newspapers of the times, and are made the basis of works which win for themselves a permanent and honorable place in the literature of the age.

Of this character is the work of Dr. Tappan on University Education, whose title we have given above. It opens with an able and learned review of the origin of Universities and Colleges on the Continent and in Great Britain, together with a brief exposition of their early organization and the changes through which they have passed. From topics like these the author passes to the Colleges of the United States, which are to a considerable extent formed after the model of those of Great Britain. He points out their peculiarities and dwells at length upon the defects in their organization, and discusses several of the plans for their reform which have lately been proposed, especially those which are contained in the Report submitted by President Wayland to the Corporation of Brown University, and in that prepared by Mr. Kelly, on the organization of the University at Rochester. Dr. Tappan expresses a warm sympathy in most of the views contained in both these Reports, so far as they go; but is of the opinion that they both fall short of the true end to be accomplished, inasmuch as they combine the College and the University in one institution. This he regards as the great error belonging to all our American Colleges, and proposes as the most effectual mode of improving our higher education, that a new class of institutions be created, superior to the Colleges in the instruction which they shall impart, and more liberal in the organization they shall adopt;—institutions which shall be truly worthy to be called Universities, at which young men may linger until their desire for knowledge is fully satisfied, and in addition to all general acquisitions, they

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have thoroughly accomplished themselves in the particular art or science which they intend to pursue in life. The views which Dr. Tappan thus develops are scholarlike, liberal and comprehensive, and indicate a mind fully alive to the magnitude and importance of the questions he is discussing, and eagerly desirous to devise some method by which the liberal education attainable in the United States may be as generous and elevated as that which has ever been offered to the youth of any land.

The Memorial of the President and Fellows of Harvard College, though of a different character, is still an index not the less significant of the interest which this general subject is awakening in the public mind. At the session of the Legislature of Massachusetts for 1850, a bill was reported to the House of Representatives by a Committee of which the present Governor of that State was chairman, providing for important alterations in the organization and the course of instruction of the University. The general design of these alterations, as alleged by the Committee, was to connect the teachings of the University more closely with the pursuits and interests of the people, and thus to draw to its several classes a larger number of the young men of the State. The bill however, as we think unfortunately, provided that the members of the Corporation shall be elected by the Legislature, and shall go out of office, in succession, after certain terms of years. It is in opposition to the passage of this bill, which is still under the consideration of the Legislature, that the Memorial of the President and Fellows was prepared. It reviews the history of the College, presents the nature of the trusts which at different periods it has assumed, and argues with great skill and force against the changes which are proposed to be made by the Legislature.

But it is not so much to the particular questions at issue as to the general interest which the subject to which they relate is every where awakening, that we desire to call attention. And we do this the more earnestly, from the fact that Colleges, several of them under the auspices of our own denomination, are springing up in different parts of the country. The plans which have been proposed for these new Colleges, we regret to perceive, have been framed with too little reference to the experience of past generations, and too little regard for the wants which are every where felt in society around us. They are constructed far too generally after the old models,—making immense outlays for buildings and grounds, but doing little or nothing for libraries or apparatus, and generally leaving their instructors to starve on the precarious income to be derived from students, a large part of whom are to be dependent on charity for their means of support. To all persons who are thus engaged in founding or building Colleges in our new States, we particularly commend the works which have lately appeared upon the subject of University education. No step should be taken in this matter without a careful review of past mistakes.

The questions to which we have referred are by no means confined to our own country. They have been raised on nearly the same grounds and are now discussed in nearly the same spirit in England and Scotland. The complaints of the University system in England are even louder than in the United States, and the plans for reform are pressed with far greater earnestness, though, we suspect, with less prospect of success. A recent number of the *London Athenæum*, in setting forth the defects of the education given at the University of Oxford, has the following striking paragraph. It is undoubtedly strongly stated, but it well illustrates the manner in which the subject is beginning to be viewed in England:—

So far as the business of the real world is concerned, it may be doubted whether a youth educated in a tenth-rate private school is not better informed than the ma-

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jority of those who leave Oxford with the usual academic honors. The college programme ignores modern life and the world in which we live. A man may obtain the highest distinction of his University without knowing a single word of French, German, Spanish or Italian; without having read a single author of the countries in which these languages are spoken; in utter ignorance of their history, geography, arts, politics and opinions; who is entirely unacquainted with the history of our own country—with the master-works of our arts—with the stores of our glorious literature—with the origin and progress of our national manufactures! A person may be senior wrangler of his college, who has never read Magna Charta—who knows no difference between a Roundhead and a Cavalier—who has never heard of the Bill of Rights—of Shakspeare, Dante, Milton, Calderon, Corneille, Voltaire, Macchiavelli, Goethe or Gibbon. He may confound Watt with Columbus, and fancy Spinoza the inventor of the spinning-jenny; he may believe California to lie on the coast of Coromandel, and confound the Holy Roman Empire with the French Republic—yet carry away with him the best testimonials of his University.

If this be even a remote approximation to the truth, the University man in England bears in his diploma a certificate of less knowledge of every kind—that of the Latin and Greek languages alone excepted—than is quite sure to be found in the head of a graduate of any one of our respectable Colleges. We are not surprised that the "University question" in England is one of the great questions of the times, and is mingling itself with so many of the plans of public reform.

Since writing the foregoing paragraph, we have read an article in the January number of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, and also one in the February number of the *New-Englander*, on the same general subject. The former is a well-reasoned and beautiful essay on the character and influence of "the college and the theological school," setting forth the true end of all liberal education, vindicating this education from the aspersions which have been cast upon it, and commending it to the unfailing support of the patriot and the Christian. The article is from the pen of Prof. Edwards of Andover, and is marked by the just and earnest thought and the nervous and finished rhetoric which always characterize his writings. The paper in the *New-Englander* was written by Professor Porter of Yale College, and is devoted to a review of several of the works which have recently appeared upon College education, among which is President Wayland's Report. It is mainly an apology for the collegiate system as it now is, and though containing many just and valuable suggestions, which ought never to be overlooked in any consideration of the question at issue, it is yet characterized too much by special pleading, and is often, as it appears to us, somewhat needlessly flippant in its allusions to the views which it attempts to overthrow. The tone of the article however plainly evinces the disappointment and chagrin which the writer feels at the manner in which these views have been received, and the strong apprehensions under which he labors, lest they shall at length prevail in the college systems of the country.

The First Church in Providence not the Oldest of the Baptists in America; attempted to be shown by S. Adlam, Pastor of the First Church in Newport, R. I.

The author of this pamphlet represents it as owing its "origin to a controversy going on since 1847, between the churches of Providence and Newport, as to priority of age;" and states that "having become pastor of the latter church" near the close of 1849, he found it necessary to satisfy himself where the truth really lay in the matter. In the investigations which he entered upon for this purpose, he appears to have come to the conclusion, that the truth is to be found on neither side of the question

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which had hitherto been raised, but in a view entirely at variance with all which had before been presented in relation to it. In a word, he has ascertained that both parties are wrong, and that the right is wholly different from the ground contended for by either; for his conclusion certainly conflicts with the position of one as decidedly as with that of the other. All this is, without doubt, entirely possible, and those who read the pamphlet before us will see that it is also made to appear in a high degree plausible and probable. We only submit, that it is not a part of the old "controversy," but one that is entirely new.

The facts are, as we understand them, that there has in reality been no "controversy" whatever between the church in Providence and the church in Newport, concerning priority of age, or concerning any other subject, but that the question having arisen in the Warren Association, whether the date of the planting of the church in Newport should be changed in the records of the Association from 1644 to 1639, it was referred by that body to a Committee, who reported in favor of the latter date. The report of this Committee—which was published as a part of the Minutes of the Association—was a few months since made the subject of a thorough examination and review, by the pastor of the First church in Providence, and was shown to be entirely unsatisfactory and futile as an historical argument. This "Review" was submitted to the Association at its annual meeting in September last, and has since been published. It was made the subject of a passing notice in the January number of this journal. The Report of the Committee maintained that the First church in Newport was founded in 1639. The "Review" of that report contended that this date is unsupported by historical facts, and that the true date cannot be earlier than 1644. In this state of the question appears the pamphlet of Rev. Mr. Adlam, in which, leaving all inquiry concerning the origin of the church in Newport, the writer turns his attention to the church in Providence, and attempts to show that, instead of dating back to 1639,—an epoch almost coeval with the first planting of the town,—it is really entitled to no earlier date than 1652; a view which, to us at least, was at its first announcement altogether novel and unexpected.

Thus, it will be perceived, is raised quite a new question. We have no thought at this time of entering upon the discussion of it, but we deem it an act of justice to the author, that we present a brief outline of the argument on which he rests a conclusion thus at variance with all that history and tradition have taught us, concerning the origin and early progress of the venerable church in Providence.

He attempts to show, 1st. That the present First church in Providence was not founded by Roger Williams, and that it was not the original church of the town, but a body that seceded from the original church, and formed a separate organization in 1652; maintaining as its distinctive article of faith the "laying on of hands," as a rite indispensable to church membership. 2d. That the original church, after a changeful and somewhat precarious existence of nearly seventy years, at length became extinct, or to use the author's favorite expression, "lost its visibility," about the year 1715; leaving no records or memorials of any description whatever, by which its history may be traced, or its decline and extinction explained. 3d. That the present church, still maintaining its distinctive doctrine, soon became the leading, and at length the only church in the town; and that about the year 1770, during the ministry of Rev. Dr. Manning, it laid aside its "six principle" character, and adopted the practices which it now maintains. The conclusion from the whole is, that the present First church in Providence dates from an origin later than that of the First church in Newport, and is therefore not entitled to the distinc-

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tion it has so long held, without dispute, of being the oldest Baptist church in America.

We have thus far had no opportunity of verifying the references which the pamphlet of Mr. Adlam contains, or of scrutinizing the manner in which they are employed; but allowing these to be correct, we are free to confess that the general view of which we have given an outline above, though novel and singular, has about it many marks of plausibility and truth. The fact that it contradicts the settled opinion of several successive generations, furnishes of course a strong presumption against it, and requires that it be well supported by reasons which cannot be controverted. But if it be thus supported, it will not fail sooner or later to find its way into the histories which may hereafter be written, of the planting of our denomination in America.

Labor and other Capital: The Rights of each secured, and the Wrongs of both eradicated. By EDWARD KELLOGG, Author of "Currency, The Evil and the Remedy." New-York: Published by the Author.

The great moral question of the day is that of social evils. It is a favorable indication that the attention of men is turned towards it. It has always been true, and now the fact is clearly seen and has become the subject of thought, that the laboring classes are poor—that those who create wealth do not possess it—that zealous industry is not properly rewarded, and that property is more and more unequally distributed. In former times the lower classes in the pursuit of political rights directed their efforts against the arbitrary will of princes. Their physical wants were better supplied, it is thought, then than now. Having gained their object, they find a more potent antagonist in the power of wealth; more potent, because wealth, or its unequal distribution, and not the wealthy, is the cause of their social trials. This is the source of poverty, ignorance, slothfulness, discontent, individual crime, and public discord. To discover the cause of this unequal distribution of wealth, and to provide a remedy for the evil, is a problem for statesmen and philanthropists.

The author of this work finds the cause in the high rates of interest which exist through the whole world, by which he contends that capital has the power, by the natural process of accumulation, to transfer to its possessor all the surplus gains, year after year, of those who labor. The possessors of wealth are few in number; those who labor are the vast majority of every nation. He proves, by indisputable calculations made in reference to a great variety of circumstances, the astonishing power that is given to money, by existing laws, to multiply itself in the hands of those who hold it. His idea is that money has no intrinsic value—that it exists to represent value, and as a medium of trade and exchange. He insists that it should possess no advantages peculiar to itself—that one hundred dollars in money should be of no more value to its owner than one hundred dollars in any other kind of property—that it should not increase by an interest two or three times greater in ratio than the average income from houses and lands, and all the other possessions of men. He shows by statistical tables what the increase for a term of years upon all the property in the State has been—how trifling it is compared with the increase upon money by means of the interest allowed by law; and proves by this that what is in fact a mere representative, has had an importance attached to it which does not belong to that which is represented; and that those who own it and have loaned it at six or seven per cent. have been receiving for its use more than it is worth, more than borrowers, who pay the

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interest out of the income of other property, can pay; and that, by an irresistible process, they are drawing all the property of the people into their hands, and reducing them, by degrees, into a state of insolvency and poverty. It follows, of course, that the author is opposed to high rates of interest, and, contrary to the idea of political economists, thinks that there should be laws regulating the rate of interest, and that the rate should be low.

We must content ourselves by giving this imperfect outline of his argument, and do so the more willingly, because we feel that the work must be read to be appreciated; and we are therefore compelled to say barely enough to excite the curiosity of those of our readers who take any interest in this question, and to draw their attention to a careful perusal of the work.

We must distinctly say, that there is nothing agrarian or levelling in the positions laid down by the author. He does not propose to rob any one, or to excite one class against another. He wishes only to equalize property by removing impediments which now stand in the way of labor. This will be seen by all who read the work. We make the remark in order merely to anticipate the objections of those who might conceive a prejudice against the work which would prevent their examining it.

We agree with the author that the present rates of interest are too high, or rather that most people cannot pay them without loss. We have always seen that the mass of the people appear to have no other occupation than to pay interest to the few, and it has often been a cause of wonder to us that farmers and mechanics, on such slight occasions, voluntarily load their property and labor with a weight of debt which they cannot in reason sustain. Yet we do not see why capitalists should not be permitted to loan their money to those who will pay the highest rates of interest, and who are willing to take the risk of success or failure in their operations. It is not true, because the legal rate of interest is seven per cent., that money lenders receive that interest. They suffer from bad debts as well as others, and must make the gain in one case provide for the loss in another. Again, interest may be paid where money is not employed. Suppose that a person has on hand one thousand barrels of flour, and that in the ordinary trade in that article a profit of five per cent. per annum is realized. Now if some enterprising merchant knows of a foreign port where flour is scarce, and that one thousand barrels would sell for as much as one thousand five hundred barrels at home, why should he not be permitted to borrow one thousand and agree to return eleven hundred at the end of the year; and why should not the holder be permitted to receive ten per cent. on the amount of his property? Bring money into the trasaction, and the case might stand thus: The holder of the flour might not be able to wait a year for his returns. Another person has money on hand, and the speculator, rather than to lose the opportunity, borrows the money of him to purchase the flour with, and agrees to pay ten per cent. for its use. Who will say that it is hard for him to pay, or unjust for the other to receive, the amount? The profits are only divided between two, instead of being united in one; and no one is injured by the transaction. The fact is that the greater part of the interest which people pay, or agree to pay, is found among a very small fraction of the population, those engaged in commercial adventures and speculations, where the risks are great, and the lender is liable to loss in some degree, as well as the borrower. It is not reasonable, therefore, that the interest on money should be equal only to the income on the bulk of a nation's property. It must be regulated by the demand for money among those who use it almost exclusively, the business men of commer-

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cial cities, and the profits which *they* make will show whether or not the *rate* of interest is unreasonably high.

These and many other thoughts passed through our mind in reading the work before us, and we merely suggest them for those who may be induced by our remarks to follow us in its perusal. Our idea about interest is, that it is quite as frequently the case that seven per cent. is paid by those who might borrow money for a lower rate, merely because it is the interest allowed by law, as that a higher rate is paid by speculators and persons suffering from the weight of their liabilities. The safest plan, however, particularly for those who do not live in the arena of speculation, is to practise economy and keep free from debt.

The author proposes as a remedy, that a national institution be established which shall substitute for a gold and silver currency, paper money to be loaned to borrowers at a low rate of interest, (one and one tenth per cent. is suggested,) which shall be fully secured by mortgages; and to this he adds that the money may be funded at any time in notes bearing one per cent. interest. He argues, that on this basis all may obtain loans at an easy rate; that money will be furnished in quantities just sufficient to supply the wants of the people, and no more; that expansions and contractions in the amount of money, and fluctuations in the rate of interest, will not occur; and that finally the laboring classes will save the difference between the high and low rates of interest, so that a more equal distribution of wealth will be the result, and consequently individual independence, intelligence, and virtue be established. We must leave to our readers to study the plan for themselves. We do not feel inclined to express an opinion on this part of the work. It must be studied by practical minds, and tested by experience. At the same time, we can say that it presents many appearances of practicability; and the objections to it on that point, if they exist, must arise from some latent defects which we have not been able to discover. An objection to its adoption, however, is raised in our mind: Where is the clause in the Constitution by virtue of which Congress can establish such an institution? We find no such express clause, and no implied power of Congress seems to touch the case. Then, by article X. of the amendments, powers not delegated to the United States are expressly reserved to the States respectively, or to the people. It is admitted that the States cannot create the institution proposed by the author, and it would seem, therefore, as if the people had not seen fit to confer upon either the Federal or State Governments the power which is required in the case.

* * *

The Half Century; or a History of Changes that have taken place, and Events that have transpired, chiefly in the United States, between 1800 *and* 1850. *With an Introduction by* Mark Hopkins, D.D. By Emerson Davis, D.D. Boston: Tappan & Whittemore.

We opened this volume with a strong anticipation that we should find it a valuable book of reference. This anticipation was founded on the favorable report we had heard of the intelligence and accuracy of its author, Dr. Davis, and on the well-known character of President Hopkins, by whom the volume is introduced and commended to the public. The design is certainly a worthy one, of placing on record an outline of the great events which have marked the foremost half century in the annals of the world; and could such a design be faithfully executed, a volume might be made which would constitute a book of most valuable and convenient reference through the half century to come.

We are, however, obliged to confess that we are greatly disappointed in the character of the book, for we find it to be, not indeed valueless, but

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far less valuable than we hoped. The author has unfortunately, though we suspect quite unconsciously, greatly underrated the task which he attempted to perform. The last fifty years have in reality been marked by a far greater variety of events than he seems to be aware of, and their importance is not at all according to the several gradations to which he assigns them. That he should have confined himself mainly to the United States is certainly very proper; but it is by no means proper that he should limit his statistics and general views so nearly as he has done to the progress of a single class of public interests. The work is far the fullest in those chapters which relate to the progress of the various forms of Christianity, and of Christian benevolence and philanthropy, yet in one of these chapters we find the space devoted to the American Board and its missions larger than that devoted to all the other missionary organizations of the country put together. The missions of the Baptists are spoken of as being still under the direction of the old Triennial Convention; the division of the denomination North and South, and the formation of the Southern Convention, are items which seem never to have reached the author. The dissensions into which Congregationalists have fallen are chronicled in full, but the wonderful spread of the Roman Catholics is entirely omitted. The good deeds which come from Congregationalism or Presbyterianism are very properly mentioned under their appropriate heads; but those relating to other branches of the Christian church are seldom noticed. These omissions we do not refer to as acts of intentional injustice, but simply as illustrations, selected from an immense number in the volume, of the narrow sphere to which the author has limited his observations and inquiries. The truth is, he has accustomed himself to look upon his own denomination as if it were the whole Christian public, and he seldom thinks it worth while to inquire very particularly what takes place beyond its limits.

Of the statistics which the volume does contain, many are valuable, though we are surprised to find so many that are not worth preserving. Had one third of these statistics been left out altogether, and an equal amount inserted relating to topics to which the author has not even alluded, the book would have had greater value. We notice, also, an occasional inaccuracy in facts or dates, of a character which makes us fear that we could easily detect others, had we time to look for them. For example, at the very beginning of the work, in noticing the first election of Mr. Jefferson to the Presidency, one of the earliest events of the century, he says: "Jefferson was elected by a majority of eight votes," &c. Now it is well known that Mr. Jefferson was elected, not by electoral votes, but by the House of Representatives after thirty-five ballotings, in which the vote is always taken by States. On the thirty-sixth ballot, Mr. Jefferson had ten States, Mr. Burr four States, and the votes of two States were equally divided, and were given in blank. The reader can readily judge how incorrect is the text which we have quoted. Again, we take another example which we chance to have observed. Under the head of Hospitals for the Insane, he says: "Rhode-Island has received a legacy of $30,000 from the estate of Mr. Butler of Providence towards the erection of a lunatic asylum, which is now in progress." Nearly every fact and allusion involved in this sentence is erroneous. "The Butler Hospital for the Insane" in Rhode-Island is not in "progress," but it has been in successful and most beneficient operation for four years. It has no connection with the State Government, but owes its origin entirely to a bequest ($30,000) of the late Hon. Nicholas Brown, who died in 1841. To this bequest was added by the late Cyrus Butler, Esq., during his life, the sum of $40,000, given on condition that $50,000 more should be raised by subscription. The facts in these two instances prove to be very different

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from the statements of our author. Errors in matters so familiar as these very naturally awaken surprise, and make us apprehensive that even in matters which he has noticed, he has not always been at sufficient pains to insure perfect accuracy.

The chronicler of the Half Century should be of no sect, and of no party. He should look simply at the interests and the triumphs of humanity, and should note in the record which he makes only those agencies and events that have arrested the attention of mankind, and hastened or retarded the march of civilization. We are sorry to find that our author does not possess this character, and that he has on this account failed entirely to do justice to the enterprise which he undertook to perform.

A Copious and Critical Latin-English Lexicon, founded on the Larger Latin-German Lexicon of Dr. William Freund; with Additions and Corrections from the Lexicons of Gesner, Facciolati, Scheller, Georges, etc. By E. A. Andrews, LL.D. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

Dr. William Freund, of Breslau, is one of the foremost of the great philologists who have appeared in Germany since the present century began. His large Latin-German Lexicon, which is the basis of the work now before us, was published at Leipsic in four volumes 4to, between the years 1834 and 1845, and immediately assumed a place in the highest rank of Latin Lexicons. So soon as this great work was completed, and we believe even before the publication of its closing volume, Professor Andrews, the American editor, formed the design of constructing upon it as a basis a smaller work designed for schools and colleges in the United States and England, and which should embrace the results of all the important contributions which have lately been made to philological science. He began to compare the definitions and etymologies of its words with those contained in the great Lexicons of Facciolati, Gesner, and the others, and uniting with his labors the aid of seven of the leading philologists of this country, has at length produced the admirable Lexicon now before us—a most worthy monument of years of toil, and care, and study, more minute and vexatious, more wearisome and harassing than is ever to be encountered in other walks of literature. The labor of translating the several parts of the work has been shared, as is stated in the editor's preface, between Professor R. D. C. Robbins, of Middlebury College, Vermont, and Professor William W. Turner, of the Union Theological Seminary, New-York. Both these gentlemen are most favorably known as Latin scholars and as general philologists. By the former were translated the words between A and C inclusive, and by the latter the words between D and Z inclusive. The original preface of the author, which contains an elaborate disquisition on the nature and history of the Latin tongue, was translated by President Woolsey of Yale College. The remaining care and labor bestowed upon the work, which were employed mainly in collating and comparing the several parts with those of other Lexicons, were furnished by the editor himself, with the assistance of a learned friend whose services he distinctly mentions, but whose name he does not give.

In this manner has been produced a Latin-English Lexicon, which does the highest honor to American scholarship, and will, we have no doubt, become an important means of raising that scholarship to a still higher point of excellence and accuracy. Bailey's translation of the great Lexicon of Forcellini and Facciolati must still sometimes be consulted by the scholar who would know all the meanings of which a Latin word is susceptible; but for all the ordinary purposes of Latin study, whether at school

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or at college, to the pupil or the teacher, even in the higher ranges of philological inquiry, this Lexicon will, we believe, be found the most convenient and the most satisfactory of all that are now in use. The excellent Dictionary of Mr. Leverett is one to which we feel greatly indebted for the assistance it has rendered a whole generation of scholars, and we have no desire to see it laid aside; yet we cannot but believe that with all its intrinsic excellences and its long and valuable services, it will be obliged to give place to this which Professor Andrews has given us on the basis of Dr. Freund. The long labors of which it is the fruit, the accurate and well-known scholarship by which it has been prepared, and the handsome style in which it is printed, all combine to commend it to the favorable consideration both of teachers and students of the noble language of which it is the exponent.

Lady Willoughby; or, Passages from the Diary of a Wife and Mother in the Seventeenth Century. From the second London edition. New-York: A. S. Barnes & Co. 1850.

This delightful volume is designed, both in its subject and its style, to reproduce the spirit of domestic life in England during the middle of the seventeenth century. The period it embraces is that of the civil wars; the defeat and execution of King Charles I.; the Protectorate of Cromwell; the restoration of Charles II.; events which must have imparted a peculiar character to the domestic life of every family in England, and most of all, of those whose members were involved in the transactions of the times. The Diary is exceedingly true to the general spirit of the period, and is highly successful in lifting the veil from those scenes, in which woman so often pines and suffers in silence and solitude, while man is abroad achieving deeds for history to record. The Lord Willoughby is a young nobleman of ancient race, recently married to the daughter of an illustrious house, just at the moment when the tyranny of Charles I. was at its height, and when all but those who were ready to be the minions of despotism were arraying themselves against the throne. He is of the Presbyterian party, and enlists his full energies in opposition to the prerogative, but does not design to overthrew the monarchy, or to take the life of the King. With the other chiefs of his party, he separates from the Independents; resists the aggressions of the army, the usurpation of Cromwell; is several times sent to the tower, and at length brought to trial, and sentenced by the Parliament. He escapes the exile or imprisonment to which he is doomed, through the clemency of Cromwell; at length, on the death of the Protector, aids in the restoration of the Stuarts, only to witness the new calamities that were visited upon his friends by the faithless monarch whom they had assisted in bringing to the throne.

These are the vicissitudes through which the master of the family is called to pass, during the period embraced in the Diary; and the successive entries it contains are designed to illustrate the influence they exerted upon the life and fortunes of the wife and mother, whom the tumults of the times had consigned to weary solitude and corroding anxiety in her now cheerless home in the country. In detailing, under the guise of an artless record of daily occurrences and experiences, the changes and sorrows that befell a single family, it opens to us the inner life of a whole people, and enables us to catch glimpses more distinct than history ever affords of the wretchedness and anguish which civil tumult always brings upon the hearts and homes of a nation. The composition is in the antique English of the seventeenth century; and the whole work is so redolent of the age it was designed to illustrate, that we are not surprised at its

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being taken, on its first appearance in England, for a genuine diary of a veritable lady who lived in the times of the civil wars.

Miscellaneous Essays. By THOMAS DE QUINCEY, Author of "Confessions of an English Opium-Eater," etc. etc. Boston: Ticknor, Reed & Fields.

The publications of Messrs. Ticknor, Reed & Fields are not surpassed in beauty of execution, if indeed they are equalled by any other issues of the American press. They have of late been of that class which may be not improperly styled æsthetic literature, and occupy in the main a middle place between works of grave didactic import, and those which deserve to be regarded as light reading. They embrace the productions of a large number of the most accomplished writers of Boston, together with a handsome collection of reprints from the corresponding class of works in English literature. Among the former, may be mentioned the works of Longfellow, Holmes, Whittier, Hawthorne and Whipple; and among the latter, those of Tennyson, Browning, Motherwell, Mrs. Jameson, R. Monckton Milnes, Philip James Bailey, and Barry Cornwall: literary works as widely circulated as any others among the reading classes of people in the United States.

The same publishers are now issuing, in a series of attractive volumes, the writings of De Quincey, of which this volume of "Miscellaneous Essays" is the latest that has come from the press. It bears the unmistakable characteristics of the writer's mode of thought, in each one of the Essays it contains; and though as a whole it possesses less interest than either of the two which have preceded it, yet it emits from every page the strange power which De Quincy always wields over the fancy and feelings of the reader. The subjects are, "The Knocking at the Gate in Macbeth," "Murder considered as one of the Fine Arts," discussed in two papers, "Joan of Arc," "The English Mail-coach," "The Vision of Sudden Death," "Dinner, Real and Reputed;" subjects odd enough in themselves, but here invested with a fascinating interest, and made to teach many a lesson pertaining to the minor morals of human life.

We have received too late for more than a bare enumeration in the present number, the following new books, from Messrs. Ticknor, Reed & Fields, of Boston:—

1. *The Cæsars.* By THOMAS DE QUINCEY. A historical view of the aspect of social life in Rome, under the Emperors; written in the characteristic manner of the author, and evincing much of that curious learning for which he is remarkable. It is a highly interesting work.

2. *Popery: British and Foreign.* By WALTER SAVAGE LANDOR. This is a pungent tract of sixty or seventy pages, on the present ecclesiastical condition of England; in which Mr. Landor divides the blame of all the evils which exist between the English Ministry and the English prelates, and intimates that the Pope has done no more than he was invited to do, by the words of the Government and the example of the bishops. It presents the ludicrous side of the great dilemma.

3. *Poems.* By HENRY THEODORE TUCKERMAN. Mr. Tuckerman is already favorably known as a poet and a man of letters, in other works which he has given to the public. This volume of poems contains here and there a piece which we have seen before; though most of them, we suspect, are now published for the first time. It opens with a highly finished and

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beautiful piece, entitled "The Spirit of Poetry," which of itself is a sufficient proof of the genius of the author. The poems which follow,—several of which relate to the familiar scenes of our own country and its history,—though of unequal merit, are fitted to inspire poetic sentiment, and awaken a sympathy with whatever is elevated and noble, generous and heroic in human character and human life.

The Old Red Sandstone; or New Walks in an Old Field. By HUGH MILLER, author of "Footprints of the Creator," &c. Illustrated with numerous engravings. From the fourth London edition. Boston: Gould & Lincoln.

The "Footprints of the Creator," the first of the works of Hugh Miller reprinted in this country, has met with universal favor. It has been very widely read, and has been the means of awakening new interest in those lofty inquiries which relate to the agency of Deity in the organization of the outward world.

The "Old Red Sandstone," which has just come from the press of Messrs. Gould & Lincoln, is devoted to an exposition of that elder stratum of the earth's crust which bears this name, and more especially of the fossil remains which have been lately discovered imbedded in its substance. Many of these remains owe their discovery to the investigations of Mr. Miller, who, in his early occupation as a quarrier and miner, took his first lessons in geology from Nature's own volume, amidst the very wonders which that science aims to explore. The work is written with that delightful simplicity for which the writer has become so celebrated, and evinces those high descriptive powers which Dr. Buckland, the author of the "Bridgewater Treatise," affirmed that "he would give his left hand to possess." It treats of the subjects of science, but in such a manner as to give them a high moral interest, and opens to us the successive strata of the solid earth, only to make them illustrate the Creator's power, and to confirm the revelation which He has given of His will. Such works as this cannot be too highly commended. They occupy one of the most interesting fields of inquiry which are presented to the human mind,—that which lies between the science of Theology and the science of Nature,—and are fitted to exert the most salutary influence on both. They impart liberality and completeness to views of Theology, while at the same time they breathe spirituality and Christian faith into the investigations and conclusions of natural science.

The Method of the Divine Government, Physical and Moral. By Rev. JAMES MCCOSH. New-York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

This is a work of unusual ability, and one which evinces a familiar acquaintance with the whole range of philosophical speculations, not only on the subjects to which it relates, but, what is unfortunately too rare among metaphysical writers, on the moral and spiritual aspects of material science. The author, Mr. McCosh, was a pupil and friend of the late Dr. Chalmers, and makes several expressions of the affectionate reverence in which he holds the memory of his great master. He possesses, however, as it seems to us, a higher degree of metaphysical power than belonged to Chalmers, and grapples resolutely with questions which that illustrious divine might have hesitated to meet. Yet the tone of the work is eminently modest, philosophical and Christian, and the clearness and fulness with which the author unfolds the method of God's government—alike in the world of matter and of spirit—will entitle his volume to a high place in

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the ethical literature of the age. Unless we have greatly mistaken its character, it will be welcomed as a valuable contribution to the science of which it treats.

The Principles of Geology Explained, and viewed in their Relations to Revealed and Natural Religion. By Rev. David King, LL.D., Glasgow. With Notes and an Appendix, by John Scouler, M.D., &c. &c. New-York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

No one of the later sciences has been thought to come into so direct conflict with revelation as Geology. When its discoveries were first given to the world, many a weak faith was shaken, and many a timid believer was thoroughly alarmed, lest some impression might be made upon the impregnable fortress of revealed religion. The infidel attempted to employ them to fortify his rejection of the Bible, and the doubting caviller sought among them for materials out of which to frame new objections. But the antagonism which was at one time thought to exist has long since disappeared, and Geology, instead of arraying itself in hostility to the Scriptures, now delights to minister to their interpretation, and to furnish arguments for their support. It is in this spirit that the work before us is written. It is designed, first, to explain the principles of Geology; second, to show their accordance with Scripture; and third, to illustrate their moral application as a branch of Natural Theology. The author has evidently aimed to be true both to science and religion, and to meet with entire fairness the question which is supposed to be at issue between them. His work abounds in useful information, and sheds light upon several of the intricate problems which every thoughtful mind encounters in its search after truth. It is withal an attractive and readable little volume.

A New Classical Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography, Mythology, and Geography; partly based upon the Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology. By William Smith, LL.D. Revised, with numerous Corrections and Additions, by Charles Anthon, LL.D. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 8vo, pp. 1039.

The preparation of this work sprung forth as an incidental labor, from an attempt to supply a larger and more complete series of Dictionaries for the elucidation of the Greek and Roman writers. Of that series the Dictionaries of "Greek and Roman Antiquities," and of "Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology," have already appeared; the Dictionary of "Greek and Roman Geography" is in progress. An attempt like this was required by the present state of classical learning; and the kind and amount of aid brought into requisition by Dr. Smith are a pledge of favorable results. The Dictionary before us combines the information accumulated in all these works to as large an extent as possible, setting it forth in such forms as are requisite for the junior student. It furnishes results rather than details, as is indispensable in such case. In its sphere it will be likely to take the place of all other Dictionaries; particularly will it banish Lempriere, which has long maintained its place by sufferance. It is hardly necessary for us to unfold at length its character, as it cannot fail to arrest the attention at once of teachers, through whom it will reach their pupils. It has been carefully revised by Dr. Anthon, with the aid of Professor Drisler, and to them is indebted for numberless additions and for far greater accuracy. The mechanical execution is most commendable. The type is clear and legible, and the binding firm, such as is suitable to a dictionary.

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John Foster on Missions. With an Essay on the Skepticism of the Church. By the Rev. JOSEPH P. THOMPSON, of the Broadway Tabernacle Church New-York: Edward H. Fletcher. 24mo, pp. 206.

Mr. Foster's portion of this book was issued in this country some years ago, under the title, "The Glory of the Age; or, the Spirit of Missions." It is one of the master-pieces of his great mind, and though prepared for an occasion it is equally adapted to all times. While the earth remains the habitation of a fallen race, its arguments will constitute an irresistible appeal in behalf of the cause of Missions. Mr. Thompson's Essay adds greatly to the value of the book. It detects and exposes those lurking doubts which subsist in the church in regard to the missionary enterprise, and do so much to hinder that full consecration of the church to the spread of the gospel, which is essential to the speedy conversion of the world. Particularly it lays open the fallacy of some of those doubts which Mr. Foster himself, in a morose old age, and we think in an unguarded hour, betrayed,—so much at variance with the unanswerable argumentation of his Discourse on Missions, prepared at the meridian of his days and in the full exercise of his great powers. This book ought to be in the hands of all intelligent Christian readers, and certainly should be the diligent study of Christian pastors.

Studies in Christian Biography; or Hours with Theologians and Reformers. By SAMUEL OSGOOD, Minister of the Church of the Messiah in New-York. New-York: C. S. Francis & Co. 1850.

The respected author of this interesting volume is at present the minister of a large Unitarian society in New-York, though we believe, at the time of its preparation, he resided in Providence. The volume is strictly what its name indicates, a series of biographical sketches—many of them exceedingly well-wrought and finished—of Christian Fathers and Reformers, the *representative men* of different eras in the progress of Christianity. The first in the series is entitled "Augustine and his Times," and the last, "John Howard and Prison Discipline." Between these two stand a goodly company of Saints and Martyrs, of Christian Heroes and Sectarian Chiefs, who have adorned or distracted the ages in which they appeared. The original design of Mr. Osgood, in preparing the discourses and papers which compose the volume, was to instruct his own congregation in some of the interesting periods of Christian history—a design worthy of all commendation, and, in this instance, executed in a manner that is most creditable to the learning and good taste of him who conceived it.

Waverley Poetry: being the Poems scattered through the Waverley Novels. Attributed to Anonymous Sources, but presumed to be written by Sir Walter Scott. With Titles and Index. Boston: Monroe & Francis.

Among the attractions which every one has found in the Waverley Novels, are these exquisite gems of poetry, now appearing at the heads of chapters, and now wrought into the thrilling narrative,—often set down to "Old Plays" or "Scottish Ballads," yet always so pertinent to the subject and the occasion, as to make one believe they could have been written only by the author himself. These passages, so far as they are contained in the first part of the Waverley series, were collected many years ago and published in Edinburgh. Subsequently to this, however, fourteen of Sir Walter's later romances were produced by his wonderful fancy, and the whole series was carefully revised. In the present volume, the collec-

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tion of the Waverley Poetry is for the first time made complete; and we know of no single volume in our literature which furnishes a greater variety of poetic beauty.

Lavengro: The Scholar—the Gipsy—the Priest. By GEORGE BORROW, author of "The Bible in Spain," and "The Gipsies of Spain." New-York: G. P. Putnam.

Those readers who became acquainted with Mr. Borrow's singular genius in his former works, will be glad to meet him again in Lavengro, and will also thank Mr. Putnam for the handsome manner in which the work is prepared for the public. It is now several weeks since it came from the press, and in that time it has been widely read; and though various opinions are entertained of its merits, it is universally conceded to be a work of great interest and power. Whether it be in reality an autobiography, as many imagine it to be, or a passing dream of sober study and wild adventure, as the author would have us believe, few will open its pages without soon yielding themselves to the spell which they weave around the reader.

Salander and the Dragon: A Romance of the Hartz Prison. By FREDERIC WILLIAM SHELTON. New-York: Samuel Hueston. 24mo, pp. 184.

"The detestable habit of detraction" has in this little volume a most striking exposure, and if the volume fails to work in some minds a cure for that deadly evil, it will not be the fault of the author. Under the guise of an allegory, the book teaches what a monstrous and hateful thing slander is, even when shut up in the heart, and then what mischief it works when it takes wings and goes abroad over the world. We have rarely read a book of the kind with equal interest, and we commend it to all who either harbor slanders or let them go, as a volume for their special edification and profit. There are some characters in it which, for the honor of human nature, it were to be wished existed upon its pages only.

The Baptist Psalmody: A Selection of Hymns for the Worship of God. By BASIL MANLY, D.D., and B. MANLY, Jr. New-York: Edward H. Fletcher.

Another hymn-book! The preparation of this hymn-book was undertaken at the request of the Southern Baptist Publication Society, under whose auspices it appears. We have examined it with unusual interest, and with a good deal of satisfaction. There are too many hymns in it, we think;—a few not worthy of the place they occupy; but, generally, the selection is made with good judgment. The hymns belong rather to the ancient and impressive, than to the modern and pretty; and we are not surprised to hear that the book finds extensive favor even at this early day.

Crumbs from the Land o' Cakes. By "JOHN KNOX." Boston: Gould & Lincoln.

A delightful little volume—modest, and yet spirited—relating to storied scenes and famous characters in Scotland. It is published by Messrs. Gould & Lincoln in Boston, but if report speaks truly, it is from the pen of one of the members of an enterprising publishing house in New-York, who has lately visited the land of his nativity, and has here graphically sketched the scenes and incidents which made the deepest impression upon his mind. It is both instructive and interesting, and bears the marks of much pleas-

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ant reading, and of sprightly and intelligent observation of the peculiarities of the land he went to visit.

Notices of the Life of Theodosia Ann Barker Dean, wife of Rev. William Dean, Missionary to China. By PHARCELLUS CHURCH. Boston: Wm. Heath. 12mo, pp. 288.

We are inclined to think that the stranger is admitted in this volume too far within the sacred privacies of domestic life; but certainly the character of the lady here portrayed is one of unusual symmetry and loveliness, and can hardly be contemplated without profit.

The Works of Horace, with English Notes. For the use of Schools and Colleges. By J. L. LINCOLN, Professor of the Latin Language and Literature in Brown University. New-York: D. Appleton & Co.

We have received, just as we go to press, a copy of this beautiful edition of the most delightful writer of the classic age. It seems to us well nigh to realize our best ideal of what an edition of Horace ought to be, as designed for the youthful scholars of the country. The text of all the writings of the Venusian Bard is here spread out on a clear, broad page, in which many a glorious line seems to gain new significance. The large body of notes at the end, and the genial sketch of the author's life at the beginning, are rich in instruction, and, what is not less important, they are gracefully suggestive of many a beautiful thought and pleasant sentiment, which the student of Horace will always fondly associate with the exquisite pictures of his glowing verse. The work, we are confident, will secure the warmest approbation of all classical scholars, and we hope will be earnestly studied by multitudes of the youth who are assembled in the schools and colleges of the land.

Ecclesiastical Manual, or Scriptural Church Government Stated and Defended. By LUTHER LEE. New-York: Wesleyan Methodist Book-Room. 12mo, pp. 264.

This volume is a fruit of the reaction towards Congregationalism, which in many minds has resulted from the high claims of Methodist Episcopacy. It has but just fallen into our hands, and we have had time only to glance at its pages. We are glad to infer from such brief examination that the writer is aware of the dangers of no-churchism as well as of high-churchism, and to believe that his protests against running to extremes in that direction will be salutary in the spheres in which his book will be read.

Responses from the Sacred Oracles; or the Past in the Present. By RICHARD W. DICKINSON, D.D. New-York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

This is a collection of moral portraitures from the Sacred Oracles. Many of them are drawn with spirit and effect, and all of them are designed to illustrate from the records of the Past types of character which belong to the Present. The author teaches us to find in the personages of ancient days emblems and representatives of ourselves; and from the responses of revelation concerning them, he would have us learn our own destiny and duties both to man and to God.

Mr. G. P. PUTNAM has published (12mo, pp. 456) a revised and beautiful edition of Mr. Theodore Irving's Conquest of Florida, by Hernando de Soto. Mr. Irving's work is a standard one on the subject to which it re-

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lates; and that subject, invested with the highest charms of heroism and adventure, can never fail to attract readers.

C. S. Francis & Co., New-York, have published Dr. Brewer's *Guide to the Scientific Knowledge of Things Familiar*, revised and adapted for use in families and schools. It comprises a large amount of scientific information within small compass, and in the familiar style of question and answer.

The American Tract Society has issued a 12mo volume of 488 pp., entitled, *The Riches of Bunyan; selected from his Works.* By Rev. Jeremiah Chaplin. The selection embraces a wide range of topics in theology and practical religion, and is made with good judgment. It is introduced by a prefatory notice from the pen of the Rev. Dr. Williams, than whom few if any enter more fully into the spirit of the writings of Bunyan's time. There are many readers who could not be induced to read the treatises of Bunyan, but would gladly spend a few moments in meditating upon brief passages from his works, and be profited by them. To all such, and indeed to all lovers of Bunyan, this book will be welcome.—*The Afflicted Man's Companion*, (12mo, pp. 343,) containing the Rev. John Williston's "Directory for Persons and Families afflicted with Sickness or any other Distress," and Dr. Benj. Grosvenor's "Mourner, or the Afflicted Relieved," has just been issued.—The Society has likewise issued an abridged and revised edition (12mo, pp. 339) of the Memoir of that remarkable young man, the Rev. John Summerfield; and a small collection of Hymns, with music attached, entitled *Songs of Zion.*

Art. XI.—INTELLIGENCE.

Monument to Christopher Columbus.—Many of the leading men of Spain are now making efforts to erect a colossal monument to the discoverer of the New World; among the foremost in this movement are Martinez de la Rosa and Salvador Bermudez. A subscription for $100,000 has been started for this purpose, which is fast receiving the names of persons of every rank. We are glad to see that this honor, although tardy, is about to be awarded to one of whom Spain and the world may well be proud.

The Government of Naples is constantly increasing its list of prohibited books. Among the works now excluded are, Humboldt's Cosmos, Shakspeare's works, Goldsmith, Heeren's Historical Treatises, Ovid, Lucian, Lucretius, Sophocles, Suetonius, Victor Hugo, E. Girardin, G. Sand, Lamartine, Valery's L'Italie, Goethe, Schiller, Thiers, A. Dumas, Molière, all the German philosophers, and Henry Stephens's Greek Dictionary.

Dr. Karl August Espe, who for many years has filled the post of editor to Brockhaus' Conversations Lexicon, the work which forms the basis of the Encyclopædia Americana, died recently at Leipsic. He was a man of great acquirements and unwearied industry, and was well known and esteemed in the literary and scientific circles of the continent.

Neander's Church History is printed as far as the year 1294. He had continued the work in manuscript up to the beginning of the 15th century, so that Wiclif, Huss, and other important precursors of the Reformation, have found in it a place. The last volume of this great work will shortly be printed.

Little & Brown propose publishing by subscription a new and uniform edition of the *Speeches, Forensic Arguments, and Diplomatic Papers of Daniel Webster;*

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with a notice of his life and works by Edward Everett. The work is to be comprised in 6 volumes of 500 pages each. Price $2.00 per vol.

The fourth volume of Mr. Hildreth's History of the *United States*, being the first volume of the post-revolutionary history, has just been published by the Harpers.

D. Appleton & Co. are preparing for publication: *Rose Douglass; or the Autobiography of a Clergyman's Daughter.* One vol. 12mo. (Just ready.) *The Mother-in-Law.* By Mrs. SOUTHWORTH, author of "The Deserted Wife," etc. 8vo. *The Millwright and Engineers' Pocket Companion.* By WILLIAM TEMPLETON. From the seventh English edition; with American additions. 16mo. *General Theory of Bridge Construction: Containing Demonstrations on the Principles of the Art, and their Application to Practice. With Illustrations.* By HERMAN HAUPT, Civil Engineer, Sup't. of the Pa. Railroad. 8vo. (Just ready.) *Metallurgy; or Chemistry of Metals.* By FREDERICK OVERMAN. 1 vol. 8vo. *The Commercial Hand-Book of Chemical Analysis; or Practical Instructions for the determination of the Intrinsic or Commercial Value of Substances used in Manufactures, in Trades and the Arts.* By A. NORMANDY. *The Book of Nature: an Elementary Introduction to the Science of Physics, Astronomy, Chemistry, Mineralogy, Geology, Botany, Zoology, and Physiology.* By Prof. SCHOEDLER. Translated from the German, by Henry Medlock. *Chemical Manipulations.* By MICHAEL FARADAY. 8vo. *Christmas with the Poets.* A beautifully-embellished volume. 8vo. *A New French Dictionary: based on Spier's and others.* One volume large 8vo, uniform with Adler's German Dictionary. *A New Spanish Dictionary.* By Prof. LEONNE AND VELAZQUEZ. 1 vol. large 8vo. *Ollendorff's Method of Learning English, applied to Spanish.* 1 vol. 12mo. *Book of Oratory.* By Prof. MARSHALL, of the Free Academy. *New Practical Arithmetic.* By Prof. PERKINS.

Appleton's *Dictionary of Machines, Mechanics, Engine Work, and Engineering*, to which we have already alluded in this journal, is advancing steadily towards completion. The large promises of the publishers with respect to drawings of machines, and to accuracy of scientific and practical knowledge, have been faithfully kept, and the work, when completed, will be an honor to the country. Twenty-seven of the forty numbers have already been issued; and the first volume, of near 1000 royal octavo pages, is a luxury to the eye. We are glad to believe that the cost of the work, which exceeds $15,000, will be repaid by a just public appreciation and a large sale.—The same publishers, with the present year, commenced the issue of their *Mechanic's Magazine and Engineer's Journal*, under the editorial care of Mr. J. W. ADAMS, C. E. Each number is designed to embrace five heads: Mechanical Science—Descriptions of Machines and Inventions, Scientific Papers, Practical Views, Reports, Queries, &c.; Miscellaneous—Miscellaneous Extracts from Scientific Journals; Reviews—Reviews of Scientific Works, and Notices of Engineering or Architectural Constructions; Patents—Notices of Patents; Correspondence. Three numbers are issued; and by the amount of intellectual and mechanical labor bestowed upon them, sufficiently assure the character of the work. The price of the work is three dollars per year, or twenty-five cents per number.

Messrs. Appleton & Co. are, we are happy to learn, preparing to issue an edition of Sprüner's *Atlas of Europe in the Middle Ages*, to be edited by Professor Greene, of Brown University, and adapted to the recent work of Mr. Greene on the History of the Middle Ages. Such an Atlas is greatly needed, and the accurate and beautiful maps of Sprüner are undoubtedly the best that could be selected to compose it.

Messrs. Gould & Lincoln announce in preparation *A National Series of American History, adapted to the popular mind, and especially to the youth of the country. Illustrated by numerous engravings.* The work, it is understood, will be prepared somewhat in the manner of Mr. Abbot's series of Biographies for the Young, and each volume will be complete in itself.—Also, *A Cyclopedia of Anecdotes of Literature and the Fine Arts*, by KAZLITT ARVINE, A.M. Also, by the same author, *A Cyclopedia of Scientific Anecdotes.* Mr. Arvine is already favorably known to the public

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as the author of the "Cyclopedia of Moral and Religious Anecdotes." The first number will be issued immediately.—Messrs. Gould & Lincoln are also about to publish *First Impressions of England and its People*, and *Scenes and Legends of the North of Scotland*, by HUGH MILLER, author of "Footprints of the Creator," &c. &c. *The Guiding Star: or the Bible God's Message*, designed to illustrate the second and third Questions of the Westminster Catechism, by Mrs. LOUISA PAYSON HOPKINS. Also, *The Popular Cyclopedia of Biblical Literature*, by JOHN KITTO, D.D., in one vol. 8vo.

Mr. L. Colby has nearly ready, *Struggles and Triumphs of Religious Liberty: An Historical Survey of Controversies pertaining to the Rights of Conscience, from the Reformation to the settlement of New-England.* By EDWARD B. UNDERHILL, Esq. With an Introduction, by SEWALL S. CUTTING.

The growing importance of the science of Bibliography in the United States, and our desire to aid in its promotion, lead us to notice an *Alphabetical Index to the Astor Library*, or Catalogue, with short titles, of the books now collected and of the proposed accessions, as submitted to the Trustees of the Library for their approval, January, 1851. 8vo, New-York, 1851, pp. 446.

This Index, which must not be mistaken for the Catalogue, has been compiled, as the author, Dr. Cogswell, remarks in his preface, to serve as a guide in collecting books for the Astor Library. It contains upwards of 10,000 abbreviated titles, including the 30,000 volumes which have already been purchased. The advantages of such an index to Dr. Cogswell in his proposed European book-collecting tour must be very obvious. Not only will it greatly contribute to the completeness and unity of the library, but it will also serve as a security against the purchase of duplicates. Prefixed to the Index is a carefully prepared list of the principal bibliographical works, highly important for those to consult who are in any manner connected with the formation and management of libraries, whether public or private. Occasionally the author has classified works of an important and general character, for his more special convenience; as for example, under the head of "Transactions of Scientific and Literary Academies and Societies," are brought together the titles of nearly 500 distinct works. The Index throughout gives evidence on the part of its author, of a thorough and careful study of the literature and bibliography of the various departments of knowledge. The Trustees and the public generally may well be congratulated upon having secured the services of a librarian so thoroughly accomplished, and so admirably well qualified for his work, as is Dr. Cogswell. Under his skilful management we may reasonably expect that before many years the Library founded by the munificence of John Jacob Astor will favorably compare with the older libraries of Europe. Then will the remark made by Mr. Justice Story on a public occasion, no longer be true: "There is not, perhaps, a single library in America, sufficiently copious to have enabled Gibbon to have verified the authorities for his immortal History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire."

The Imperial Library at St. Petersburg, founded by Catherine II., has just been thrown open to the public of that city by the Emperor Nicholas. The books have received a new classification, and a new catalogue has been prepared and published. It appears that the library now contains 568,420 volumes and 15,471 manuscripts—a number which indicates full well that the Russian Emperors have not been unmindful of the importance of collecting books of literature and science at their capital. The duplicate copies are said to amount to 20,000, of which a part are to be given to the Geographical Society of St. Petersburg, and others to the Archæological Society. Those which are not thus disposed of are to be publicly sold.

There is now issuing from the press of the Imperial Academy at St. Petersburg a series entitled *Mohammedan Sources for the History of the Southern Coasts of the Caspian Sea.* The first volume has been published under the editorship of Bernhard Doon, Librarian of the Imperial Library. It commences with the mythical period, and ends with the year 1476, and treats of the various dynasties which ruled those regions, whose yet unexplored history is probably destined to ex-

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plain many of the strange phenomena of the Saracenic invasions. Contributions of this kind to the history of mankind have seldom come from the dominions of the Autocrat; they will, however, be received with the greater interest by the scholars of Western Europe and America.

Professor Schumacher, the celebrated Astronomer, died at Altona, on the 27th December last, aged 75 years. He was the editor of the Astronomische Nachrichten, which for the past thirty years has formed the principal medium of communication for the Astronomers not only of Germany, but of the world.

The *Journal de la Libraire* for 1850 contains statistics of the books, pamphlets, and works of all kinds published in France during the last year. They amount in all to 7,208. Of these 4,711 have been published in Paris, 2,460 in the provinces, and 37 in Algeria; h 1,360 works are reprints or new editions, and 5,848 are new publications. Of t e whole number about 6,661 are written in the French language, and the rest are in the different provincial dialects of France, and in nearly all the various languages which possess any literature whatever;—281 are newspapers which have been established or new modelled during the year, and 79 are works printed by lithographic process.

Ecclesiastical Record.

DEATHS.

TIMOTHY REMICK, Cornish Me., Dec. 27.
BENJ. PUTNAM, Billerica, Mass.
CHARLES WHEELER, Pruntytown, Va., Jan. 11.
E. S. SHEPHERD, ——, Me., aged 31.
MARTIN GROW, Hardwick, Vt., Jan. 20, aged 74.
JOSEPH MATHIAS, ——, Pa., March 11.
THOMAS SMITH, Jr., New-Orleans, aged 23

ORDINATIONS.

EDMUND C. COOK, Bennettsville, N. Y., Jan. 7.
WALTER PATTON, Newtown, N. J., Jan. 9.
S. M. BROOKMAN, ——, N. Y., Jan. 15.
O. J. DEARBORN, Jamesville, Wis., Dec. 25.
J. M. SHOTWELL, Walesville, N. Y., Jan. 22.
THOMAS C. TROTTER, Camden, N. J., Feb. 27.
R. D. HASE, Bloomfield, Pa., Dec. 26.
AMOS H. DAVIS, Amsterdam, N. Y., Feb. 4.
J. M. SHAW, Fleming, N. Y., Dec. 26.
WILLIAM M. PALMER, Clockville, N. Y., Jan. 7.
ZENAS COLEMAN, Mt. Vernon, Mich., Feb. 13.
PETER VAN WINKLE, Napoleon, Mich.

CHURCHES CONSTITUTED.

West Abingdon, Pa., Dec. 29.
Beverly, N. J., Feb. 10.
Bloomfield, Pa.
Bethel, Ill.
Leroy, Mich., Feb. 6.
Independence, Mo., Jan. 25.
Oak Hill, Ill., Feb. 10.
Lowell, N. C., March 2.
Coventry, R. I., Feb. 17.
Sandy Creek, Va., Jan.

DEDICATIONS.

Hinsdale, Mass., Dec. 24.
Marshfield, Mass., Jan. 1.
Sheboygan Falls, Ill., Dec. 13.
Freeport, Ill., Dec. 25.
Alabama Centre, N. Y., Dec. 12.
Albion, Mich., Jan. 23.
Cherryville, Pa., Jan. 22.
Walesville, N. Y., Jan. 22.
Trumansburg, N. Y., Feb. 6.
Richville, N. Y., Feb. 5.
South Butler, N. Y., Feb. 19.
Gloucester, Mass., March 19.

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THE

CHRISTIAN REVIEW.

No. LXV.—JULY, 1851.

Art. I.—THE SOUTH AMERICAN REPUBLICS.

One after another, as the Spanish American States achieved their independence, they adopted by general consent a representative form of government. Although differing widely from each other in their constitutional provisions as well as in the practical administration of their respective governments, the feeling of a common ancestry and the sympathy of a kindred struggle have induced them to adopt in their mutual intercourse the friendly title of "*las hermanas republicas*," the Sister Republics. It would be well for them had this epithet conveyed the same idea of social endearment and mutual harmony that a similar term implies as used in our Republic in reference to the Union of the States. But unfortunately this is not the case. The region of earthquakes is not less morally than physically the natural soil of commotion. Civil dissensions, often recurring, have shaken to their foundations the fabric of society, opening wide the chasms through which infidelity, immorality, and crime have found vent, and reducing organized institutions to a condition of chaos which seems to defy the wisest statesmanship to reconstruct. Foreign wars have served to occupy the tedious intervals of domestic tranquillity, and to foster that military spirit which thus far has proved the ruin to some and the bane to all of the South American States. Invasion and conquest have been the means resorted to, in some signal instances as the only mode of preserving internal peace, but more often they have sprung from the ambition of partisan chieftains, whose sole aim was to secure or to perpetuate their dominion. The nat-

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ural result of this unsettled condition of affairs has shown itself in the predominance of the military element in the State. There is not at this moment a single chief magistrate in Spanish America without the prefix of "General" to his name, or who has not distinguished himself in some way by deeds of blood. Tactics, not statesmanship, has been the road to political preferment. He who would seek the cabinet, must reach it through the camp. A thirst for military renown has thus become interwoven alike in the social and political systems of these countries, and his ambition will soonest attain its end who can most successfully appeal to the passions and arouse the martial spirit of the people.

The danger of habitually intrusting a State to the guidance of military chiefs is a recognized principle in civil polity, and in South America we have seen its legitimate results. We do not mean to intimate that civil preferment should never be the reward of military achievement, although as a general thing we believe that success in the latter is rarely united with the requisite qualities for the former. Eminent services in the field may sometimes be thus acknowledged by a grateful people, and the act prove beneficial to the State. To place a distinguished soldier under the ban of proscription by denying his right to civil attainment, because he has rendered important services in arms, would be a species of injustice akin to that which banished Aristides because of his pre-eminent virtues, and would display a narrowness of soul equivalent to that of the ignorant Athenian who assigned as a reason for the ostracism, that he was tired of hearing him called "the Just." The example of the Father of his Country proves that military genius may be united with the highest attributes of statesmanship; but we should remember also that it has been written, with as much of truth as of poetry in the language, that

> "He, the first, the last, the best,
> The Cincinnatus of the West,
> Bequeathed the name of Washington,
> To make man blush there was but one."

Even the hero of Colombia, whose prowess in arms secured the independence of his country, and whose wisdom and patriotism won for him the title of "the Washington of the South," failed in the end to curb an ambition which had already attained the summit of human endeavor, and by errors of administration which even the eye of envy cannot discern in the career of his great prototype, saddened the hearts

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of his warmest supporters, and somewhat tarnished the illustrious name of Bolivar.

We propose as the object of this article to pass in review the several South American States, in order to obtain some idea of the moral atmosphere by which they are surrounded, and thus the better to understand the peculiarities of their position. In this sketch we shall confine ourselves principally to a glance at the governments, as being the prominent point of difference between them. While the administration of the Guianas is colonial, and that of Brazil an imperial monarchy, the Spanish States, all claiming to be Republics, differ as widely from each other as from the former.

Uruguay has for many years contained two distinct governments within its narrow limits. European intervention has long sustained the mal-contents of the capital in arms against the best interests of the country; and for a dozen years, with varied success, depending more upon the fluctuations of foreign cabinets, than on the open contest of arms, the national party under Oribe have held Montevideo in a state of siege.

As this country furnished the occasion for European interference and the beginning of the long-disputed and still undecided "river question," respecting the navigation of the La Plata, a brief notice of the steps which led to this state of things may here be appropriate. Uruguay originally pertained to Brazil, but when in 1816 La Plata declared her independence of Spain, it formed one of the United Provinces of that confederacy. In 1825 there ensued a war between Brazil and La Plata for the possession of Uruguay, which, after three years, resulted in the independence of that Province, acknowledged by both the belligerent parties, recognized by all the world, and especially guaranteed by France and England. In 1830, a Constitution was adopted, under which Riviera was chosen President for four years, and at the expiration of his term he was succeeded by Oribe. Riviera returned to his military command, from which, for some misconduct, Oribe removed him. Upon this he raised a rebellion, and by the aid of some French residents compelled Oribe to resign his post about four months before the expiration of his term. Oribe fled to Buenos Ayres, and at the end of three months made a formal protest against the causes which had obliged him to resign. His error consisted in not making the protest at the moment of resigning, since its validity could not then have been questioned, and he would have

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been exempt from the suspicion of having acted in it under the advice or dictation of Rosas,—charges which are now freely and with much plausibility and effect brought against him by his enemies. Had he done so, his legal claim to the Presidency for the extent of his unexpired term would still have been unquestionable. During his exile he was employed under Rosas in suppressing revolts in La Plata, and then returned to Uruguay with an Argentine army to recover his lost position. The native Uruguayans, for the most part, joined his standard and drove out Riviera, then for the second time President. At this point the European powers formally interfered, under pretense that as guarantors of the independence of Uruguay they have a right to prevent Rosas, as they say, from forcing Oribe upon the country as President. The acting President is Saurez, elected as Vice President under Riviera, and by the Constitution retaining office till a new election, which cannot be held before there is peace; and as his is the government *de facto* of the capital, it is recognized by all foreign powers.

There is no doubt that, could Oribe send back his Argentine troops, the city of Montevideo, as well as the whole country, would receive him. There are but few of the natives who are not in his favor. Montevideo is at this time almost entirely foreign—a French colony in fact—and sustained by the combined forces of France and England. This, and two small ports held by the French, are the only places not in possession of the national party. The Uruguayan portion of Oribe's army is much larger than that of his Argentine allies; and it is only the presence of these latter, which unfortunately he cannot now dismiss, that enables the Europeans to retain the capital upon the pretense which led to their first interference.

While the central point of the State has thus existed under martial law, the provinces have been exposed to the exigencies and the vicissitudes of war. It has had no civil government which can be classed under any known character, but has been subjected on one side to the insults and impositions of foreign mercenaries, and on the other, to the tender mercies of a horde of half-civilized gauchos. This Republic therefore, in both its divisions, has been controlled by a purely military government.

The Argentine Confederation, composed originally of thirteen States known as the United Provinces of La Plata, and each claiming to be sovereign in its character, has become practi-

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cally consolidated and merged in the preponderating influence of Buenos Ayres. Soon after the organization of these States, it was agreed among them that Buenos Ayres, being the only one possessed of a seaport, and enjoying an extensive commerce with other countries, should have charge of the foreign relations of all the United Provinces. Although this single bond was the only one which distinguished the thirteen parties to it from being distinct and separate States, feebly united by a treaty of alliance dictated by the accidents of interest and position, yet the surrender of this one attribute of sovereignty ultimately compromised their independence and forfeited their freedom.

From the beginning there had naturally been two parties among them: one in favor of a united or central government, which should be efficient in itself, making the country respected abroad and prosperous at home, and having in view the United States of North America as a model; the other contending for the absolute sovereignty of each province as a distinct nation, whose only relation to the others should be that of friendly alliance. The principles of the two parties are exemplified, as nearly as the circumstances will admit of a parallel, by the United States, as she is under the Constitution, and as she was under the Confederation. The former party, known by the name of Unitarios, embraced the more substantial portion of the people, the educated, the enterprising, and the wealthy. The other faction, called Federales, possessed the superiority of numbers, with enough of talent and social respectability in its leaders to render it a dangerous rival, and to secure its ascendency in the country. The arrangement which had been made between Buenos Ayres and the other States soon gave a controlling influence to that Province. As she arose in the scale of importance, the other members of the confederacy rapidly declined. There was only wanting a leader of sufficient genius to control and energy to act in this crisis, in order to complete the subjugation of the whole country to the despotic will of one man. Such a leader appeared in the person of the celebrated Juan Manuel Rosas. Ostensibly the chief of the Federales, his policy has been more centralizing than any ever advocated by the Unitarian party. Impeded in the execution of his ambitious projects by the organized opposition of the Unitarios, he exercised against them every instrument of cruelty and oppression which an armed faction and an obsequious legislature placed in his power.

Assassination, confiscation, imprisonment, and banishment

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were the attendants and the result of the fearful civil commotion which preceded the triumph of Rosas. That triumph was bloody and complete. It left the Provinces of La Plata entirely under his control, as well in their internal affairs as in their foreign relations. Although the Federal policy is still nominally maintained, and the forms of distinct sovereignty are scrupulously adhered to, the Governors of the Provinces are all the partisans of Rosas, and the elections are merely *pro forma* exponents of the popular will. The "recommendation" of the Governor of Buenos Ayres carries with it the force of an imperial mandate. Beyond the capital, the terror of his name seems to increase with the distance, until in the remotest provinces, at the base of the Andes, the government and the people appear to "out-Herod Herod," and become more Rosista than Rosas himself. The exciting scenes through which the country has passed, decimated by civil war, and deprived of so many of its noblest citizens by the insatiate spirit of revenge which actuated the triumphant faction long after the supremacy of Rosas was conceded by his enemies, have produced the results which might be expected from the character of the contest. Wearied of anarchy and bloodshed, La Plata has sunk into the calm of despotism.

The admirers of Rosas have pleaded in defense of his cruelty the necessities of the times; that had he not summarily disposed of the Unitarian chiefs, they would have found means of avenging themselves upon his life. The sanguinary nature of the Spanish Americans makes it probable that such would have been the case, and in some degree justifies his conduct. The subsequent administration of Rosas has attracted the attention of statesmen and won the respect of the Western world, at least by the firmness with which he has opposed the European intervention.

Refusing to acknowledge any right on the part of France or England to interfere in the affairs of La Plata, he has practically announced and sustained the famous Monroe doctrine against the combined forces of the two most formidable powers in Europe. The schemes of diplomacy, the effort of threats, and the trial of arms have all failed to subdue the intensely American spirit which scorns to yield a point at the instance of European dictation. Diplomacy he has met with its own weapons. Talleyrand himself might be at fault before the ability and the cunning of Rosas. To force he has opposed force with varied success, although the guerilla warfare of South America is no match for the disciplined soldiery of Europe. But Rosas knows well enough that the nature of

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the country, and the vast expense of maintaining a large army at so great a distance from home, are certain guarantees against a serious invasion. Threats and actual blockade are rather ridiculed than feared by the people whose quiet perseverance has already worn out many a blockading squadron. The moral courage displayed by Rosas in this protracted resistance to foreign encroachment, in the face of so formidable a coalition, challenges our admiration, and would secure our respect, could we divest our minds of the remembrance of scenes which bespeak the ferocious spirit of his government.

Over every public office, from the Policia to the custom-house, and from the barracks to the House of Assembly, is inscribed in flaming characters this remarkable motto:

"Viva la Federacion Argentina!
Meuran los salvajes Unitarios!"

Long live the Argentine Confederation! Death to the savage Unitarians!!

Every official document, from a passport to a published law, is introduced by the same atrocious language. Every employé of the government, from a custom-house porter to a cabinet minister, wears the "divisa," a red ribbon, either in the button-hole or as a hatband, inscribed with the same words, or varied sometimes in the first clause by substituting the terms "Vivan los Federales," a more appropriate shibboleth, because indicative of the partisan bitterness that has supplanted the patriotism which the usual motto might imply. Even a red waistcoat is considered a mark of loyalty, while a blue one (the color of the national standard, and as such adopted by the Unitarios) would subject its wearer to the risk of personal violence. It is superfluous to multiply examples of this sort, which are matters of daily observation in La Plata, and which, viewed in connection with what is before written, proves that, by whatever name it may be called, the government of the Argentine Republic, from the frontier of Bolivia to Cape Horn, and from the Andes to the Atlantic, is an absolute despotism.

Paraguay, originally one of the thirteen Provinces, and still claimed by Buenos Ayres as a constituent member of the Confederacy, although she has maintained her independence for many years, has never been acknowledged as a sovereign State by any foreign power, except Brazil. Overtures have several times been made by that Province to the Governments of England, France, and the United States, for the

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recognition of her independence, but thus far without success. The firmness of Rosas has presented an insuperable obstacle to the fulfilment of this design. An attempt was made a few years since by a flotilla of the allied powers to force a passage up the Parana river, and open a communication with Asuncion. A sanguinary engagement between the European forces and the troops of Buenos Ayres ensued. The former prevailed, and for a few weeks the navigation of the river was unimpeded. But it was found impracticable to continue a communication which could only be maintained by perpetual bloodshed, and at the expense of supporting an armed force in a sickly and hostile country. The project was abandoned, and whether it will ever be renewed, is a question depending more upon the impulses which national vanity may give to the defeated parties, than on any very important commercial or political advantages which are likely to ensue from diplomatic intercourse.

Yerba, a variety of ilex, from which the celebrated Paraguay tea is made, and a light and delicate species of tobacco, much esteemed in South America, form the principal commerce of the country. The former is not likely to be generally introduced elsewhere, and indeed is already giving place to the Chinese plant, which is now successfully cultivated in the interior of Brazil; while the latter is very superior to the tobacco of the West Indies or of Florida. The people are a simple, ignorant, and inoffensive race, retaining to this day much of the character given them by Charlevoix and the other Jesuit missionaries two centuries ago. They are Indians, with scarcely an admixture of Spanish blood, and speak the Guarana language. The Spanish tongue is but little known among them, except by those immediately connected with the government. The secluded position of the country and the mild and harmless nature of the people have operated most unfortunately for their political prosperity. They have presented facilities which have tempted the ambition of the veriest monsters who have ever disgraced humanity by their crimes. The career of Dr. Francia, the dictator of Paraguay, is familiar to many of our readers, but it is not so generally known that the mantle of his vices, as well as his office, has descended to his successor, Lopez, the present nominal President of that country. A more than Japanese rigor of non-intercourse, reviving the system of Francia, has been maintained by Lopez since the failure of the attempt by the allied powers to open the passage of the Parana.

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Personally recommended to Lopez by letters from the Brazilian cabinet, and strengthened by assurances from the Government of Buenos Ayres that the forts of the Parana should be opened to allow his safe conduct down the river upon leaving Asuncion, the writer of this article commenced the long and arduous journey through the interior of Brazil, with the intention of exploring the unknown regions of Paraguay. Before proceeding very far, he learned that at the pass of Candelaria, the entrance to Paraguay, he would be obliged either to wait until his letters were forwarded to the capital, and permission to enter the country was received in reply or denied, as the case might be, or to proceed at once, without previously informing the Government, and go on to Asuncion at the risk of incurring the fate of Bonpland. The certainty of great delay and the probability of involuntary detention more than counterbalanced the prospective enjoyment or advantages of the expedition, and it was abandoned. Subsequent information proved that this was a fortunate decision. Some months prior to this, the United States Consul at Buenos Ayres had been dispatched by our Government on a special mission to ascertain and report on the expediency of acknowledging the independence of Paraguay. He was stopped at the frontier and rudely delayed several weeks, while that Government attempted to ascertain whether he had brought with him the coveted recognition, or was only sent to examine the country. The laws of international courtesy were thus violated at the outset by this remote and insignificant people, and the Consul returned in disgust from his ineffectual mission. It is believed that but one American has hitherto succeeded in visiting that country and spending several months in the capital under peculiar advantages. He was sent in a semi-official capacity a few years ago, prior to the second attempt of the United States above mentioned, and was received with great consideration. Unfortunately he transcended his powers, which were not diplomatic, and promised Lopez that the United States should acknowledge the independence of Paraguay. The non-fulfilment by our Government of this unauthorized pledge has exasperated the people, or rather the President of that country, and caused the indiscreet rebuff of our second messenger, and more strict measures of non-intercourse towards all American citizens who may seek to enter Paraguay. It may account also for the mysterious disappearance of the same gentleman, who, more than a year since, went on a second expedition to that country, this time on a private

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adventure, and who was last heard from as having left his baggage at San Borgia and proceeded on alone to Asuncion, with the intention of returning or sending back for his goods. By recent advices from Brazil, we learn that many months had already elapsed, and nothing had yet been seen or heard from him at San Borgia.

The purpose of Brazil, in establishing diplomatic relations with Paraguay, is sufficiently obvious, when we consider the hostility which has always existed between the Imperial Government and that of Buenos Ayres, while the contiguity of territory removes the only obstacle which has hitherto prevented France and England from adopting the same course through similar motives. The settled policy of the United States, not to embroil herself with a friendly power by recognizing the independence of any revolted province, until indisputable evidence has been presented that the seceding party is capable of preserving that independence, renders it impolitic, if not improper, that such a course should be taken with regard to Paraguay.

That the armies of Rosas are competent to reduce that country to its original subjection to the Confederation, is evident from the result of the attempt made in 1847 by the adjoining and more powerful province of Corientes to secure her independence of Buenos Ayres. In fact, it is to her isolation and her insignificance that Paraguay owes the existence of any claim to distinct nationality. The more important concerns of the Government requiring all her military strength to oppose the European forces in Uruguay, to suppress revolt in other portions of the country, and to repel continual incursions of hostile tribes of Indians in exposed districts of the interior, have hitherto prevented the troops of the Confederacy from acting against this remote province. Thus for a long term of years Paraguay has continued to preserve a certain form of independence, and has been subjected to the yoke of a domestic tyrant, more galling because more near, in exchange for the distant despotism of the Governor of Buenos Ayres. But Rosas has never relinquished the intention of ultimate invasion, and habitually speaks of Paraguay as an integral member of the Confederation; and in this view he considers the recognition of her independence by foreign powers as an infraction of treaties, a wilful severance of friendly relations, and a justifiable cause of war. The affairs of Paraguay will doubtless remain in this uncertain condition until "the river question" is definitely settled between Rosas and the European powers. Should this event speedily trans-

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pire, as recent intelligence from that quarter would seem to indicate, we may expect, unless some unforeseen change occurs, a simultaneous invasion of Paraguay and declaration of war with Brazil. Meanwhile the government of Paraguay remains under the administration of Lopez, practically what it was under that of Francia—a supreme dictatorship.

Adjoining this State on the northwest, and occupying a vast region in the interior of South America, is the Republic of Bolivia. Having but a limited line of sea-coast on the Pacific, scarcely three hundred miles, and that possessing no good harbor, and but a single small port, to which the only mode of approach is across stupendous mountains and over a fearful desert of great extent, the free navigation of the Parana is of equal value to that country as to Paraguay, and of far more importance to the commercial world. Three large rivers, the Vermejo, Palaya and Pilcomayo, draining the southern portion of Bolivia, flow into the Parana, and thus form a natural outlet in this direction for the valuable products of the country. Perhaps no region on earth produces a greater amount and variety of commercial staples than this. Its vegetable productions comprise almost every sort of aromatic substance, and a larger proportion of articles known in the materia medica than any other country affords. The rankness of tropical vegetation matures in the hot valleys of the interior with a luxuriance that a vertical sun acting upon a rich and well-watered soil only can produce. Poisons and their antidotes, herbs and spices of every name, fruits and flowers unknown elsewhere, abound in the primeval forests of central Bolivia, and, to be made accessible to the world in untold abundance, require only that the tributaries of the Amazon and the Parana be rendered subservient to the purposes for which Nature intended them. The mountainous and sterile districts of the west are teeming with precious metals, silver, copper and gold, to a degree that has made the mines of Potosi a proverb, and is only equalled by the wonderful richness of California. The only outlets on the west are by the port of Cobija, a twelve days' journey across the desert of Atacama from Potosi, and from La Paz over the Andes, through a foreign jurisdiction, to the Peruvian port of Arica. The former is the route taken by the caravans with silver and copper from the adjacent districts; the latter is the nearest point of egress from the gold mines, and being more accessible to the great interior province of Moxos, the

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medical garden of the world, is also made the point of embarcation for the vegetable wealth of Bolivia. But the immense distance, the dangers and hardships of a journey without ordinary facilities of communication across some of the loftiest mountain ranges in the world, united with the disturbed condition of the country, are obstacles too formidable to be overcome to any great extent. The exports from this quarter are therefore uncertain and limited. The only remaining outlet is by Matto Grosso on the frontier of Brazil, and involves a journey of nearly two thirds the breadth of the continent. Frequent convoys leave this place for Rio Janeiro, and occupy from four to six months in the transit, conveying the merchandise on mules, and on rafts where the numerous streams on the route will admit. The continual and wearisome delays make it too expensive both in money and time for a profitable commerce; yet it is at present the only practicable outlet for the eastern portions of Bolivia, and from the comparative ease of the travel is often selected in preference to the Pacific route, by the inhabitants of the central provinces. Almost the whole of Bolivia east of the Andes is watered by the tributaries of the Amazon; but the greater distance and the savage character of the tribes through whose territory they flow in the interior of Brazil, render them less available for purposes of commerce than the streams before mentioned would be, if the free navigation of the Parana were secured. The policy which dictates this restriction for the purpose of retaining a revolted province, and annoying the parties to an arrogant foreign intervention, although it may succeed in its object, is at the same time inflicting an injury on the prosperity of La Plata, by preventing Buenos Ayres from becoming what it otherwise might be, the centre of commerce for the fairest and wealthiest region of South America.

Had Bolivia secured to herself the degree of influence and respectability as a government which most of the sister Republics have done, notwithstanding their frequent dissensions, and to which her advantages by nature entitle her, it is not improbable that this desirable object would have been already attained by efficient negotiation with the Government of Buenos Ayres. But the spirit of discontent and the love of domestic turmoil which seem indigenous to Spanish America, have operated with more fatal effect in this unhappy Republic than in any other portion of the continent. Its entire separation from intercourse with distant countries, and the fact that even those portions of the neighboring States

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which are contiguous to its frontiers are either unpeopled wastes or inhabited only by independent tribes of savages, thus freeing it from one of the most fruitful sources of contention, would lead us to suppose that the experiment of self-government might here meet with greater success than any where else. One of the principal causes of commotion in the other States, of which we have spoken, arises from their foreign relations. But Bolivia, as we have seen, has no foreign relations. She maintains a Chargé d'Affaires in but a few of the sister Republics, and until within three years no minister from beyond the seas had ever resided in Chuquisaca. At that time England and the United States sent Chargés to that country, but rather with a view to what might be required in the future, than for any present purpose which their negotiations can subserve. Thus isolated, as if it were for the express object of making the country prosperous and united by preserving it from the sources of peril which involved the other States, Bolivia commenced her career as a separate Republic under more favorable auspices than any of her sisters. But her term of tranquillity was brief. Civil wars, fomented by the ambition of rival chiefs, have distracted the country almost without cessation. Revolution has followed revolution in such rapid succession, and for the most part involving so little of principle, that the detail would be tedious and revolting. The attempt of Santa Cruz to erect a new State out of the adjacent portions of Peru and Bolivia, which should possess a good extent of sea-coast with convenient harbors, was the source of the most formidable of these convulsions. Had it succeeded, the commercial world would have profited by the movement, and Bolivia would have been in no worse a situation than she now is. The plan failed, and its author fled. This source of commotion being removed, the country was soon again distracted by the contending parties of Ballivian and Belzu. Thus by interminable feuds the commercial prosperity of the State has been sacrificed, and its political importance reduced to the lowest scale. Anarchy is the only term which conveys an idea of the condition of government in Bolivia.

The experiment of self-government, which is being tried by all the Spanish American States, has nowhere among them been attended with so much success as in the Republic of Chile. Although all these States profess to adopt republican principles, their internal economy is extremely varied, and the result of their efforts is by no means the same. The

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constant revolutions which have occurred in different portions of South America since the final overthrow of Spanish power in 1824, have cast a stigma indiscriminately, and therefore unjustly, over all these States. The odium of failure in the establishment of representative government may properly apply to the larger portion of them, but not to every one. Chile and New-Granada are distinguished exceptions, upon which the eye of a North American may rest with pleasure, after being pained at beholding the anarchy and misrule which distract so many of the sister Republics. In every point of view Chile is the most advanced of the South American States. It is the only one of them all which has not been the theatre of repeated revolutions since the establishment of its independence. For twenty years Chile has enjoyed uninterrupted internal tranquillity, and has been rapidly advancing in prosperity and power. It has deserved the appellation which its people have received, as the English of South America.

One evidence of the advanced condition of Chile is, that it is almost the only one of those States where political parties are divided upon fixed principles. Even in Chile this is but partially the case. Persons, not principles, form the nucleus of party every where else, and although not to the same degree, yet still too much so in Chile also. This alone would account for the unhappy state of those countries, for ever distracted by the rival claims of chiefs and statesmen. Where something like parties organized upon principles have existed, they have been but temporary, and generally on a single point of policy, in which the priesthood have often had a large share. The question of the expulsion of the Jesuits, the same which nearly a century ago agitated all Europe, has been among the most prominent of these, and quite recently threatened to involve New-Granada in civil war. But any thing like national bases of party will be looked for in vain out of Chile, and have not assumed a very decided aspect even there.

Many causes have contributed to the superior success of the Chilenos. One of these we believe to be a diversity in the origin of the early settlers of the country from those who peopled other portions of the southern continent. Much of the best blood of Chile is derived from Biscay and the mountainous provinces of northwestern Spain, which, with Catalonia, furnish the most vigorous and enterprising of the many races who compose that heterogeneous country. It has also received a considerable admixture of foreign blood from the central and northern portions of Europe. An extensive Ger-

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man emigration many years ago contributed to develop the resources of the southern provinces of the Republic, and, encouraged by the Government on a liberal scale, is being continued at the present time.

The great natural advantages which Chile possesses form another prominent source of its prosperity. They are superior in many points, indeed in almost all, to those of any other State. With an immense length of territory, extending from the tropic of Capricorn to Cape Horn, the main land embraces all between the desert of Atacama and the island of Chiloe, and is unsurpassed for the equability of its temperature and the salubrity of its climate. The summer suns of the north are tempered by the breezes from the snowy Andes, and the winter chills of the south are softened by the mild air of the Pacific. The soil on its broad table-lands and in the narrow gorges of the Andes is for the most part extremely fertile, producing the luxuriance without the rankness of tropical vegetation. Many of the most desirable fruits of the tropics, with all the productions of the temperate zone in either hemisphere, are spontaneous in their growth, or require but little cultivation. With less of the spicy and the medical treasures of Bolivia, it has a good supply of these, while the variations of its latitude supply a vast variety of the more generally useful articles of consumption which the equatorial regions cannot produce. The domestic animals are found in an unusual degree of excellence. The horses of Chile are probably the purest descendants of the ancient Spanish steeds to be found in the world. Its cattle and sheep are unsurpassed. Its wild animals are all of a useful and harmless character. No beasts of prey are found in the country; and what is more singular than all, no poisonous reptiles or venomous insects are known in this favored land. The mineral wealth of Chile is unbounded, and probably has yet been but partially developed. The amount of copper appears inexhaustible. Gold and silver, tin and lead are all mined to a considerable extent; while other mineral substances, iron, coal, sulphur, mercury, costly marbles, and even gems, have been discovered, and need only the labor of an increased population to furnish new sources of wealth.

Such, in brief, are the wonderful advantages which Nature has bestowed upon Chile, and which its enterprising people have by no means abused. They are physically a somewhat superior race to that of many of the other States. The men are rather taller and more robust; the women are finely

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formed, with the full figure which bespeaks health and vigor, and with countenances in which the beauty of intellect is blended with that of passion. Mentally and morally, the Chilenos are much in advance of their South American contemporaries.

Their enterprise is manifested in the zeal with which they have sought to avail themselves at once of the many appliances within their control, and their energy is displayed in the success of their efforts. Their local position gives them command of the ocean, but almost insurmountable natural barriers, a vast desert on the north and stupendous Andes on the east, limit their territorial possessions to a narrow line of coast. Still, overleaping these, they claim the sterile mainland of Patagonia,—an appanage of the ancient viceroyalty of La Plata, and as such claimed by the Buenos Ayrean Government,—and on the other side seaward extend their vision, looking forward to the time when Chile shall be mistress of the South Pacific.

Their internal organization is admirably adapted to increase and concentrate the elements of power which may ultimately subserve the purposes of national ambition, or may make Chile, in the wisdom of its system and the prosperity of its people, a worthy model in all that respects stability, order, and national greatness. We shall endeavor to give an idea, as rapidly as may be, of the prominent points of their civil economy.

Their system of education is unrivalled for the comprehensiveness of its course and the universality of its dissemination. No other State out of New-England, not even Prussia, equals it in the perfection of its details, or in the minute subdivisions by which it is brought within the reach of every inhabitant of the Republic. The Government have it in special charge, making ample annual appropriations for its support, and requiring even the common rights of citizenship as well as the honors of office to be contingent upon its acquisition, in some degree.

Another prominent cause of the superior success of the Chilenos is found in the conservative character of their Constitution. This limits the active citizens to a comparatively small portion of the population. No man is allowed to vote under twenty-five years of age, except he be married, in which case he has the right at twenty-one; he must also know how to read and write, and must possess property of some sort, or a fixed trade or occupation yielding a certain income, and his name must be duly registered. The number

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who come within these conditions is liable to be diminished by certain contingencies which suspend for the time being the right of suffrage: these are, the being domestic servants, debtors to the State, paupers, or under indictment for crime. There are also some circumstances which involve the permanent loss of citizenship. Restrictions like these, although severe in some points, are not to be condemned by us who live in a land where fewer of them are required. Their value to the prosperity of Chile is best seen in the contrast which she exhibits to some of the sister Republics, which have established more nearly a pure democracy than exists any where out of South America. None of these States are fitted for any form of representative government, which does not assimilate to an oligarchy. They have a large Indian population, and a still larger proportion of mixed Indian or negro and white blood. The former are mostly in a wild state, and unacquainted even with the Spanish language. The latter class, being the majority, are generally ignorant and unfitted to discharge the responsibilities of freemen. The pure white race, whether of Spanish or foreign descent, form but a small minority, although in Chile the proportion of these is greater than in most of the other States. But the school system is doing more to enlarge the suffrage in the right direction, by increasing the number of those who, under the Constitution, are entitled to that privilege, than any legislative enactment could with safety effect. The naturalization laws are more wisely regulated and far better enforced than with us. A foreigner must file a certificate of intention, and if single, must reside ten years in the country after this notice; but if married and bringing his family, six years suffice; and if his wife be a native of Chile, three years' residence will entitle him to citizenship. No other evidence but this, which cannot be forestalled, is received. There is therefore no occasion for perjury, and no opportunity for those disgraceful scenes which at contested elections in this country vitiate the suffrage and set at defiance the laws of the United States.

The administration of justice is regulated with a degree of minuteness which we have seen equalled nowhere else, and presents many points of marked and peculiar character. There are no less than eighteen varieties of tribunals whose functions are strictly judicial, having cognizance for the most part of separate branches of the law, or of causes between distinct classes of litigants. We can here only mention two of the most singular features of this system. One is the existence

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of a corps of special judges in connection with the Courts of Appeal and the Supreme Court, who are selected from men engaged in different branches of business, miners, merchants, and farmers, and who, when a case is on trial involving the interests of either of these pursuits, sit together with the law Judges on the bench, having an equal voice with them in judgment both as to the law and the fact. This provision is intended to insure a more complete understanding by the Court of the usages and technicalities of commercial business, and also to prevent adjudications or the promulgation of dicta relative to such cases which might be injurious to the general interests of the particular branch of industry involved in the suit. The other peculiarity relates to the Domestic Court,—a tribunal of fathers to decide in the cases of minors complaining of the refusal of parents to permit their marriage. Unless the defendant can show satisfactory cause for refusal, the Court will decree the marriage to take place. The result of this is, that runaway matches are as rare as they are unwarranted, and the peace of families is less liable to be broken by unfortunate matrimonial allianees than where these tribunals are unknown. The political importance of the Domestic Courts in Chile, beyond the social considerations involved, may be seen from the constitutional provision making, in favor of married persons, a difference of four years in reaching the age of majority. The moral tendency of these inducements and facilities for marriage is apparent.

The political divisions of Chile, although of necessity much less numerous than those of their judicial system, are more minute than even those of the United States. They embrace from the central government continuous subdivisions, down to the small inspectorships, which include a few streets in the cities or a few farms in the rural districts. Each of these divisions has its own internal arrangements and peculiar powers distinct from any other, although each subject to the one above it, and all under the supervision of the general Government. This division of labor in administration insures obedience to the law and justice to the citizen, and approaches more nearly in its minutiæ to the patriarchal system than does any other government with which we are acquainted.

We have thus briefly touched upon the principal sources of prosperity in Chile. Nature has done all she could, and man has organized society more skilfully there than in any other South American State. Still there are some drawbacks which eventually will impede the continued advancement of the State, unless their causes are removed; but as these per-

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tain not merely to Chile, but more or less to all the sister Republics, we shall allude to them collectively at the close of this article.

Peru formed one of the great vice-royalties into which South America was divided soon after the conquest. It then included all the Pacific States, and was by far the richest portion of the continent in all that was prized by the Spaniards. As the source of boundless wealth and the land of Pizarro's romantic career, it has always been an object of interest; but the most absorbing portion of its history and the most remarkable features of its government pertain to a period anterior to the discoveries of Balboa. Under the dominion of the Incas, its territory extended from the central portion of Chile to some point north of the equator. Cuzco and Quito were the capitals of the empire, and were connected by two great roads, one passing near the sea-coast, the other along the ridges of the Andes. Both of these highways, and many others which still partially remain, in the excellence of their construction equalled any of those which to this day attest the grandeur of the Roman empire, while that of the Andes far surpasses the most renowned works of the Cæsars. There may now be seen along the shores of Peru, a short distance from Lima, traces of a road quite equal to those of the Campania; and often among the mountains one may meet with galleries, tunnels, and causeways as much superior in scientific construction as in the difficulties of locality to the famous road of Trajan at the Dacian pass of the Danube. The remains of aqueducts still exist for miles along the steep sides of the Andes, used to convey water to the capital and to irrigate the gardens in its vicinity. The great number of these, and the infinite skill and labor with which they have been made, prove their authors to have been a people fully as advanced as the Romans in the arts of civilized life. Some of these are used at this day by the inhabitants in the environs of Cuzco, and the Inca roads are always the best and almost the only ones found among the Andes. The immense architectural remains found in Bolivia, especially on the borders and islands of Lake Titicaca, extending thence all the way to Cuzco, and at intervals, although more sparsely, beyond that city as far as Quito, furnish additional evidence, if more were required, of the power, the wealth, and the civilization of the Incas of Peru. The details of their system of administration prove them to have been a race with whom the science of government had been carried to a degree

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of perfection which we find at this day only among the most civilized and philosophic nations. Their unhappy end, the total destruction of the most interesting people and institutions which modern discovery has brought to light, has thrown around the old Peruvian empire a halo of romance to which the graphic recitals of the chroniclers of the conquest add increasing zest. To these records, embodying all that we probably can ever know from the archives of Cuzco, we are indebted for what little has been transmitted to us of the details of their sagacious and subtle polity. Of the extent and character of their civilization enough remains in the imperishable monuments of their skill and industry to satisfy the most careless observer. Their religion was that of sun-worship. They worshipped the sun as the father of their race and fructifier of the earth, and paid homage to the moon and stars as superior brethren from a common stock. Temples to all these divinities abound, more especially among the Andes, some of them so vast and imposing as to astonish the beholder, although he be familiar with the majesty of Thebes and the glories of Baalbec.

Perched on some promontory overlooking a glassy lake, or elevated on a pinnacle commanding the plain and frowning over the gorges beneath, these temples stand always in a conspicuous place where they may catch the first gleam of the morning sun or receive the last glow of his retiring beams. It was at these hours that "the children of the sun" thronged to the open portal with horn and incense to hail their Father's rise, or offer adoration at the close of day. The same system of consecration that existed in the religion of Greece and Rome, and maintains at the present time in the Papal Church, formed a part of Inca worship. The virgins of the sun were set apart for the especial duties of religion, and were supported in convents. Death was the penalty to either party in the case of the violated purity of a vestal. The Inca monarchs were entitled Sons of the Sun, and bore upon their standards a rainbow, as the most beautiful and spiritual of the emanations of light. But the sixteenth century brought the matchlock and the mass to annihilate the power and supplant the religion of the ancient lords of Peru. From that time down to a very recent period, the viceregal government of Spain controlled the destinies of this wealthiest portion of the continent.

In the breaking up of the old Spanish power consequent upon the troubles which commenced in 1810, and the subsequent independence of the southern States in 1816, Peru was

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shorn of a large portion of her former territory, which went to make up some of the Republics already described. Upper Peru was separated from her still later, and forms the present State of Bolivia. The two Perus were the last countries that remained in possession of the Spaniards in America. When the freedom of La Plata and Chile had been secured, the "liberty expedition" under San Martin was fitted out from Valparaiso, and in 1820 carried the war of independence into the stronghold of Spanish power. The Colombian army under Bolivar having expelled the enemy from their country, also advanced from the north. For five years Peru was the seat of an obstinate and sanguinary war, until, at the close of 1824, the decisive battle of Ayacucho, the Yorktown of South America, won by the illustrious General Sucre, dissipated the brilliant army of the Viceroy, and secured the independence of lower Peru. The remnant of the Spanish forces maintained themselves for a few months in the defiles of Bolivia, but were soon expelled by the activity of Bolivar. The last spot on the western continent that remained in the hands of the royalists was Callao, the port of Lima. This was defended by Rodil, with the courage and obstinacy of an officer who was determined to be the last representative of his sovereign in America; nor did the strong castle surrender till pestilence had reduced its garrison to a handful, and famine had exhausted even the supply of horses, dogs and vermin, upon which, for many months, they had subsisted. At length, on the 23d of January, 1826, Callao capitulated, and the last colonial banner of Spain disappeared from the American continent.

The Republic which has supplanted the viceroyalty differs in many respects from the others, but, like nearly all of them, has been the scene of almost continual strife. Pizarro and his compeers, when their common purpose was attained in the extinction of the Inca empire, were estranged by bitter feuds, and decided their personal animosities by the arbitrament of arms. Three centuries of occupation seem not to have changed the nature of their fierce and intractable descendants. Scarcely had the noble object which for a time had rallied the entire population of Spanish America, from Mexico to Cape Horn, to one common standard, been achieved, before the old elements of selfish ambition, to which protracted war had given new life, were developed with an intensity only equalled by the rancor which pervades the civil strifes of Spain. Peru has experienced an unusual share of this commotion, and been deprived of the superior advantages

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which must result from a well-regulated representative government. The consequence has been, that in the minds of many of the most substantial and best educated of her citizens, the idea of a return to monarchical institutions has been slowly maturing, and is often freely expressed by them in conversation. Such a backward revolution could not be effected without a desperate struggle, and would never be desired, if any other change under the operation of the present system—such, for instance, as the election of a new President—could be accomplished without the same bloody ordeal. As matters now stand, it may well be doubted whether the hereditary sovereignty of one family would not insure greater security to the nation and prosperity and happiness to the people than can exist under the present organization.

Peru is a country of large landed proprietors. The tenantry are all Indians or cholos, who live on the estates, paying an annual rent of five dollars for a rancho and a strip of land about sixteen rods in length by eight in width, and working at twenty-five cents a day, when required by the landlord.

The chief productions are grain, wool, cascarilla or Peruvian bark, coffee and coca,—the latter being a leaf which is chewed by the Indians, and reputed to enable one to sustain great fatigue without other food by its stimulating and nutritious properties. The taste when dried resembles tea, and the plant is a distinct species and smaller than the yerba of Paraguay. The potato is indigenous to Peru. But it is in its exhaustless mines of precious metals that Peru realizes at once its principal source of wealth, and the chief cause of its past misfortunes and present demoralization. It was the rumor of these riches that led Pizarro from Panama; and it was the gold of Atahualpa that cost him his life, and his people their liberty. Peru is the most mountainous country on earth, and those mountains in many cases appear to be one mass of silver ore. The silver mines of Cerro Pasco are at this time the most productive in the world. The country is almost destitute of forests, causing every sort of article in which wood is required to be extremely costly.

The political system of Peru is in some respects the most democratic of any that exists—dangerously so when we consider the character of the population; but its administration is practically restrictive to a degree that would not be tolerated in the United States, and presents many more points of resemblance to the despotism of La Plata than to the oligarchy of Chile or the pseudo-republican anarchy of Bolivia. The passport system in the interior is enforced with Russian rigor,

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and any person is liable to arrest upon the mere assertion of an individual that he is a suspicious character, without its being stated, until he is brought before the magistrate, of what he is suspected. At least nine tenths of the people are Indians or half-breeds. The large cities of the interior are for the greater part composed of them, and the small towns and villages completely so. Cuzco, the second city of the Republic in population and wealth, and the most interesting locality on this continent for its historic associations and its architectural monuments, both Inca and Spanish, with 25,000 inhabitants, has not twenty families of pure Spanish blood in the place. In some of the interior departments not one twentieth of the people can speak the Spanish language, and yet the suffrage is free to all. Each year, at the anniversary of the victory of Ayacucho, a general election is held for members of the Electoral College. One elector to every five hundred voters is chosen. Upon this College devolves the choice of all the officers in the State. The departmental Colleges appoint the alcaldes, justices of the peace, &c. The united Colleges choose the President and members of Congress. The Congress consists of seventy-eight members, one third of whom go out every two years, the twenty-six names being drawn by lot. The constitutional term of the President is six years. His actual term has thus far depended chiefly on the will of the militia and standing force of the country, and on his own skill and success in checking the attempts at revolution. General Castilla, the present incumbent, having by his energy and ability thus far sustained himself against repeated attacks until now near the limit of his constitutional period, will probably be allowed to present the unique spectacle of a Peruvian President retiring from office in the mode recognized by law.

The country is the most unsafe by reason of banditti, as well as the most unpleasant on account of its absurd police regulations, that the traveller can visit in South America; and this to a North American appears strangely inconsistent with the professions of a government which in some points is more purely democratic than any in the world.

The Colombian States were the first in South America to declare their independence of Spain. The idea is said to have originated with Bolivar, when, in travelling with some compatriots, they were presented at Paris to the Imperial Government by the Ambassador of Spain. On returning from the audience, it is said that Bolivar expressed to his friends

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his chagrin that the citizens of a whole continent beyond the seas could only obtain official communication with European authorities through the medium of a Minister who, regarding them as provincials, looked on them with a measure of disdain. "Why should this thing be? Why should we not have a Minister of our own, and no longer be attached to a small European State—a continent to a peninsula?" asked Bolivar. Tradition says that this was the germ of the revolution. Commotion in many parts of the continent preceded for years a formal declaration of independence, but in Colombia this final step was taken much earlier. In Venezuela and many of the provinces of New-Granada it took place in 1811, although some of the cities remained in possession of the Spaniards long after. In 1819, the Republic of Colombia was formed by the union of Venezuela and New-Granada, to which the State of Ecuador was soon after added. The brief existence of this Republic was marked by greater justice and liberality in many points of legislation, and by a wiser provision for the ultimate prosperity of the country, than has characterized any other South American State since that period. The Congress of Venezuela, ten years anterior to this, had set an example of sacred regard to private rights, in the Constitution at that time decreed, which was not lost upon the legislators of the new and enlarged Republic. In 1821, the general Congress of Colombia extinguished for ever the tribunal of the Inquisition, and promulgated the noble decree, which of itself places that Republic far in advance of any of her more successful compeers, that no foreigner should be in any way molested for his religious belief within the limits of the Republic. It is to be regretted that a State which had taken so high a position upon the southern continent, and which, by the extent of its territory, the advantages of its location, its great mineral wealth and boundless fertility, united all the elements of prosperity to a degree that must soon have enabled it to rank with the first-rate powers of the world, could not have maintained its integrity by crushing beneath the moral force of loyalty and patriotism the discordant factions by which it was for a long time distracted and ultimately dismembered. But the same insatiate spirit of selfish ambition in partisan leaders, and intolerable love of discord pervading the masses, which have made shipwreck of all but one of the sister Republics, soon wrought their legitimate result upon Colombia. Bolivar is said to have compared his country to a dried hide: "The moment you put down a rising in one place, it starts up in another," so constant were the revolts in different sec-

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tions of the Republic, each aiming at supremacy. Indeed, Colombia seems to have taken the lead in all that was bad as well as in all that was good, connected with the war of independence. Scarcely had the people embarked in the perilous conflict with the mother country, and when the result was still extremely doubtful by reason of the threatened league of the other despotic States of Europe with Spain for the preservation of her colonies, and while as yet many of the provinces had not formally declared their independence or begun the revolution against the royal government, there commenced in some of these very provinces of New-Granada, in 1813, a bloody struggle between the Federal and Unitarian parties as to which of these forms of government should be adopted by the prospective Republic. The Federal forces were defeated in besieging the Unitarian city of Bogota, and thus was shed the first domestic blood in a quarrel that was destined to overspread the entire sisterhood of Republics. Less than ten years from the organization of Colombia sufficed to rend asunder the fairest fabric of national greatness ever constructed in South America. Two presidential terms, those of Bolivar and Mosquera, were the beginning and the end of the Republic of Colombia.

The States of Ecuador, New-Granada, and Venezuela were organized from the fragments of the old Republic.

Ecuador, the smallest of the three, presents many points of attraction in its physical character, but politically is as uninteresting as it is insignificant. The richness of the whole alluvial portion of the country, extending from the base of the Andes to the ocean, is astonishing. Nowhere in the world is vegatation so rank and exuberant as in those portions of Ecuador which are watered by the river Guayas. It is a thinly settled region, but a few small villages being scattered between Guayaquil and the mountains, and the inhabitants of these are spare and sickly in appearance compared with the robust and healthful population of the table-lands. The whole region is still a primeval forest of gigantic growth, covered with climbing and creeping plants peculiar to the tropics, which often for miles together festoon the river banks with brilliant foliage and gorgeous flowers. Floating islands, often coveriug an area of many yards, formed by accretions of aquatic plants attached to drifting masses of decayed wood, or buoyed up by their own lightness, are constantly met with in the river, and as they are swept along by the wind or current, present a singular and almost fairy-like appearance,

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In some instances, these islets possess sufficient consistency to support the weight of several men. Innumerable alligators infest the streams and marshes, while serpents of huge dimensions and wild beasts of many sorts retain undisturbed possession of the forests. The few plantations within this wilderness of verdure produce cocoa which supplies half the world with chocolate, and furnish the finest fruits of the torrid zone, among which a variety of pineapple exceeds all others of its kind in flavor, size, and wholesome qualities; it may be eaten with a spoon, and is permitted even in cases of extreme disease. The chirimoya, which divides with the mangostine of Batavia the title of the most exquisite of fruits, here attains its perfection. The sugar-cane is spontaneous in its growth, and forests of bamboo more than a hundred feet in height attest the depth and rankness of the moistened soil.

A precipitous ascent from this luxuriant region conducts us speedily to the elevated table-lands of the Andes. Trees mostly disappear, and comparatively barren and broken plains, traversed by rocky hills, intersected by narrow and deep ravines, and closed in by the tremendous pinnacles of the Andes, present some of the sublimest scenery in nature. The road to Quito passes directly over a stormy ridge of Chimborazo, and introduces one to a region covered with some of the most formidable volcanoes and stupendous summits in the world. Cotapaxi sends forth unceasing volumes of smoke and flame, and Pichincha, impending above the capital, threatens some day to involve it in the fate of Herculaneum. The incessant thunders of the volcano of Maquez, at present the most violent of all, may be heard for more than a hundred miles, and all approach to its vicinity is cut off for many leagues by the storm of cinders and molten lava constantly discharged from its crater. Quito, the largest city of Colombia, and with one exception the most elevated town on the globe, is said to contain a larger number of the old titled families of Spain than any other in South America. But its inhabitants are for the most part Indians, with a large admixture of negro and white blood, as is the case with the whole country. The political and moral condition of Ecuador is alike degraded. The people are naturally hospitable, and among the higher classes of the capital the distinguished courtesy of the old Spaniards is still retained; but continual civil dissensions have induced a degree of suspicion that almost interdicts social intercourse.

The administrations of Gen. Flores and his successor Rocafuerte, both of whom served out their legal term of office,

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were giving to Ecuador a respectable position as a State, when the re-election of the former aroused the elements of jealousy and discord. The revolution resulted in the expulsion of Flores after sixteen years of presidential service, including his first term. Ever since that time the country has been in a state of commotion, sometimes from the rumor of invasion by Flores, and at others from the efforts to overthrow the government of Roca, the present incumbent. The consequence of this excitement is that for many years past the government of Ecuador has been little else than a nullity.

New-Granada is the most populous, prosperous and powerful of the Colombian States, and with the exception of Chile, the most stable and efficient in its government of any in South America. With fewer conservative restrictions in its Constitution than Chile, it has maintained the purity of its republicanism through trials which have shaken to their foundations the more democratic governments. Its geographical position is perhaps the most favorable of any of the States for developing its vast internal resources. Nearly a thousand miles of Pacific coast, and a still greater extent on the Caribbean sea, furnish facilities for commerce which it only requires an increased population to improve. The elevated regions of the interior afford the productions of the temperate zone. The alluvial portions of the country, and the suberb valleys which divide the parallel ranges of Andes, some of which are unrivalled in beauty and fertility by any in the world, abound in all the vegetation of the tropics. The caoutchouc or India-rubber tree grows here. The mineral treasures of New-Granada, like those of many other portions of the continent, seem exhaustless. The emerald mines alone are a source of unfailing revenue to the government; and so numerous and productive are these mines that but very few of those known to exist are allowed to be worked. The amount of emeralds already in the government treasury is said to be sufficient to reduce the present value of that gem one half should the whole quantity be thrown at once on the markets of the world. The magnificent valley of the Cauca, for nearly three hundred miles, abounds in gold, which is found in the gorges of the surrounding Andes as well as in the sands of the river. It is a land of natural wonders. Here is the famous rock-bridge of Pandi or Icononzo, and here the stupendous cataract of Tequendama leaps, in a single bound, from the upper plain of Bogota nearly six hundred feet to the torrid valley of the Magdalena.

The character of the people varies materially in different

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provinces. Those of the elevated districts are enterprising and industrious, while in the warm regions their inactivity may be gathered from a current proverb on the Magdalena: "La noche es para dormir, y el dia para descansar,"—The night is for sleep, and the day for rest. Slavery still lingers in some portions of the country, but is gradually becoming extinct under the operation of law. The labor on the large estates is performed chiefly by negroes, free or slave. The wages of the former are thirty-seven cents a-day. There is a much larger proportion of negro blood in New-Granada than in any other State we have described. The low countries are entirely filled with them, intermixed with Indians and mulattoes. Of their character we may judge from the remark of Bolivar respecting the bogas of the Magdalena, who are free negroes of unmixed blood, that "they approach the nearest to the human species of any animals in the country!"

Since the organization of New-Granada as a distinct State, and the adoption of the present Constitution in 1831, it has for a great portion of the time enjoyed comparative tranquillity, although occasionally disturbed by the movements of partisan chieftains. The practical test of stability in South American government appears to be the capacity to pass unscathed through the ordeal of a Presidential election. This New-Granada accomplished two years ago, and notwithstanding murmurs of discontent and threats of armed opposition, the successful party have peacefully entered upon the duties of administration. We may therefore rank her by the side of Chile among the well-settled States of South America, and may give to New-Granada the credit of being at present the most practically republican government on the southern continent.

Of Venezuela, the last of the sister Republics remaining to be considered, we shall say nothing in this connection, for it is the only one of which we have had no personal observation. For years past it has been in a vacillating state, between anarchy and despotism, and constantly subject to the vicissitudes and disasters of civil war. The accession of the new President, who, though a brother and placed in office by the influence of the late Executive, seems to be adopting an independent and more patriotic course than his predecessor, has recently opened the prospect of returning prosperity to this long distracted Republic. Venezuela was the first to declare her independence of Spain, and her earliest constitutional measures were more liberal and worthy of an enlightened people than those of any other South American State.

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It may be hoped that in her future efforts at representative government she may reap the just reward of her past magnanimity.

We have now passed in review all the South American Republics, and find, that although they all profess to be governed by similar principles, no two of them arrive at the same result. The causes of this difference we have in some instances specified. That there was originally a diversity in the sources whence these States were colonized, as well as a present difference in the attributes and the component elements of their population, there is good reason to believe. Some of these nations have been compared with those of Europe in a manner which conveys a good idea of their relative merits to those familiar with transatlantic character. It has been said that the Buenos Ayreans or Argentines are the French, the Chilenos the English, and the Peruvians the Italians of South America; and it is somewhat remarkable that not only do these nations in themselves present the attributes of the European races with which they are thus compared, but that in each of them are to be found a larger proportion of those Europeans than in any other. There are more Frenchmen in Buenos Ayres, more English in Chile, and more Italians in Peru, than there are of any other foreigners. Whether the national characteristics have been transmitted in this way, or whether a natural sympathy, or merely accidental causes have led to this singular coincidence, matters little to our present purpose. But so distinct are the social as well as political developments of these nations, that we are inclined to look for the difference in a diversity of origin in the early colonists. Spain, it is well known, is the least homogeneous country in Europe. It is in fact an accretion of races totally distinct in their character, and united under one government by political accidents, such as at one time had well nigh added Portugal to the same common sovereignty. A corresponding contrast would naturally present itself in colonies settled from dissimilar provinces, although under the protection of one government, and this contrast would become more apparent when the colonies organized as separate States with distinct constitutions. No better illustration can be found than that exhibited by the nearly adjacent States of Chile and Peru. The former is Biscayan, the latter Andalusian in its origin. The one retains the hardihood of the north, the other the gayety and grace of the south of Spain; nor do England and Italy differ more widely in their habits and springs of action than

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do these neighboring colonies from opposite sections of the mother country.

It is unfortunate for all these Republics that the ill-favor with which a portion of the people regard the United States, owing in part to the recent conquest of Mexico, leads many of them to look elsewhere than here for examples in popular government. This feeling may be accounted for partly by the natural sympathy of a common origin with the Mexicans, whose overwhelming defeat, in the face of every advantage of numbers, position, and inducements to fight, has somewhat wounded the pride of South Americans; but it is nurtured and increased by the intrigues of foreign residents, who leave no occasion unimproved to augment their own influence at the expense of their republican rivals. It is a singular fact that the dislike to North Americans seems to increase with the distance from the United States. Temporary political events cause this prejudice to be less violent among the natives of Uruguay and La Plata than in Chile, where it is too plainly apparent. In Peru it is much less than in Chile; in New-Granada the feeling is still more favorable; while in Central America it is strongly in favor of our countrymen.

Another drawback to the prosperity of the Pacific States of South America, but from which the Atlantic nations are honorably exempt, results from their intolerance in matters of religion. Not only is the Roman Catholic faith established by law, but several of the State Constitutions contain distinct clauses forbidding the public exercise of any other form of worship. This illiberal and bigoted policy is inconsistent with their republican professions, and incompatible with the existence of any very permanent and efficient condition of national prosperity. Countries which like these are anxious to promote immigration, and hold out to the enterprising of every land inducements to settle in their territories, should know that for the proper development of their resources, it is important to remove spiritual as well as civil restrictions upon the free action of their citizens. This species of special legislation, which seeks to protect the Papal hierarchy by removing from it the danger of intelligent opposition, is mainly the work of the priesthood. These may naturally enough oppose the toleration of free opinion, and desire to shelter their ecclesiastical institutions beneath the bulwark of the law. How long they will retain an ascendency which has never yet been exerted for other than selfish ends, or contributed an iota to the sum of national prosperity, must depend upon the time which it may require for the people to realize the great first

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principle of North American philosophy, that "Truth is mighty and will prevail." If this maxim is true in politics,—and that it is so, the success of "the great Republic of the North" during three fourths of a century of action based upon its correctness sufficiently proves,—it cannot be less so in religion, which is held in every Christian country, of whatever faith, to be the essence of all truth. The doctrine of the underived independence of the soul, which two centuries ago emanated from the smallest State in this Republic, and has ever since been pursuing its conquering march over the world, until now it has overspread the whole northern continent, and is felt in the calm majesty of its truth even by the down-trodden masses of Europe must sooner or later prevail even in the strongholds of southern Papacy, and although it may not change the hereditary creed of the people, will soften the inherent bigotry of their governments. Whether this result be achieved by the gradual discovery of the essentials to national prosperity, or be brought about amidst the carnage of revolution, depends much on the character of the different nations. With the more intelligent and stable of these governments, the former will probably be the case; while the latter class, which unfortunately are the most numerous, may have first to pass through the ordeal of civil strife. A revolution based upon this principle will at least possess one advantage over the many which have already occurred,—that it will have a principle in place of a faction for its foundation, and patriots instead of partisans for its supporters.

The practical operation of this intolerent proscription is to deprive resident foreigners of Protestant faith of the opportunities for religious worship except in the most private manner. The administrative officers of all these States would willingly enough sanction the erection of Protestant churches, were they not restrained by the positive prohibitory clauses in their Constitutions. They see the evil tendency of the restriction, and would doubtless remove it if they could; but it can only be legally done by amending the organic law, and this requires the direct sanction of the people, over whom the clergy exercise unlimited sway.

It seems to us that a proper occasion is here presented for the interposition of our Government in behalf of its numerous citizens whom commercial pursuits require to reside in South America. We certainly would not advocate the interference of the United States with any regulation of a foreign government pertaining only to its internal affairs. But the subject under discussion is one that intimately concerns a large num-

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ber of our own people. We profess to protect them in their rights from the injustice of foreign rulers, even when the wrong may be inflicted under the ostensible sanction of law. As a government we acknowledge no religion, lest the terms of such acknowledgment might be construed into the support of some sort of ecclesiastical establishment, in perversion of the principles which actuate us in this respect, which are, to leave every citizen free in his spiritual allegiance to God alone. In virtue of this entire religious freedom, the Roman Catholic, the Jew, and the followers of all other creeds, are as free as the great Protestant mass of the American people in the enjoyment of their peculiar forms of worship. Reciprocal courtesy, common justice, and inherent right alike demand that the United States should claim a corresponding freedom for its own citizens within the limits of the sister Republics. We are not arguing for the recognition of Protestantism in particular, but of that broad principle of natural right which includes all faiths and all forms of religious worship within the ample folds of its protection. We contend that the rights and the comfort of our citizens resident abroad require that this great principle be recognized, so far at least as relates to them, by the governments where they are domiciled; and thus far we hold it to be the duty of the United States, through the medium of her diplomatic representatives, to secure such recognition. Whether the privilege thus secured to North Americans should be extended to natives of the country must depend solely upon the action of the people of that country: with this we can have nothing to do; but our right to protect our own citizens in their spiritual as well as in their temporal privileges is unquestionable, and should be enforced.

One more point remains to be noticed before we bring this long article to a close. Perhaps the greatest difficulty with which the South American States have to contend is a predilection for every thing French. French ideas in politics, morals, and philosopy seem to pervade the whole southern continent. Even the graceful mantilla and the national guitar have been supplanted for the most part in polite society by the French bonnet and piano forte. It is wonderful how France has obtained such an ascendency in that quarter of the world. A nation which, since the days of Charlemagne, has tried every form of government, from the tyranny of Louis XI. to the republicanism of Robespierre, and found no stability except under the shadow of despotism,—which has been periodically in revolution ever since it existed, continually evolving new theories of government to be tried and thrown aside,—is unfit

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to be taken as a guide by new States just entering on the perilous path of self-government. France may be a proper model in the matters of bonnets and bon bons, and even a brilliant light in the paths of physical science, but she is a dangerous and uncertain adviser in political philosophy. The same strange fascination of manner and facility of adaptation which have made the French the most successful people in dealing with savages, charms likewise the most polished nations, and confers upon France an influence similar in character but far wider in extent with that exerted by the States of Greece in the age of Pericles. Yet France, though she can win where she cannot subdue, has never succeeded in colonization. How could she since she cannot govern herself at home? We repeat that this influence is most disastrous in its effect upon the prosperity of South America. It is making inroads upon the social system even of the most substantial of the sister Republics, first manifesting itself in the changes of fashion, and then sapping the moral fabric of society. In the political organization of many of the States it seems already to have wrought its work of destruction in the dissemination of socialist doctrines, the consequent disregard for the authority of law, the continued recurrence of revolutions, and the loss of the desire, and even the idea of regulated liberty. In these cases national independence has been deprived of its intrinsic worth, and anarchy has supervened upon the despotism of Spain. The elements of order seem destined to a yet more bitter conflict with those of discord. A patriotism like that of the early heroes of the war of independence will again be required to secure the true liberty of the people, and the spirit of a Washington or another Bolivar must once more rally their scattered armies around the drooping and now almost prostrate banner of South American freedom.

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ART. II.—THE PROMISE FULFILLED.—ACTS II. 1–4.

And when the day of Pentecost was fully come, they were all with one accord in one place. And suddenly there came a sound from heaven, as of a rushing mighty wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting. And there appeared unto them cloven tongues, like as of fire, and it sat upon each of them: and they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance.

IN every age, the bestowment of great spiritual blessings has been preceded by a season of earnest desire and preparation on the part of the people of God. When the Law was given on Sinai, introducing that economy which was to be the shadow of good things to come, Moses sanctified the congregation, and sought, by solemn observances, to produce a state of mind suited to the high dispensation which was now to be received. At the period of our Lord's incarnation, there were many devout men among the Jews, who were anxiously looking for the Consolation of Israel, and whose unwearied supplications ascended to heaven, that the long promised Deliverer might appear. And thus was it when the Holy Spirit—the glorious Messenger whom Christ was to send from the Father—came down, in the fulness of his grace and power, on the waiting disciples. Ten days had they watched for his coming, in ceaseless prayer and intense expectation. And now the hour so eagerly longed for has arrived. The sun of Pentecost has risen, gilding with its early beams the mountains of Judea, the towers of the Holy City, and the dome of its gorgeous Temple; thus imaging the brightness of that new spiritual era which was dawning on the nations.

The word Pentecost is a Greek numeral signifying the fiftieth. It was applied by the Hellenistic Jews to the Feast of Weeks, because its celebration occurred fifty days after the Passover. According to the institute of Moses,* the paschal lamb was to be slain on the evening of the fourteenth of Nisan, or April. On the fifteenth, the Festival of Unleavened Bread properly commenced. On the sixteenth, the second day of the Passover,—the early barley harvest having then begun,—a sheaf of first-fruits was to be waved before the Lord, as a thank-offering. From the evening of this day, seven complete sabbaths or weeks were to be reckoned,† allowing time for the entire harvest to ripen; and then the day following—the fiftieth from the presentation of the wave-offering—

* Lev. xxiii. 4–21. † Jos. Ant. L. iii. c. 10, 11.

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was to be observed as a season of devout gratitude and praise to God for the munificence of his bounty. In allusion to this design, it is called interchangeably the "day of first-fruits," and "the feast of harvest." Although the fact is not mentioned in the Mosaic code, yet Maimonides, and some other Jewish writers affirm, that in connection with thanksgiving for the products of the earth, the promulgation of the Law was then celebrated; as that event was believed to have taken place fifty days after the exodus from Egypt.* That the day was originally set apart for this two-fold purpose, may well be questioned; but that, in later times, it was so observed, is clearly asserted by historical testimony. It was thus a day of great distinction among the Jews, commemorating at once their religious privileges, and their temporal blessings. But it is a day far more important in the annals of Christianity; for in it commenced, under the ministration of the Spirit, the publication of the new law of life in the gospel, written, "not in tables of stone, but in fleshly tables of the heart;" and the thrusting of the sickle into that rich harvest of salvation, which is never to cease, until the garners of heaven are filled with rejoicing sheaves, and the Redeemer, counting up their number, "shall see of the travail of his soul, and be satisfied."

It is the opinion of many, that the present Pentecost occurred on the Lord's day, or Christian Sabbath. From our ignorance of the Jewish method of reckoning, as well as from the different modes which evidently prevailed among themselves, the correctness of this opinion cannot be perfectly demonstrated. Yet there is the highest degree of probability in its favor. According to the most accurate authorities, our Lord ate his last Paschal Supper at its regularly appointed time, on the evening of Thursday, the fourteenth of the month Nisan.† That night he was arrested and brought before the Sanhedrim. On Friday, the fifteenth, he was delivered to Pilate, condemned, crucified, and buried. The sixteenth was the Jewish Sabbath, the second day of the Passover, and the day on which the offering of first-fruits was presented. Computed from the evening of this day, Pentecost would fall on the seventh of the month Sivan, or June, and on the first day of the week.‡ If this view be the true one, of which there can scarcely be a doubt, it follows that the first day of the week has been consecrated as the Sabbath of the new dispensation, not only by the rising of Christ from the dead, and

* Exod. xix.
† See Bibliotheca Sacra, Vol. II., Art. vii., by Dr. Robinson.
‡ Lightfoot, Works, Vol. VIII., pp. 43–48.

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his subsequent manifestation to his followers, but also by the official entrance of the Holy Paraclete on his work of unfolding and applying the grace of redemption.

On this eventful morning, the disciples "were all with one accord in one place." It is not necessary to infer that every individual in Palestine who believed in Christ was actually present. The expression relates to the "one hundred and twenty," mentioned in the preceding chapter, who, by continuing together, and worshipping in company, formed the visible embodiment of the infant Church. Where they were assembled we are not informed. Some have imagined it to have been in one of the chambers of the temple, as it was now the hour of morning prayer, when it was customary to resort thither for purposes of devotion. But this supposition is altogether improbable. Had the sacred historian intended any thing but a private house, he would have used language less liable to be misunderstood. Wherever he records gatherings that were held in the temple, he states the fact expressly. Besides, can it reasonably be believed that the disciples, in their present circumstances, would have ventured to meet in a large body, and to conduct Christian worship, in a place so public as the temple, and under the very eyes of the priests and rulers, whose hands were yet red with the blood of their murdered Master; or that they would have been permitted to do so, had they attempted it? It has been said that the inauguration of the economy of the Spirit becomes a more imposing spectacle, if the scene of it be laid in the holy place of the old religion. But this argument has no force. Christianity was not born to inherit the defunct glories of Judaism. It did not succeed to the honors and sanctities of a dispensation that was passing away. It came to displace the former system, not to adopt it. It came to create its own splendors and dignities; to form for itself a new holy place in every contrite and lowly heart, and in every spot where such hearts meet to worship the Father in spirit and in truth. It is, therefore, far more in accordance with the nature of the gospel, which shuns all outward pomp, and knows nothing of consecrated walls, to suppose that the descending Comforter chose as the scene of his manifestation—not the temple, with its thronged courts and solemn parade—but the quiet and seclusion of some private dwelling. And all the circumstances of the case, as well as the uniform testimony of ancient writers, render it highly probable that this event occurred in the same "upper room" in which the disciples had been wont to assemble since the ascension.

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To this scene of their spiritual communings they were now drawn by a kindred impulse. They were influenced by the same motive, animated by the same desire, incited by the same hope. While their Master was with them, his personal presence formed their centre of union. Now, his memory, and the mingled regret and love which it awakened, together with the expectation of some great future blessing which his assurances had called forth, became the strong and indissoluble bond that twined itself around their hearts, and united them by its power. Their former strifes and ambitions were laid aside. They no longer sought which should be greatest. Every private wish and interest was absorbed in one all-pervading sentiment—affection for their glorified Lord, and eager anticipation of the grace which he had promised to bestow. Hence, not one of them was willing to be absent from the spot where his brethren were assembled to speak of Christ, to pray to him, and to watch for the first tokens of the glorious Visitant whose coming had been announced to them. They knew not, perhaps, that the Spirit would descend on that particular day; for the Saviour, in foretelling his advent, had not named a definite time, but had simply said, "Ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost, not many days hence." Yet they were anxiously looking for his appearance; and they resolved to be in constant readiness for it, by being "all in one place, with one accord."

What a beautiful view is here presented to us of the spirit and conduct which Christians should now exhibit! It is when they are cemented in fellowship, by holy love to their Redeemer and to each other; when they prosecute the work, which he has assigned them, in mutual harmony and co-operation; when they delight in the assemblies of his saints, and tread his courts with earnest longings for his presence and grace; it is then that the Divine Comforter manifests himself to them, fills their hearts with heavenly joy, and sheds forth his renewing influence on the surrounding masses of the dead in sin.

So was it with the little church at Pentecost. It had no wealth or secular power, to give it position and consequence in the eyes of men. But it had what is far better—humility, fervor, and unity of feeling and object. Its members were few, but they were all in their place. None were straying about the city, looking into other religious gatherings, or attracted by curiosity to see what remarkable things might be doing in other quarters. Each was at his post, joining his brethren, with his whole soul, in the importunity of prayer,

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and in the waiting of faith. Lip spoke to lip, eye beamed to eye, heart throbbed to heart, linked by a divine and all-engrossing sympathy. And what a striking display did God then give of his contempt for the observances of a stately but lifeless formalism, and of his regard to the humble desire of those who seek him in sincerity! At that hour, there was much of outward worship going forward in Jerusalem. It was the day on which the nation offered public praise for its theocratical constitution, and for the bounties of the teeming earth. The city was filled with Jews from all lands, who had come to pay their vows at the sacred seat of their religion. The mansions of the rich and great resounded with loud prayers and festal hymns. The streets were thronged with multitudes in holiday attire, bent on the business of seeming devotion. At the Temple, which, towering from its lofty site, overlooked the whole animated scene—the attraction of all eyes, and the pride of all hearts—the rites of the national worship were in the process of their most august and imposing celebration. Crowds, of all climes and languages, traversed the spacious courts. Gorgeously-robed priests, and Pharisees with their broad phylacteries, moved in solemn pomp along the gilded corridors. From decorated pulpits, sweet-voiced scribes read forth the Law. The companies of Levites, and the players on instruments, chanted in full chorus the sublime strains of the old Hebrew poets. The treasury overflowed with offerings; altars smoked with victims; incense breathed its hallowed odors; votaries kneeled at every shrine; and all bore the aspect of an entire people doing homage to its Maker and Preserver. But is it this spectacle which absorbs the attention of celestial beings? Do angels, leaning on their harps, bend over the starry battlements of the skies to contemplate it? Does the Father view it with complacency? Does the glorified Son behold in it aught of his promised joy? Is the blessed Paraclete about to visit it? No, no. The eyes of all heaven are indeed directed to earth, and to Jerusalem; but it is not on the Temple, and its throng of ostentatious worshippers, that their gaze is fixed. Another spot—that upper room, with its praying, weeping occupants—fastens their regard; for there an event is soon to take place, more illustrious than the promulgation of the Law on Sinai; an event, which shall write the new law of Christ in renewed hearts; which shall substitute for legal ceremonies inward, vital holiness; and which, in its ultimate results, shall transform the whole earth into one vast temple dedicated to the Saviour. And now the important moment has come; the

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signal is given from the throne of the Godhead; the Eternal Spirit, proceeding from the Father and the Son, enters on his great embassy; and, "suddenly," there is heard by that lowly band "a sound from heaven as of a mighty rushing wind," and fiery "tongues" are playing around their heads. The Holy Ghost is among them—upon them—and within them.

On this miracle, so stupendous in its influence on the original development of Christianity, and so essential to its progress through all time, let us now fasten our most earnest and reverent attention. The Divine Spirit, you will observe, made known his presence under two forms of outward manifestation—the one addressed to the sense of hearing, the other to the sense of sight. The disciples, as they sat devoutly communing on the glory of their ascended Lord, and the future destinies of his kingdom, heard a sudden sound, coming apparently from heaven, or the upper regions of the air, resembling the rushing noise produced by a violent wind, and increasing in volume and power, until it filled all the house in which they were assembled. There is nothing in the language to lead us to suppose that there actually was a wind, but only that the sound was similar to that occasioned by such a movement of the atmosphere. The Greek word, which is here translated wind, literally signifies a *breathing—a strong emission of the breath.* And when our Lord, in one of his interviews with the apostles, subsequent to his resurrection, gave them a foretaste of the divine influence which they were afterwards so richly to enjoy, he *breathed* on them, and said, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost." As, therefore, they now heard this breathing sound in their midst, and felt it pervading the entire building in which they were met, while all was still and serene without, they would naturally connect it with the sign which the Saviour had then given them, and be led to regard it as a manifest token that the promised Spirit was now to be imparted. And this indication was immediately followed by another yet more striking. "There appeared unto them cloven tongues like as of fire, and sat upon each of them." Here again we must beware of imagining that tongues of literal fire are intended; otherwise we must suppose a double miracle—one in producing the fire, and another in preventing its natural effects as it came in contact with the disciples. The historian does not say the tongues were of fire, but like as of fire; that is, they had the semblance of fire, without being such in reality. The expression, "cloven tongues," does not give the true force of the

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original words; nor is it possible, in our language, to convey their full import without a circumlocution. The meaning is not that the tongues were forked, each having two parts; nor that they were separate, each being wholly disjoined and isolated from the others; but that they were distributed,* or radiated, as from a common source,† and each still retaining its connection with that source. The idea is evidently implied, that, in the midst of the room, there appeared a central fountain of light, like the Shekinah which dwelt in the ancient Tabernacle; and that from this fountain streams of effulgent brightness issued forth on every side, reaching each of the disciples, and resting upon them in the form of pointed rays, or tongues of lambent flame. Viewed in this aspect, the manifestation acquires new significance and beauty. The tongues being distinct, yet united at their source, clearly indicate that however varied may be the gifts which the Spirit confers, they are still one—one in their origin, and one in their purpose; and thus present to us a signal example of that diversity in unity, which characterizes the administration of God.

The question now arises, Were these appearances imaginary, or were they real? It has been asserted that this whole scene was a mere illusion—a phantasm, existing only in the excited minds of the disciples. And some, who acknowledge that the influence of the Spirit was then truly communicated, contend that its recipients were thrown by it into such a state of mental ecstasy, as to mistake their own inward feelings for external and sensible manifestations.‡ To this it may be replied, that such a state of the case is plainly impossible. The history of human delusion nowhere furnishes an instance of so large a number of persons, of different habits and constitutional tendencies, being brought, at the same time, so completely under the power of imagination, as to be unable to distinguish between the evidence of their senses and a dream of the fancy. An individual of peculiarly impressible temperament might, under very strong excitement, be thus deceived. But that a whole company, sitting and conversing in open day-light, should be so led astray, is more difficult to believe than the miracle itself. And if it be affirmed that the disciples heard and saw all this in an ecstasy, then we ask, what produced this ecstasy? They were not yet filled with the divine energy of the Comforter; for that is described as

* Bloomfield in loc. Humphrey on Acts.

† ἐκ μιας ῥιζης, "from one root." Chrysostom. "Feurige Flammen, die aus einem gemeinsamen Ursprung auszugehen schienen." Olshausen, Commentar, II. s. 651.

‡ Neander, Pflanzung u. Leitung, s. 15, vierte Auflage. Ryland's Translation, p. 20. New-York, 1847.

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taking place after these outward appearances. What was it, then, which so ravished and bore them away, as to lead captive all their faculties, and subject them to the influence of one engrossing hallucination? But setting aside every other argument, it is sufficient to adduce the simple testimony of the sacred narrative itself. There is no account that the disciples, when they met, were in an excited state. Nor is there any evidence that they particularly expected the promise of the Father to be fulfilled at that hour. They met, as they had been wont to meet, hoping and desiring, yet calm and trustful, resolved to wait in tranquil confidence till the assured mercy should be received. And while they were thus assembled and thus engaged, "suddenly"—without any previous remarkable incident to work up their feelings—"there came a sound from heaven." In the Greek it reads, "there *was* a sound from heaven." And the verb so translated denotes actual existence; never an imaginary one. To the same effect is the remaining part of the sentence, which points out whence the sound originated—"from," or out of, "heaven" —not from the chimeras of earth. And then we are told, in immediate sequence, that "there appeared unto them"—in the original, there *were seen by them*—"tongues as of fire." The reading of our version is here somewhat unfortunate. The English word "appear" may sometimes be used to signify a mere apparition, or mental image; but the Greek word can never be so employed. When applied to objects, it denotes not only a thing which is positively seen, but a thing which positively exists. Thus clear is the evidence that the facts before us are recorded as real; and hence we cannot deny their reality without impugning the truth of Scripture, and rejecting its inspiration.

But if they were real, were they also supernatural? Attempts have been made to refer them to mere physical phenomena; the sound, according to this hypothesis, being caused by an earthquake or a whirlwind; and the fiery tongues being only flashes of lightning gleaming in at the windows, or reflections from a shower of meteors. A theory so futile and absurd may be very summarily dismissed. Not only does the sacred writer say nothing of such disturbances in the realm of nature, but had they occurred, they must have been known to all the dwellers in Jerusalem; and these, instead of wondering at what had taken place, could have explained it at once, and thus have refuted the declaration of the apostles, that the Spirit had been poured forth. Besides, it must have been a strange kind of electricity which could impart

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to unlearned men the power of speaking in foreign tongues; enable them to communicate this power to others; and then continue it in the possession of the church, not for a moment or a day, but for many successive years. Equally baseless is the assumption, that the exhibitions under review were the product of imposture. By whom was this imposture contrived and executed? By the unbelieving Jews? What knowledge had they that the followers of Jesus expected any signal interposition from heaven? And without such knowledge, how could they have conceived the idea of playing on their credulity? Could they have accomplished this unobserved and undetected? And what motive could have induced them to attempt it? Was it their design to afford the apostles an occasion for asserting that a remarkable display of Divine power had been made in their favor? And when they heard this claim advanced, and witnessed the effect which it produced on the multitude, would they not have sought to counteract that effect, by showing that the pretended miracle was one of their own making? Was the imposture, then, devised and put in practice by the disciples themselves? Did they manufacture these wonderful demonstrations, and then, feigning a celestial inspiration, pour forth a mere jargon of senseless sounds, under the pretense of speaking in other tongues? Apart from the argument—though in itself one of great weight—that the simple and guileless character of the apostles and their associates renders such a fraud utterly improbable; and apart from the consideration, that had they been capable of fabricating it, its exposure must have been certain; the single fact, that they were understood by those in whose languages they professed to speak, is decisive of the question. As their known condition in life precludes the possibility that they could have learned these dialects by any ordinary methods, it follows that they must have been taught them by a supernatural influence, operating in connection with the extraordinary appearances which have now been examined. We are therefore compelled, unless we would do violence to every principle of evidence, to regard these appearances as purely miraculous.

But another inquiry now arises. Why did the Holy Comforter employ such symbols? Could he not have entered silently and invisibly into the hearts of the disciples, pervading them with light, and strength, and joy, and conferring on them all those miraculous endowments which their vocation demanded? Undoubtedly he might have done so. We do not suppose that these sensible exhibitions produced the results

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by which they were attended. They were only the drapery in which the advent of the Spirit was clothed—the external form which covered the hiding of his power. It was his own unseen energy that transformed the timid followers of the crucified Jesus into bold assertors of his divine Messiahship and glory; that purified their minds from prejudice; expanded their views; inspired them with burning zeal and all-conquering faith; and gave them the extraordinary qualifications which they at once displayed. But although outward signs were not essential to the Spirit's work, which was vital and interior, yet there were wise and sufficient reasons for their adoption. They were necessary, in order that the disciples might have full assurance that their promised Enlightener and Guide had really come. It is probable that they entertained no definite conception of the manner in which he would exert his agency upon them; and without some perceptible proof of his presence, they might not have known how to understand the effects which they experienced in themselves; at least, they could not, with the same certainty, have referred them to the operation of Divine power. When Jehovah led the chosen tribes through the wilderness, he went before them in a pillar of cloud and of fire. This pillar was not God, nor was it essential to the presence of God. He might have conducted them as truly and as effectually without it as with it. But this visible manifestation was necessary to convince the people themselves, that the Almighty was indeed in their midst, to protect and govern them. So the rushing sound and the fiery tongues were not the Holy Ghost, but merely the vehicles by which he communicated to the disciples the knowledge of his presence. The miracle without them was thus a testimony to the miracle within them. And when once this testimony had been given, the former might be withdrawn, leaving only the inward, spiritual, abiding power of the latter.

These outward signs were also required for the conviction of others. We do not know that they were actually witnessed by any but the disciples. Yet it is possible, that when the multitude assembled, the rushing sound was still heard, and the tongues of flame still visible. But however this may be, it is certain that they saw the effect which had been produced. They beheld the disciples inspired as by a divine and invincible energy; and heard them proclaim, in tongues before unknown to them, the wonderful works of God. They doubtless learned from the apostles the marvellous events which had occurred; and they must have been wholly abandoned

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to prejudice and unbelief, if in such circumstances they could doubt the truth of the account. A divinely attested record of these events has been preserved for the instruction of all ages; and we cannot but perceive how much more satisfactroy is the evidence that the Holy Ghost did really descend on the first propagators of the gospel, than if his advent had been evinced only by his silent and viewless workings on the intellect and on the heart.

And while these symbols were necessary, they were also appropriate. It is remarkable that in both the languages in which the Scriptures were originally written, the word which signifies spirit, signifies also breath or wind. Hence, to the Jews as well as to the early Christians, air in motion was a very natural and intelligible emblem of the Holy Spirit. Thus Ezekiel, when commanded by God to call for a divine energy to reanimate the dry bones in the valley of vision, utters his invocation by employing this very emblem. "Come from the four winds, O breath, and breathe upon these slain, that they may live." And our Lord, in illustrating to Nicodemus the mysterious nature of regeneration, has recourse to the same comparison. "The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, nor whither it goeth; so is every one that is born of the Spirit." The wind is invisible. Its existence and its direction are perceived only by its effects. Equally true is it, that no mortal eye can scan the essence of the viewless Spirit, or trace his inscrutable pathway. The results which he achieves alone declare his presence and his agency. "The wind bloweth where it listeth," obeying no voice but His who sends it forth and recalls it at his pleasure. So the Holy Spirit is sovereign in his operations, shedding down his influence when and where he deems fit, subject only to the economical arrangements of the Covenant of Redemption. The wind purifies. Air, in perpetual rest, stagnates and becomes noxious. But, set in motion, it dissipates unwholesome exhalations; scatters the clouds that hang on the mountain-tops, and the mists that slumber in the valleys; uncovers the azure face of heaven, and opens to the ken of the observer a clear and far-spreading horizon. In like manner, the Holy Spirit cleanses the soul from pollution, purges from its eye the film of sin, and enables it to look out, in the vision of Faith, over the wide landscape of the divine promises, and away into the unveiled regions of immortality. The wind is sometimes charged with tremendous power. The strongest obstacles are as chaff before it. Structures of human skill and pride

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topple at its touch. The tall forest bows, and its proudest sons lie uprooted and prostrate; while the vast ocean heaves and tosses, like a seething cauldron, and rolls its frightened billows to the shore. Thus, too, the Holy Spirit is omnipotent and irresistible. No opposition from earth or hell can defeat his purpose, or stay his progress. And this all-subduing energy was specially manifest in that pure, fresh youth of the Church, when the Celestial Paraclete was first given to be her Leader and Champion. Before his invincible onset, Jewish prejudice, and pagan superstition, and infidel philosophy went down, like grass before the scythe of the mower; and Christianity, victorious through Him, swept over the civilized world, and trode, with giant step, the high places of the earth. How well and fitly might such an influence be symbolized by a mighty rushing wind!

Not less expressive was the other emblem. The central light, shining in the room where the disciples were gathered, and sending out its beams in every direction, was a token that the Divine Presence was now withdrawn from the ancient Holy Place, and transferred to the new Sanctuary of the Gospel; that in the perpetual indwelling and operation of the Comforter, the Church was now to find the true Shekinah; and that from his fulness all her graces and triumphs were to flow. The lambent flames, resting on the apostles and their coadjutors in the form of tongues, indicated that through the oral utterance of truth by them, and by the living ministry that should come after them, the Spirit would carry forward his conquests; and that it was the permanent ordinance of God, designed for all lands and for all ages, to "save by the foolishness of preaching them that believe." And the element of which these tongues appeared to be composed, denoted the two grand qualities, light and heat, by which all the gifts of the Spirit are characterized. Wherever the influence of this divine Agent is felt, it brings with it knowledge, love to God, zeal for his cause, and a warm and active compassion for the sins and miseries of men. Thus Light and Love—intelligent views of the gospel, and fervent desire for its extension—are the peculiar and prominent fruits of the Spirit.

The nature and import of the miracle having now been considered, the effect on the disciples, by which it was immediately followed, will next require a brief examination. "And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance." Two results are here described—the one inward, the other

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outward. "They were all filled with the Holy Ghost." His illuminating, strengthening, and vivifying energies took entire possession of their minds and of their hearts, penetrating and occupying every faculty of their intellectual and moral being. It was not a mere sprinkling of the Spirit—a few scattered drops of his influence—but a baptism, a flood, overwhelming, surrounding, pervading them, and completely engrossing them with its life-giving element. O what a change must have passed over their perceptions and their feelings! How did their carnal prepossessions, and their vain hopes of a secular theocracy vanish like the shadows of twilight before the orb of day! With what clearness did they now see that their Master had come, not to establish an earthly throne, but to set up a spiritual kingdom in the hearts of renewed and sanctified men! How did their views of his character and office brighten and expand; their love for him, and their zeal in his service, break forth and glow with all-absorbing intensity! Gone were their doubts, and waverings, and fears. Instinct with new power, and burning with a courage and faith not of earth, they beheld, with eager desire, the career of conflict, and triumph, and martyrdom which lay before them, and the immortal crowns that awaited them beyond. Emotions so deep and over-mastering must find expression; and they begin to communicate to each other the new ideas and sensations, which were crowding so thickly upon them; when, lo! they speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gives them utterance. Illiterate fishermen and peasants, accustomed only to the corrupt dialect of Galilee, pour forth their fervid thoughts in languages which they had never studied, and to whose very sound they had perhaps never before listened.

We have now arrived at a fact, which it is exceedingly difficult for us to comprehend, but which, nevertheless, stands clearly recorded on the page of inspiration. Efforts have been made to show that the statement before us does not teach that the disciples actually employed languages of which they had formerly no knowledge; but that, animated by the high and entrancing conceptions which broke upon their minds, they expressed their feelings in a strain of unwonted eloquence, and with a force and elevation of manner wholly foreign to their previous habits. But such a paring down of Scripture to accommodate it to a theory, is as uncritical as it is irreverent. The sacred narrative plainly and unequivocally declares, that "they spoke with other tongues;" and by no fair rule of interpretation can this announcement be understood in any other sense, than that they literally used languages different from

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that which was native to them. Our Lord, in one of his last interviews with the apostles, when unfolding to them the nature of their future work, and the qualifications for it which they should receive, explicitly assured them that they should "speak with new tongues." And in the record we are now examining, the surprise and astonishment, which this miracle excited among the multitude, are distinctly ascribed to the fact, that each individual of the varied nations there represented heard the apostles speak in his own language. We cannot therefore escape the conclusion, that the Holy Ghost conferred on them the power of so communicating their thoughts in languages which they had never learned, as to be intelligible to those with whom those languages were vernacular. What, then, were the objects designed to be secured by this wonderful endowment?

One of these doubtless was, that it might furnish a demonstration of the divine origin of the gospel; of the authority of the apostles as its appointed heralds; and of the presence and power of the Spirit to aid them in its promulgation. That persons of their training and pursuits should be able to discourse freely in dialects, which it was impossible they could have acquired by any previous study or practice, was so plainly miraculous, that no one who witnessed it, unless he were given over to incurable blindness and obduracy, could fail to recognize in it the direct agency of God, and to acknowledge that men thus gifted must be inspired and taught from on high. Hence we find that, throughout the New Testament history, the possession of such power is uniformly regarded as the result of special Divine communication. Whenever the extraordinary influences of the Spirit were imparted to the newly converted, this faculty was generally their immediate concomitant, the medium of their expression, and the seal of their reality.* And even in the later periods of its exercise, when, under a modified form, it seems to have been used chiefly for the utterance of elevated religious thought and feeling within the bosom of the Christian communities themselves,† it still bore the same impress of celestial inspiration, and was no less an infallible testimony to the truth of the gospel. Thus the apostle Paul, referring to the prediction of Isaiah,‡ that "with other tongues and with other lips" God would proclaim the message of his grace, declares that "tongues are for a sign, not for them that believe, but for them that believe not."§ In other words, they were

* Acts x. 46; xix. 6.
† 1 Cor. xii. 10, 28, 30; xiv. 2, 4, 5, 39
‡ Isa. xxviii. 11.
§ 1 Cor. xiv. 22.

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intended as the witness of the Holy Ghost, addressed to the world at large, and attesting, with a distinctness and certainty which no dulness could mistake, and no sophistry pervert, that Christianity was from heaven, and that its teachers were sent by God. And although the gift itself ceased when the age of miracles disappeared, yet the authenticated record of its bestowment survives, transmitting its evidence to all countries and to all climes.

Another purpose, which this power was adapted to subserve, may be found in the facilities which it gave the disciples for publishing the tidings of salvation among the different nations of the earth. How far it was actually employed in connection with this object, the Scriptural accounts of the early propagation of the gospel do not inform us. In Palestine it could not have been necessary; for there the Aramaic, the native tongue of the apostles, was the general language of the inhabitants. From certain expressions of the evangelists, it has sometimes been supposed that the dialect spoken in Galilee differed essentially from that which was current in Judea. But this difference consisted only in the mode of pronunciation, and in the occasional use of foreign words. The Galilean dialect was more affected by the Syriac, and had a broader and ruder accent, than that of the Jewish metropolis; and, therefore, appeared to the inhabitants of the latter less polished than their own. It was, however, perfectly intelligible to them. In most of the Gentile countries, where the gospel was preached during the period over which the history of the New Testament extends, Greek was the prevailing language; and as the work of evangelization in these countries was prosecuted chiefly through the instrumentality of Paul, and as he had doubtless learned Greek in his childhood at Tarsus, it is difficult to say to what extent he was assisted by the miraculous gift of tongues. From the fact that the sacred writers, in describing the spread of Christianity, seldom relate the particular circumstances which attended it, this whole subject is involved in no little obscurity. Yet thus much we may safely affirm, that not only did the primitive ambassadors of the cross receive direct aid from the Holy Spirit in the suggestion and announcement of their message, but that whenever and wherever they were called to address men whose language they did not understand, the faculty of speaking in that language was at once imparted. Less than this we cannot suppose without violence to the plain meaning of Scripture.

One more design of the gift of tongues may be traced in

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its symbolical import. It was a type of the free and unrestricted nature of our holy religion. Language is the great bond of human brotherhood. The possession of a common language will unite, by a common interest, nations however remote, tribes however scattered; while the want of it creates an almost impassable barrier between lands that are contiguous. Originally, men all spoke the same language. But as a punishment for their presumptuous sin at Babel, their language was confounded; in consequence of which, they broke into alienated and hostile bands, and were dispersed over the face of the earth. And as their numbers increased, and empires were founded, the diversity of languages was still the chief cause of separation and discord. Those who spoke one language looked with scorn or hatred on all who spoke a different. The Greek regarded all who were not Greeks as barbarians. The Jew deemed the whole world, beyond the circle of his own mother-tongue, as outcast from God, and abandoned to hopeless reprobation. Now in the Pentecostal gift, by which pardon and salvation through a crucified Redeemer were proclaimed, at the same time, in many varying languages, there was a significant and beautiful emblem that Christianity had come to take away this narrowness and seclusion. Judaism knew but one language. Christianity is equally at home in all. She belongs to no tribe—is confined to no territory. All climes and ages are her own. Her sphere is the world; her kindred the human race. And this universality in her adaptation is strikingly prefigured by the fact, that her first utterances, under the teachings of the Spirit, published to every listener, "in his own tongue wherein he was born, the wonderful works of God." She is thus the centre of union to our divided humanity, the point of coalescence to its widely scattered fragments, and the restorer of its lost fraternity. And thus, in the general spread of the gospel, we see a day approaching, when "the whole earth" shall again be "of one language and of one speech,"—not, it may be, in the use of the same articulate sounds and written symbols, but in the knowledge of the one language of renewed hearts—the worship of the one Jehovah, and faith in the one Saviour, his only-begotten Son.

Such was the time, and such the scene, in which the Holy Paraclete entered on His mission to carry into effect the provisions of redeeming love. To His agency all the early conquests of the gospel are to be ascribed. But He did not leave the earth when the age of mighty signs and wonders was no more. All that was miraculous and incidental in the

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form of His manifestation was indeed withdrawn; but all that was essential and efficacious remained. In every succeeding period, He has been the pillar of cloud and of fire that has gone before the people of Christ, and heralded them on to victory. He is still at the head of the sacramental host, reproving their delays, inciting them to fresh advances, and, in every onward movement, sweeping all enemies from their path. He is as ready to display His power now as in primitive times. Were Christians of the present day but prepared for His visits, as were the first disciples, the glories of Pentecost would soon return. O, then, let each seek the Spirit's influence for himself, for his brethren, for the unconverted crowds around him. And from every heart let the prayer go up, that the scene of His triumphs may extend and widen, until He shall move over the whole circumference of this disordered globe, as once He moved over the face of its primeval waters—dispelling its darkness, and breathing upon its entire expanse light, life, holiness, and peace.

ART. III.—ON THE SIGNIFICATION OF κτίσις, ROM. VIII. 19–22.

For the earnest expectation *of the creature* (τῆς κτίσεως) waiteth for the manifestation of the sons of God. For *the creature* (ἡ κτίσις) was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him who hath subjected the same in hope: because *the creature* (ἡ κτίσις) itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God. (*Received Version.*)

PROFESSOR STUART, in his Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, and in the *Biblical Repository*, vol. I. p. 363, enumerates no fewer than eleven different significations which have been attached to the term κτίσις in the above passage. The larger part of these will not, however, require any long consideration. To name is to answer many of them. No one will be in danger now of supposing that it refers to "the souls of the planets," as Origen held, or "angels" "good" or "bad," or "Adam and Eve," or "the souls of believers," or their "bodies."

The opinion that it denotes "Christians," (either Jewish or Gentile, or Christians in general,) though upheld by Barnes and some besides, would otherwise seem but little entitled to consideration, since in the 19th verse the κτίσις is carefully distinguished from the sons of God, for whose manifestation it

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is represented as waiting. So also, after in the 22d verse representing it as groaning and travailing in pain, the apostle adds, in the 23d verse, "*And not only so*, but ourselves also who have the first-fruits of the Spirit." Here Christians are plainly distinguished from the κτίσις.

To obviate this last objection, some have indeed supposed the clause, "we who have the first-fruits of the Spirit," to mean not Christians in general, but "we who are endowed with miraculous powers." Such an interpretation, however, is far fetched; for those endowments could confer no such special happiness as might be supposed to exempt their possessors from the longings common to all the children of God after a more perfect state, or afford a reason why they should be separately specified from all other Christians. If the context were not sufficient to exclude this sense, the term itself would hardly endure so forced and unwonted a signification. It never is so used, except in connection with καίνη, "new creature," nor is it easy to conceive how it could be.

There are, then, but three views, according to Professor Stuart's catalogue, which remain to be considered. I. That κτίσις here refers to unconverted men in distinction from the sons of God; or, II. Mankind in general; or, III. The irrational creation.

I. In favor of the first opinion, *i. e.*, that the term in question refers to *unconverted men*, it is urged that it and the corresponding word בְּרִיּוֹת in Rabbinic Hebrew are sometimes used derogatively, as for the heathen, or any degraded individual or class; just as in English it is vulgarly said, "The creature refused to be instructed." It is also said that κτίσις is here put in contrast with "those who have received the first-fruits of the Spirit," and must therefore refer to the unconverted.

But it will determine us against this construction of the passage, to remember, 1st. That this, though a possible, would be a very forced rendering of the term. 2d. That the apostle does not *contrast* "those who have received the first-fruits of the Spirit" with the κτίσις, but only advances from one specification to another. "And not only so, but we who have the first-fruits of the Spirit, even we ourselves groan," &c. 3d. Nor, further, is there any reason why it should be specially predicated of the unconverted that they are subjected to frailty, while the rest of mankind are equally so.

In deciding between the two remaining opinions, (and it is between these that the great body of sound critics are divided,) nothing decisive can be argued from the term employed. Nor

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is the general train of thought very much affected by either interpretation. The subject of the apostle's remark is clearly expressed in the 18th verse: "The sufferings of the present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory" which shall follow. In the four or five subsequent verses, St. Paul enlarges upon the glory which shall follow at the manifestation of the sons of God, representing it as so great that the whole creation, and even Christians, are anxiously waiting for the event.

II. Shall we then understand by the whole creation here, *that mankind in general are earnestly awaiting this period*, or consider it a bold prosopopœia, by which the earth, the sea, and the whole of the irrational creation are represented as anxiously looking for the removal of the curse, and a participation in man's glory? Either of these views may comport in a measure with the apostle's object; which most appropriately and forcibly, we shall see hereafter.

1st. *In favor* of the former of these it may be said, (*a.*) That *it well agrees with the usus loquendi*, as the term is frequently used in the New Testament for mankind only, apart from the irrational creation. Thus, Mark x. 6: "From the beginning of the creation (κτίσεως) God made them male and female. For this cause shall a man leave his father and his mother, and cleave to his wife." Here *the creation* seems plainly to refer to the creation, not of the earth, sea, air, which are not male and female, nor yet irrational animals, but of mankind. Again, in Col. i. 23, the same terms are employed as in the 22d verse of this chapter to assert that "the gospel was preached to *every creature* (πάσῃ τῇ κτίσει) which is under heaven;" as also in Mark xvi. 15: "Preach the gospel to *every creature*." In these cases, "*mankind*" is plainly intended, not the irrational creation; and why, it is asked, may it not be so used here? "All human creatures sigh together and are in anguish even to the present time."

(*b.*) It is urged also in favor of this view, that *such are the feelings of mankind.* There is in man naturally a longing after immortality, and an expectation of a higher, better state of existence. In support of this, heathen writers are appealed to. Numerous passages from Cicero, Seneca, and other authors, have been quoted, and easily might be multiplied, in proof of this general longing and expectation.

(*c.*) This sense, it is said, also well agrees with the apostle's argument, since it would tend greatly to support our hopes in the future state, that the expectation of it was universally felt by mankind, and that their frail and unhappy condition

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evidently pointed to it. This view of the passage is supported by McKnight, Lightfoot, Locke, Stuart, Whitby, and others.

2d. *Many objections*, however, are made to such an interpretation. (*a.*) It is urged by Tholuck that *the κτίσις is here represented as expecting a specific Scriptural event*—the manifestation of the sons of God, the resurrection; not a vague, unknown immortality; that the two are altogether different, so that the desire of mankind for the one is totally different from the longing here described after the other, to which the mass of mankind do not look forward with hope.

But this objection is hardly conclusive, for, as Professor Stuart remarks, "It is not necessary for the apostle's argument to show that they look for this (a future state) in the way that Christianity would direct them to do, nor even that they have good grounds personally to expect a happier condition in future. If even the wicked who love the world are not satisfied with it, and are made to sigh after another and more perfect state, then follows the conclusion which the apostle designed to urge, *i.e.*, that God has strongly impressed on our whole race, that there is a better state, and that it is highly needed."

(*b.*) With more force it is objected, that *it is not here the object of the apostle to prove in any way the doctrine of a future existence, but only to heighten our conceptions of this state*, already firmly credited. The theme is, "our present sufferings are not worthy of *comparison* with the glory which shall follow." The force of subsequent passages, according to Professor Stuart's supposition, is to prove a truth fully believed in. But according to the other opinion, *i. e.*, that the whole fabric of nature is to be renovated in sympathy with this manifestation of the sons of God, our conceptions of future glory are heightened, and present sufferings shown unworthy of comparison with it.

(*c.*) A further objection is drawn by Mr. Hodge from the 20th verse: "For the creature was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him [that is, God, according to Mr. H.] who hath subjected the same in hope that the creature should be delivered," &c. It is argued that it cannot be said of man, that he was brought into his present state not by his own act or willingly. "Nothing approaching this can be said of the world of sinners." But this is strained. For however voluntarily he committed that which subjected him to this state of frailty, yet this frailty was the unwished-for effect of his own conduct.

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(*d.*) There is, however, a different construction of this verse, much to be preferred on many accounts to the common one, and offering a far more forcible objection to this interpretation. Let the passage be read thus: "The longing expectation of the creature waiteth for the manifestation of the sons of God, (for the creature was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him who subjected it,) in hope that the creature," &c. Thus the κτίσις is represented as waiting in hope, having been subjected to frailty by the evil conduct of man. This better accords with the general Scripture representation: "Cursed is the ground for thy sake." "Because they have transgressed the law, therefore the curse hath devoured the land." "How long shall the land mourn, and the herbs of every field wither for the wickedness of them that dwell therein?" Thus regarded, this verse will offer a very serious difficulty to Professor Stuart's reading of κτίσις; for if he who subjected the κτίσις be man, the κτίσις subjected must, it should seem, be something besides man, the irrational creature, primarily at least.

(*e.*) Again, it is a strong objection to this view of the term, as has been remarked in considering another interpretation, that a very clear distinction is made between the κτίσις and Christians. Thus, in the 19th verse, it is represented as "waiting for the manifestation of *the sons of God.*" "The whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now, and *not only so, but ourselves also.*" Surely, this must forbid the idea that κτίσις here not only embraces but is very largely made up of the sons of God.

(*f.*) Further, the representation here is that the κτίσις shall partake of the glorious liberty of the sons of God; for it is plain the apostle does not mean to assert that the most of mankind were expecting to partake of it, only to be disappointed. But it is not the case that mankind as a whole will participate in the felicities of heaven.

III. We come, then, at length, to consider the interpretation which supposes this term to mean *the irrational creation as a whole.* This is on many accounts greatly preferable to the one last mentioned. It is the most obvious and generally received opinion; is the view of Chrysostom, Theodoret, and others among the early commentators; Erasmus, Grotius and Luther in the sixteenth century, and Flatt, Tholuck, Scott and Hodge of the present day.

It also seems to give a more appropriate and dignified sense to these verses. To heighten our conceptions of the glorious period to which he refers, the apostle, by a prosopo-

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pœia well suited to the strength of his vigorous ideas, represents the whole creation with outstretched neck awaiting the removal of the curse, and watching for the manifestation of the sons of God. How sublime a sense is this. How frigid the others we have examined, compared to it.

And it well coincides with the general representations of Scripture, which constantly speak of nature as sympathizing in the glory of man. "The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them, and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose. The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid, and the calf, and the young lion, and the fatling together, and a little child shall lead them." So also in Rev. xxi. 1: "I saw a new heaven and a new earth." If, as Professor Stuart insists, we must take this language as merely figurative, and not at all to be literally fulfilled, it may be replied that there can be nothing improper in construing St. Paul's representation as equally metaphorical. But however figurative some of these passages may be, taken in connection with others they teach a renovation of the earth corresponding to the future holiness of the redeemed.

Thus Heb. xii. 26, 27: "He hath promised, saying, Yet once more I shake not the earth only, but also heaven. And this word, Yet once more, signifieth the removing of those things which are shaken, as of things that are made, that those things which cannot be shaken may remain." Again in the second of Peter, iii. 12, 13: "The heavens being on fire shall be dissolved, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat. Nevertheless we, according to his promise, look for *a new heaven and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness.*" Let this language be considered in connection with Acts xiii. 21, where "the restitution of all things" is spoken of. This renovation of physical nature is to be as real and literal, then, as the destruction of the old world by water. Yet Professor Stuart would avoid the force of these passages by saying, "To draw the conclusion that a new creation of the heaven and the earth means here a new literal creation made out of the old one, and differing from the first only in degree of perfection, would be the same as to argue that because the Bible represents a Christian man as being born again, raised from the dead, created anew, therefore his spiritual change in regeneration is to be regarded as being literally one."

If indeed the doctrine of the renovation of the earth needed confirmation after the passages which have been adduced, reference might be made to the universal belief of the Jews on this point. Or it might be said that since the beginning of

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time, no particle of matter has ever been annihilated; that we might safely believe therefore that the world will ever exist in some state; that geology shows us that it has already undergone a series of improving changes, and that consequently it seems higly probable that after a more thorough purification by fire, it shall exhibit a beauty and order to which it has not yet attained. It is not asserted who shall then inhabit this world, further than that therein shall dwell "righteousness;" that physical nature shall sympathize and partake in the glory of the manifestation of the sons of God, as she has long been subjected to vanity by the fall of man.

It has been objected that the figure is too strong, unnatural, unlike the apostle. But it certainly is one that is constantly occurring in the sublimest parts of the sacred writings. "Let the heavens rejoice, and let the earth be glad." "Let the field be joyful, and all that is therein." "Then shall all the trees of the wood rejoice." "The mountains and hills shall break forth before you into singing, and all the trees of the field shall clap their hands." One of the most chaste and eloquent of modern writers, Robert Hall, in the so much admired passage in his sermon on the death of the Princess Charlotte, carries out to greater length the same kind of figure; when speaking of the loss of a single soul, he says, "Were the whole fabric of nature to become *animated and vocal*, would it be possible for her to utter a groan too deep, or a cry too piercing to express the magnitude and extent of such a catastrophe?"

Finally, it is urged by Professor Stuart, that by this interpretation, Christians are represented as in a frail and dying state, and earnestly desiring to be delivered from it; so also is the natural world, yet the world of rational beings in general who are not regenerated are not even mentioned. This objection has weight.

IV. The fairest way seems to be to regard κτίσις as signifying the *irrational creation inclusively and primarily, but not altogether to the exclusion of human beings;* who also join in the universal anxiety of expectation. None of the difficulties belonging to an exclusive application of this term to men as distinct from the rest of creation will apply to this interpretation. Two only of the objections could be supposed to do so; namely, those marked (*e.*) and (*f.*)

In regard to the former, *i. e.*, that in the 19th and 23d verses, a distinction is taught between the κτίσις and believers, and therefore that we may not adopt any interpretation of κτίσις which will embrace them, if it be considered that believers form but a small part of mankind, and mankind only a small

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part of the creation, it can afford us no surprise that they should be brought out from so subordinate a position, and their feelings as a distinct class recorded.

In regard to the only remaining difficulty (*f.*)—that the κτίσις is represented impliedly as actually partaking of the glorious liberty of the sons of God,—it will be sufficiently true of the κτίσις *as a whole* fully to justify the remark,—of the irrational creation entirely, and of all the good who form *the type* of humanity.

This view of the sense of the above term seems free from every objection, and furnishes the sense most exactly in accordance with the general views of the apostle and the scope of this particular passage. T. F. C.

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Art. IV.—THE WORKS OF LEONARD WOODS.

The Works of Leonard Woods, D.D., lately Professor of Christian Theology in the Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass. In five volumes. Boston: John P. Jewitt & Co. 1851.

We have here instruction from the right source. Dr. Woods comes before the Christian public, not as a mere adventurer in authorship, nor as proclaiming any peculiar or novel system. He announces no new philosophy, no new theology. He proposes simply to state and to vindicate what he regards as the truths of the Bible—truths which he is glad to believe have often been stated before, and which are endeared to him by the very fact that they are known to have nourished the piety and to have cheered the hearts of multitudes of the followers of Christ in different ages. He has done what will need to be repeated for every future generation; he has re-written the doctrines of the Christian's faith, subjected them to a new and independent investigation, in view of all the vaunted discoveries of science, as well as with reference to the various new objections which the ever-busy ingenuity of infidelity and human depravity is constantly devising. He has done this for the nineteenth century, and for American Christians. This has been done neither by Calvin nor Turretine; neither by Ridgely, Gill, Fuller, Chalmers nor Edwards, though all, for the most part, concurring in the same general system of belief.

These productions of Dr. Woods seem to be in some re-

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spects the result of necessity rather than of choice. Instead of being previously planned and designed by himself, they seem rather to have been planned and designed for him by a higher purpose and foresight than his own. Instead of being intended for any particular occasion or emergency, they have been called forth by a great variety of occasions occurring within the last half century, and which an all-wise and overruling Providence alone could have directed and controlled. Among these writings we find Sermons, illustrative of various practical duties, and pervaded by a spirit of deep and enlightened piety; and while they include pieces which involve controversies of the most profound and important character, they are nevertheless admirably free from a controversial spirit. But the most systematic and elaborate elucidation of the cardinal truths of divine revelation is to be found in the Lectures delivered to his students in the regular course of theological instruction. Here we have the results of long experience and of a careful investigation of the Scriptures, from one who has been compelled, from the nature of his duties, to review his work year after year, for many years in succession, and who has had an opportunity to hear every variety of objection and argument in relation to the subjects of which he treats. These Lectures will be read with special interest by all who truly love the gospel. The churches of Christ have a right to feel the deepest solicitude in reference to the instruction and training of those who are to be the future teachers of religion, and who are to be sent forth into the world intrusted with the fulfilment of the great commission. Accordingly, when they have appointed an individual to the responsible task of aiding in such training and instruction, they have made, by this very fact, the highest appeal to his fidelity, and may expect from him the utmost candor and impartiality in dealing with the oracles of God. Can such an individual fail to be sensible of his responsibility? Will he not have solemn thought in relation to the important class which he is to instruct; the consequences, for good or evil, of the influence which he is to exert upon them; the danger of poisoning with error minds then destined to poison others in their turn; and the great good which may follow to unborn millions, if the labors of a long life could result in imparting even to a single mind the true spirit and impress of the doctrines of the Bible? Will not such a one continually seek light and guidance from above? Will he not study with prayerful candor the sacred records? Will he allow himself to be bribed by interest or swayed by prejudice? Will he

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not feel that he is amenable to a higher tribunal than that of man? Will the love of station or pride of opinion prevent him from receiving and announcing any doctrine, however new to himself, which he may find clearly taught by divine revelation? Will he turn away from the truth of the Bible, surcharged with the energy of spiritual life, and content himself with the stale and vapid formulas of a creed? Will he consent to be the mere champion of a sect, and be satisfied to perpetuate his influence with a party, by making it the business of his life to advocate their peculiar dogmas, and to deal out bitterness and invective against their real or imaginary foes? Alas! such is poor human nature, that, even under all this pressing weight of responsibility, one may prove recreant to his high trust. Piety and station are by no means inseparable. Fidelity and obligation have not always the same degree of strength. But should an individual thus situated be found delinquent, then the Bible has no truth within its folds, and the church of Christ no station within her gift, that can make to him any higher appeal. But Dr. Woods has presented to us his own vindication. He has had the rare blessing of being permitted, while in the enjoyment of sound health and a vigorous intellect, to revise and to arrange with his own hand the labors of nearly half a century. He has laid before his brethren and the Christian public the present edition of his works, and from this specimen of his labors he is willing they shall form their own estimate of the manner in which he has spent his life, and discharged the duties of his highly responsible station. We venture to say that no disappointment will be felt. He leaves a rich legacy to the churches of Christ, and has opened a source of instruction adapted to impart light and stability to the Christian ministry for many years to come.

We congratulate the institution in which the author has so long instructed on the appearance of these volumes. They illustrate the healthful character of its influence, and may be regarded as among its own fruits. Indeed, we have never supposed that the good which theological institutions are to accomplish is to be limited merely to the work of training a class of young men, to be sent forth every year into the ministry, however important and necessary such a work may be. We have supposed it to be among the highest benefits of these institutions, that they are nurseries of sacred learning; that they sustain men whose sole employment is to study the original records of divine revelation, to guard them with sleepless vigilance, and to explain and vindicate afresh, for every

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generation, the great doctrines and duties of religion. Viewed in this light, the utility of theological institutions will be questioned by no considerate mind. For a long period, the Princeton and Andover institutions were our only theological schools. Had it not been for these—we cannot disguise the fact—our country could never have been what it now is, either as to its literary character, or its moral and religious condition. Andover has sent forth througout New-England, and Princeton throughout the Middle, the Southern, and the Western States, a conservative and life-giving element, in the character of those who were to occupy the station of Christian pastors; and through the men of learning whom they have raised up and sustained, as well as in the works which these have published, they have diffused a general taste for Biblical studies, erected an impregnable rampart against infidelity, and caused the literature of our country to be respected in the highest Universities of Europe. The works before us will do honor to the American mind. The author has, with great propriety, dedicated them to his pupils, among whom are numbered some of our most devoted pastors in different denominations, as well as Professors of high distinction in various institutions of learning. Many of these are in the Baptist denomination. It is well known that the first Professors of the Newton Institution, as well as those who still constitute its Board of Instruction, were from the Andover school. The same is true, we believe, of the distinguished author of the Elements of Moral Science, who has done more for the training of American youth, and we may say for the education of the American conscience, than any author now living.

We shall first notice, briefly, the contents of each volume, after which we shall be obliged to confine our remarks to a selection of topics, as a specific review of each performance would extend this article beyond proper limits.

Volume first opens with a Dedicatory Address, in which the author indulges in some reminiscences, of both a pleasing and solemn character. From a review of the past, he looks forward to the future with feelings which at once exhibit his confidence in truth, and his firm and unfaltering faith in God. After enumerating the various circumstances adapted to awaken fearful forebodings, he says: "So far as I look merely at fallen man—yea, at man in his best estate—the prospect is dark and fearful. But my heart is soon cheered by better thoughts. I hear the voice of Him who has all power in heaven and earth saying, 'Fear not.' He assures me that

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the time of his universal reign draws near; that the world for which he died shall be redeemed; that the prayers of his saints shall be answered, and their labors and sufferings rewarded; and that his peaceful and holy kingdom shall come. These blessed assurances raise me above my gloomy apprehensions. What the Lord hath promised to do shall be done; 'not a jot or tittle shall fail.'"

In the first eight Lectures, students of divinity will find useful instruction as to the right prosecution of theological study. They are fully apprised that many of the subjects to come under their notice are incomprehensible, though none of them contradictory to reason. They are instructed, also, as to the right application of reason in theological investigations; the importance of adhering implicitly to whatever is proved on sufficient evidence, however incomprehensible; as to the use and explanation of theological terms; the dangers of analogical reasoning, and the importance of system in the treatment of theological subjects.

The next six Lectures are on the Inspiration of the Scriptures, the substance of which has already been laid before the public, in a small volume published by the author some years since. The reader will find here a much safer view of Inspiration than can be derived from such a work as Morell on the Philosophy of Religion; safer than that which seems to be favored even by a writer so distinguished as Neander. The remainder of the volume is occupied with a consideration of the Existence and Attributes of God; the Humanity, Pre-existence, Deity, and Sonship of Christ; the Divinity and Personality of the Holy Spirit, and the Divine Purposes, comprising in all forty-one Lectures.

The second volume, comprising forty-five Lectures, treats of the doctrines of Divine Providence, Moral Agency, Human Depravity, the Atonement, and Regeneration. The Lectures on Human Depravity have before been published in the form of an essay, for which the author was awarded a premium, according to an offer made by Mr. John Dunlap, of Edinburgh, Scotland. The judges were Jeremiah Day, President of Yale College; Edward D. Griffin, President of Williams College; and Heman Humphrey, President of Amherst College. In the Lectures some additions are made to the essay, and its main positions are strengthened.

In the third volume, the subject of Regeneration is continued. Here, also, the author treats of the nature of Christian Virtue, of Repentance, Faith, Justification, the Perseverance of the Saints, the Resurrection, Endless Punishment,—with the ob-

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jections of John Foster,—Christian Ordinances, Infant Baptism, the Lord's Supper, the Christian Sabbath, Church Government, Prelacy and the Liturgy, Congregationalism and Presbyterianism. This volume, which contains forty-two Lectures, closes with a consideration of the necessity of personal religion to ministers.

Volume fourth contains Letters to Unitarians, a reply to Dr. Ware's Letters to Trinitarians and Calvinists, Remarks on Dr. Ware's Answer, Letters to Dr. N. W. Taylor of New-Haven, an Examination of the Doctrine of Perfection, a Dissertation on Miracles, and a general outline of the course of theological study pursued at Andover, with reference to books to be consulted. The contents of this and a large part of the fifth volume have already been before the public in some form.

Volume fifth contains Letters to Young Ministers, a treatise on the Philosophy of the Human Mind, Remarks on Cause and Effect in connection with Fatalism and Free Agency, a Reply to "Inquirer" on the same subject, a Dissertation on the Efficacy of the Word of God; Sermons in three series: 1st. Funeral Sermons; 2d. Ordination Sermons; 3d. Sermons on Various Subjects, Doctrinal and Practical.

No one will suppose that any just conception can be given of the value of these writings by this brief summary. We commend the works as a whole, with great cordiality and confidence, to our readers. Different estimates will be placed on different parts; and if we are occasionally compelled to withhold our assent from some of the positions taken, we shall nevertheless be edified by noticing the manner in which they are dealt with by a mind of no ordinary power.

The author's strength does not appear in his Sermons; they are wanting in the rigid analysis of an Emmons, and in the energy and power of an Edwards; yet his metaphysical discussions are rarely excelled by any thing to be found in the English language. His treatise on the Philosophy of the Human Mind and his essays on Human Agency are deserving of special attention, and should be carefully and thoroughly studied by theological students.

Order of arrangement does not seem to have been specially regarded in these volumes. This is doubtless owing to the diversity of circumstances in which their various parts originated, and to the fact that the author does not profess to have submitted them as forming one connected work. But even in his Lectures we do not find that skill of arrangement which we expected from a writer of so much ability. The proportions of a grand and imposing edifice are not so distinctly

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visible as they are in the productions of Dick or Turretine. The author has nowhere intimated his conception of the connection and harmony which reign in the great system of religious truth. Even such an outline as Edwards has given us in his History of Redemption he has nowhere sketched. He has furnished many strong beams and massive pillars, but he has not sufficiently designated the position which they are to occupy. He has not done all for the temple of truth which the workmen of Solomon, in the forest of Lebanon, did for the temple of Jerusalem. When all his materials are brought together, some important parts will be entirely wanting, and those which are furnished will need the use of the hammer, the axe, or the iron tool, before they can be properly adjusted to each other. He can turn off as much work and as good work as any other man, when a definite task is assigned him; but an architectural talent does not seem to be a distinguishing characteristic of his mind. The various subjects are rather approached as separate and independent essays, than evolved as in the regular development of a great plan. We may find in the writings of Dr. Woods as fine specimens of reasoning and theological discussion as we can meet with in the pages of Turretine; but Turretine had a system in which each part was so arranged as to increase the strength and beauty of the other. Turretine would not have discussed the unlikeness of man to God, before he had described the character of either God or man; he would not have treated of an upholding and governing Providence, before he had found a creation to be upheld and governed; he would not have treated of human depravity, without having noticed the previous Scriptural fact of human apostasy; nor would he have discussed the great subject of the atonement, without having considered the nature of that inflexible justice which rendered an atonement necessary. It ought to be stated, however, that Dr. Woods informs us in his preface that he has intentionally omitted in his publications several of the common topics of theology, which were considered in the lecture-room, as these are so ably treated by other authors. This should disarm criticism, but cannot silence the regrets of those who are partial to this mode of elucidating truth. It would have been especially gratifying to have seen an article on Creation from his pen, at a period when the Mosaic narrative in relation to the origin of the world and of man is arraigned before the bar of science; when a false philosophy is proclaiming with one breath, that God is a cause, *absolute* in such a sense that he cannot but create, and in the next

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breath, that he cannot create at all; that creation from nothing is impossible, and that the only creation that exists is but a development of the Deity; at a time when the spirit of Spinoza is obtaining a resurrection in Europe, and he is hailed as the profoundest philosopher and theologian; at a time when the German mind seems to be divided between Pantheism and Idealism, two systems extremely contradictory to each other in many respects, but, as opposite errors often do, converging at last in the same point, both agreeing to identify God with his works.

The style of the author may be recommended as a model of its kind. It is well adapted for either metaphysical or theological discussion. It is free from the turgid ostentation of Chalmers. It delights not in the inverted sentences, quaint expressions, and pretty metaphors so frequently resorted to for the purpose of concealing a wretched paucity and triteness of ideas. It is just such a style that the reader never thinks of it any more than he thinks of the beating of his own pulse; his attention is at once chained and riveted by the thought.

As to the class of writings to which these productions belong, we think they are fairly entitled to be labelled *Calvinism*. It is Calvinism, however, softened in some of its features; we do not say improved. Calvinism is never seen to better advantage than when allowed to appear in its original ruggedness. Its style is Gothic; and to fit it out with Corinthian columns would only spoil its symmetry. As a Calvinist the author has passed through a fiery ordeal, surrounded as he has been by Socinian opponents, but his truth has never been vanquished. In his younger days, indeed, he felt strong, and was disposed to gird himself, and, in reference to some points, could afford to part company even with the Reformers and the Westminster Confession: but as he advanced in years he became willing that others should gird him; we see him yielding himself again to the embrace of the old standards, and quietly erasing from his Letters to Unitarians such a sentence as the following: "It is common for us, when we yield our consent to the Catechism, to do it with an express or implied restriction."

These productions, though highly Biblical in their spirit, may also for the most part be considered as belonging to the department of metaphysical theology. Objections professedly based on the philosophy of the human mind are here answered in a manner corresponding to the demand of the past as well as of the present times. But it has been inti-

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mated, by one whose warning voice ought not to be disregarded, that writings of a different character are beginning to be called for, and that theologians, if they would defend the truth against the most dangerous form of error which has yet appeared, must extend their researches more into the field of physical science. At a time when new institutions of learning are rising in our country, and old ones are making important modifications in their course of study, the suggestions of this writer are deserving of serious consideration. So high is his authority and so earnest is his language, that we cannot withhold from our readers some of his expressions, which we submit in the subjoined note.*

* In allusion to what he denominates the *law* of development *versus* the *miracle* of creation, the writer above alluded to thus expresses himself:—

"The evangelistic churches cannot, in consistency with their character or with a due regard to the interests of their people, slight or overlook a form of error at once exceedingly plausible and consummately dangerous, and which is telling so widely on society that one can scarce travel by railway or in a steamboat, or encounter a group of intelligent mechanics, without finding decided trace of its ravages.

"But ere the churches can be prepared competently to deal with it, or with the other objections of a similar class which the infidelity of an age so largely engaged as the present in physical pursuits will be from time to time originating, they must greatly extend their educational walks into the field of physical science. The mighty change which has taken place during the present century in the direction in which the minds of the first order are operating, though indicated on the face of the country in characters which cannot be mistaken, seems to have too much escaped the notice of our theologians. Speculative theology and the metaphysics are cognate branches of the same science; and when, as in the last and preceding ages, the higher philosophy of the world was metaphysical, the churches took ready cognizance of the fact, and in due accordance with the requirements of the time the battle of the evidences was fought on metaphysical ground. But judging from the preparations made in their colleges and halls, they do not now seem sufficiently aware—though the low thunder of every railway, and the snort of every steam engine, and the whistle of the wind amid the wires of every electric telegraph, serve to publish the fact—that it is in the departments of physics, not of metaphysics, that the greater minds of the age are engaged; that the Lockes, Humes, Kants, Berkeleys, Dugald Stewarts and Thomas Browns belong to the past; and that the philosophers of the present time, tall enough to be seen all the world over, are the Humboldts, the Aragos, the Agassizes, the Liebigs, the Owens, the Herschels, the Bucklands and the Brewsters. In that educational course through which, in this country, candidates for the ministry pass in preparation for their office, I find every group of great minds which has in turn influenced and directed the mind of Europe for the last three centuries represented, more or less adequately, save the last. It is an epitome of all kinds of learning, with the exception of the kind most imperatively required, because most in accordance with the genius of the time. The restorers of classic literature—the Buchanans and Erasmuses—we see represented in our Universities by the Greek and what are termed the Humanity courses; the Galileos, Boyles, and Newtons, by the Mathematical and Natural Philosophy courses; and the Lockes, Kants, Humes, and Berkeleys, by the Metaphysical course. But the Cuviers, the Huttons, the Cavendishes, and the Watts, with their successors, the practical philosophers of the present age,—men whose achievements in physical science we find marked on the surface of the country in characters which might be read from the moon,—are *not* adequately represented. It would be perhaps more correct to say, that they are not represented at all; and the clergy, as a class, suffer themselves to linger far in the rear of an intelligent and accomplished laity—a full age behind the requirements of the times. Let them not shut their eyes to the danger which is obviously coming. The battle

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The student of divinity will find the doctrine of the Trinity treated in these Lectures with great ability. The unity of God, and yet the divinity of Christ and of the Holy Spirit, are proved beyond the shadow of a doubt. Unitarians have charged Trinitarians with representing three to be one and one to be three in precisely the same sense. There is no ground for this charge; such a doctrine would not be above reason, it would be palpably contradictory to reason; it would not be an incomprehensible mystery, but a perfectly clear and comprehensible absurdity. We predicate unity of the divine essence, and trinity of a distinction in that essence, which theologians have long designated by the term personality. These opposite qualities are not predicated of the same subject. We have noticed in the controversy with Dr. Bushnell some alarm among Trinitarians, on hearing the divine *unity* insisted on in the highest and most absolute sense, supposing that this must necessarily conflict with the idea of a trinity; but certain it is that if unity is at all predicable of the divine essence, it cannot be a particular or qualified unity; it is unity in the most absolute sense, or in no sense. Indeed, what perfection can be ascribed to God which is not absolute? Until we are able fully to comprehend the nature of the divine essence, we can have no ground to affirm that the Persons of the Trinity cannot subsist in this essence; and the only reason we have to affirm that they can and do subsist here, must be derived from the Scriptures. If they teach such a doctrine, this should settle the question. But Dr. Woods has made it perfectly clear from the Scriptures, that the Father is God, that the Son is God, that the Holy Spirit is God; and yet that these three are one God. In relation to the personality of the Son, however, we doubt whether his views will be deemed sufficiently explicit. The term person, it is conceded, is used in different senses. Each individual man is denominated a person, inasmuch as he is a separate and distinct individual being. We also vindicate the personality of God, in opposition to Pantheism on the one hand and Idealism on the other. But personality in this sense we consider as one, and as designating a distinct individual essence. But when we speak of the personality of the Father, as con-

of the evidences will have as certainly to be fought on the field of physical science, as it was contested in the last age on that of metaphysics. And on this new arena the combatants will have to employ new weapons, which it will be the privilege of the challenger to choose. The old, opposed to these, would prove of little avail. In an age of muskets and artillery, the bows and arrows of an obsolete school of warfare would be found greatly less than sufficient, in the field of battle, for purposes either of assault or defense."

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trasted with the personality of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, the term person is used in a very different and peculiar sense, and by no means designates a distinct individual essence. In God there are not three essences, but we say there are subsisting in Him three persons. These two senses of the word then are so very different, and the distinction between them is so important, that they never ought to be confounded; and it is much to be regretted that we could not avoid applying the same name to ideas so different in their nature. Now no one is more fully aware of this diversity of usage than our author; and he represents Calvin and Augustine as concurring in the statement that the word *persons* "was extorted by necessity on account of the poverty of language on so great a subject, not for the sake of expressing what God is, but to avoid passing it over in total silence that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost are three." Yet, when he comes to speak of the personality of Christ, he uses language which seems to confound the personality which belongs to the Son as the second person in the Trinity, with the personality of Christ which he has in consequence of his being a true and proper man—a personality which will be denied to him neither by Arian nor Unitarian. Lest we should convey some wrong impression on this point, we here subjoin the author's own language:—

> In the second place, the history given of Christ in the four Gospels shows, from the beginning to the end, that he was a true and proper man. And the same is often asserted and every where implied in the Acts and Epistles of the apostles. And if he was a true and proper *man*, he was a true and proper *person*. And surely he was none the less a person because he had attributes above humanity. Where does he speak of himself, and where is he spoken of by others, as though he was not truly and completely a *person*, because of his superhuman nature? If the New Testament does not teach that Christ, the Son of God, is, properly speaking, a *person*, it does not teach the personality of Paul or Peter, and the history of our own country does not teach that either Washington or Hamilton was a *person*. If there can be any satisfactory evidence of the personality of any one, we have such evidence of the personality of the Lord Jesus Christ. And we have equally satisfactory evidence that he is a person distinct from the Father. The supposition that the Father and the Son are one and the same person, is altogether unscriptural and preposterous. If we had nothing but the bare mention of the Father and the Son, we should at once conclude that, in respect to personality, they are distinct from each other—two persons. (Vol. I. p. 42.)

The author is here arguing against Sabellianism, which confounds the personalities of the Father and the Son. He wishes to show that Christ had a personality distinct from that of the Father. Personality in the Trinity, consequently, is the subject of discourse. How does he prove the personality of

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Christ in this respect? He first infers it as a logical deduction from the fact that he is a true and proper man; next, he shows that the Scriptures teach that he was a person in the same sense as Peter and Paul were persons; and this is the personality which he compares or contrasts with the personality of the Father. Here he evidently confounds two very different ideas, the divine Hypostasis and the human personality of Christ. The first Christ had from all eternity; the second originated in time. The first subsists in the same essence with the person of the Father; the second designates an essence entirely distinct from the essence of the Father—a distinct individual being including "a true body and a reasonable soul." By virtue of the first, Christ was the "brightness of the Father's glory and the express image of his person;" by virtue of the second, "he was a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief." The divine ὑποστάσις of Christ assumed human nature, which he is never to lay aside; he will continue to exist in two distinct natures, but in one person, for ever.—It is with great diffidence that we make the above suggestions, while we are fully aware that on so difficult a subject the most of which we complain may be owing to a defect in our own vision rather than to any obscurity in the reasoning of the author. Dr. Woods' general views will not be misunderstood, and if there is any real obscurity in this particular paragraph, no man is better qualified than he to place the whole subject in its right light.

There is a kindred topic, however, in reference to which the views of the author are by no means obscurely expressed, and we regret that we are unable to concur in his opinion. We refer to the subject of the Sonship of Christ. It is well known that the doctrine of the eternal Sonship has long been the received doctrine both of the Catholic and of the evangelical Reformed Churches. But some have supposed that the term *Son* must always and necessarily imply inferiority and subordination; hence they consider it applicable to Christ only in his subordinate condition as the Messiah, or on account of his miraculous conception; and they therefore represent his Sonship not as eternal, but as originating in time. Whereas the general view has been that the appellation Son of God does not necessarily imply inferiority, but that it is applied in the Scriptures to the higher divine nature of Christ, and designates his equal relation to the Father. As he possessed this divine nature from eternity, he was from eternity also the Son of God—the Only-Begotten. Some years ago, it will be remembered, Professor Stuart, of Andover, entered

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his dissent against this doctrine, rejecting the common opinion. This originated a controversy of great interest between him and Dr. Miller, of Princeton. The latter ably vindicated the doctrine of the eternity of Christ's Sonship. We had supposed that Dr. Woods would be found as usual favoring the old paths; but in this we are disappointed. After maintaining that the Scriptures apply the title Son of God to Christ on account of his miraculous conception and on account of his Messiahship, he says:—

> **In conclusion, let me remind you that I have been speaking of what is the *frequent* and as I think the GENERAL use of the title, "the Son of God," in the New Testament. But I would express myself with becoming modesty and diffidence on a subject on which I differ somewhat from so many great and good men. I am, however, far from opposing those authors who give the highest sense to the title *Son of God*, as employed in several texts, particularly John i. 14, and x. 30, and perhaps Rom. i. 3, 4. In these and some other places where the Saviour is called the Son of God, there is doubtless a reference to his divine nature, and his eternal relation to the Father, as the second person in the Trinity. And there is generally, I think, the same high reference when he is called the Christ, the Saviour, the Messiah. (Vol. I. p. 411.)**

Now we might be very willing to admit that the title "Son of God" may refer occasionally to Christ's miraculous conception, and very frequently to his Messiahship, and yet it may be used in a much higher sense to designate the divine nature of Christ as the second person in the Trinity. The author, however, finds no instances of such a usage. He specifies passages in which the Saviour is called the Son of God, where he concedes there is a *reference* to the divine nature, but maintains that there is the same high reference when he is called the Christ, the Saviour, the Messiah. If this be true, then the appellation Son of God can be no higher title than that of Christ or Saviour. As to opposing those who give the highest sense to the title, we know of no more effective opposition than to divest their views of all support from the Scriptures.

But we have misunderstood the Scriptures if they do not often employ the appellation, Son of God, as a higher title than either of the others referred to. The latter all relate to his subordinate work; the former designates that high relation in virtue of which he claims equality with God. The title Λογος probably relates to the work of Christ as *Creator*; since, according to both the Old Testament and the New, it was by the life-giving Word of Jehovah that the worlds were made. Hence, when John would announce the doctrine that all things were made by Him, and that without Him was not

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any thing made that was made, he begins by designating him as the Λογος—the Word; a term equivalent to the expression in the Old Testament, דְּבַר יְהוָה—Word of Jehovah. When the titles Messiah, Christ, Saviour, Jesus, are used, they all relate to his work as the *Redeemer* of the world. But the title Son of God, in its highest sense, excludes all reference to the *works* of Christ, either as creating or redeeming, and designates only his exalted *nature*. This is the only title of which this can be said, except when he is expressly called God. Even when the glory of the *Logos* is spoken of, as if to heighten our conception of it, it is declared to be "the glory as of the only-begotten of the Father." Christ could not have startled the Jews more by explicitly calling himself God, than he did by claiming to be the Son of God. They at once charged him with making himself equal with God; nor did he repudiate the charge. And when it is to be revealed that the second person in the Trinity was sent to assume the nature of man, how is this fact announced? It is by such passages as teach that "God gave his only-begotten Son." If Christ became the Son of God only by assuming human nature, what was he before he assumed our nature? By what title do the Scriptures designate this divine ὑποστάσις? Who will deny that the title Son of God is the only one employed for this high designation? Hence in Romans i. 4, where the divine and human natures are contrasted, it is his divine nature which is expressly declared to be the Son of God. There is something more than a mere "reference" to the divine nature in this passage. Hence, too, in the formula of baptism, where he is honored equally with the Father and the Holy Spirit, it is the Son who is thus honored; we are baptized "in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." He who is alluded to as being in the bosom of the Father, even in the days of the incarnation, is also denominated the Son. "No man hath seen God at any time; the only-begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him." John i. 18. When the Spirit of inspiration rejoices in him as the source of spiritual life, and denominates him "the true God," it is the *Son* who is thus honored. "We know that the Son of God is come, and hath given us understanding that we may know him that is true, and we are in him that is true, even in his Son Jesus Christ. This is the true God and eternal life." 1 John v. 20. Where he is introduced as an object of worship even to angels, it is the Son of God who is to be worshipped; and where he is addressed in terms of the highest favor by the infinite Majesty

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Himself, it is "unto the Son he saith, Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever, and a sceptre of righteousness is the sceptre of thy kingdom." Hebrews i. 8. We are aware it will be said that this latter passage refers to Christ as the Messiah. Be it so; and what is to hinder the highest title of Christ from having reference to the Messiah, since his highest nature is essential to constitute him the Messiah? But we think that the argument of the apostle would forbid the supposition that the term is here applied to the Messiah in any such sense as to intimate that the Sonship of Christ consists in his Messiahship; on the contrary, the Messiahship is exalted and ennobled by the fact that it is a commission to be performed by the *Son of God.* The epistle opens by directly announcing Christ under this august title. It is this high character that gives to every thing he has spoken a claim to our attention; this constitutes his superiority over the prophets, through whom God has spoken to us at sundry times and in divers manners. This rendered the Messiahship a higher office than the ministration of angels; and only on account of this has he a higher name than they. It is no objection to this view that the various titles of Christ are often promiscuously applied to him in the Scriptures, or used interchangeably with each other, referring either to his human or to his divine nature. Such a usage, we admit, is frequent, according to a figure of speech, denominated by the ancients, ἰδιωμάτων κοινωνία—a communication of properties. But it will not be denied that no title could be applied upon any principle to Christ which there is nothing either in his nature, character or office to justify; and the doctrine which we maintain is, that the title Son of God, as applied to Christ in its highest sense, is justified only by the fact of his equality with God.

It is not our design here to argue this question further; but from the above and other considerations, we think it may be seen that the Reformers and Christians in all ages have had some good grounds for their belief in the eternal Sonship of Christ. It ought here to be said that those alluded to as denying the doctrine are by no means disposed to deny that Christ was, from eternity, the second person in the Trinity. They seem chiefly to be embarrassed with the application of the term "begotten" in this connection. But we know of nothing in the laws of exegesis to prevent us from regarding the term as being used, not to imply an origin on the part of the Son, nor even any act on the part of the Father, but to express that fixed and immutable relation which existed between the Father and the Son from eternity.

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We would call special attention to the author's views on the morality of the affections—a subject which he has very ably treated in his Lectures on Moral Agency, as well as in his Treatise on the Philosophy of Mind. Many at the present day maintain that man is responsible only for his volitions; and that what are usually denominated our moral affections, have a moral quality only as they are originated by our own volition; and that consequently all sin and all holiness in accountable beings must result from previous volition and choice. If this doctrine be true, then man could not have been created holy; he could not have been born sinful; nor can his native depravity have any moral quality. The author clearly discriminates between the morality of an action or volition which must depend on the intention and motive, and the morality of an affection which can alone depend on the nature of the affection itself. He makes the essence of all sin to consist in the affections of the heart, the actings of our inward spiritual nature. On page 90, Vol. II., before appealing to the Scriptures, he says:—

> But here, as elsewhere, our appeal is to our moral sense, which we have seen to be the ultimate test of good and evil. Suppose then that we are conscious of having in our hearts true love to God or benevolence to men—conscious of having this affection and nothing else—conscious of the emotion or exercise of love, unattended with any external action whatever. Do we not instantly say that such an affection is right? Does not the consciousness of having it excite in us a feeling of self-approbation or complacency? And does not the perception of this affection in others excite in us the feeling of approbation towards them? If so, then it has the distinguishing mark of virtue or moral good. In this feeling of approbation there is no necessary reference to any thing else, either antecedent or consequent, as the ultimate object of our approbation. It is the affection itself that we regard as constituting moral excellence or goodness.

The classification of the mental operations adopted by our author makes a distinction between the volitions and the affections, similar to that which Edwards makes between what he denominates the imperative and immanent volitions—differing little from that sanctioned by Cousin, and adopted by Upham in his Elements of Mental Philosophy. He shows clearly that volition does not originate and cannot always either directly or indirectly control the affections; on the contrary, he maintains that our affections originate and control our volitions; that this is the natural order of our mental exercises. He very justly says, that if the affections, instead of being excited by suitable objects, were governed by a mere act of the will, there would be an end of rational and accountable agency; the groundwork of moral good and evil would be taken away.

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His views are further illustrated by the following paragraphs:—

But I must come to the chief object of the present number, which is to show, that instead of the affections being under the direct influence of the volitions, just the opposite is true, namely, *that the volitions are under the influence of the affections;* and that instead of the affections deriving their moral character from any acts of the will, *all acts of the will derive their moral character, so far as they have any, from the affections.* * * * * The affections, including the emotions and passions, are eminently the principles of action. Without these, how could we act at all? And without *moral* affections, how could we perform moral acts, or have any volitions which are of a moral nature? If the acts of the will do not flow from the affections, why may it not be, that a man who has no love to God will choose to labor and suffer for God just as much as if he had love? And why may it not be, that a person whose heart is full of benevolence towards his fellow-men, will choose to treat them, and actually treat them, with unkindness and cruelty, just as though he had the opposite affection of hatred? If the affections do not govern the acts of the will, you can never anticipate what your voluntary conduct will be from your knowledge of your own heart. * * * * The other point mentioned above, namely, that *the character of every volition depends on the character of the affection from which it proceeds,* is equally evident. If our volitions are the result of a *moral affection,* we necessarily consider them of a *moral nature,* whatever may be the outward object acting on the mind. For the outward object can get access to the will and influence its acts only through the affections. It is the affection which comes in contact with the will, and determines the character of its acts. If the affection which prompts the volitions is right, *they* are right, that is, relatively; and a relative rightness is all they can have. If the affection is wrong, the volitions flowing from it are also wrong. And when I speak of volitions in this way, as flowing from the affections, I mean to include the mental and bodily acts which are connected with the volitions, and which are, on that account, called voluntary. And on the other hand, when I speak of these mental and bodily acts, I mean to speak of them as implying a volition, and as resulting directly from it. (Vol. V. pp. 89–91.)

On this subject our author has taken no new ground; he is sustained in his views by Brown, Edwards, and other distinguished writers on Mental Science. It is to be regretted that Dr. Chalmers advocates a different sentiment. In his Sketches of Moral and Mental Philosophy, he says: "We would now affirm the all-important principle that nothing is moral or immoral which is not voluntary,"—that is, according to his meaning, caused either directly or indirectly by a previous volition. After complaining of others, that instead of proving this, they have too frequently left it to be inferred, he says: "We think it for the advantage of our subject that it should receive a different treatment; that it should be announced, and with somewhat the pomp and circumstance too of a first principle, and have the distinction given to it, not of a tacit, but of a proclaimed axiom of Moral Science." He then proceeds to construct an elaborate argument in support of his position.

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But we regard his attempt as fallacious. In our opinion he has succeeded far better with the pomp than he has with the principle. The following extracts will show the difference between his views and those of Dr. Woods: "We regard compassion as a virtuous sensibility, and we regard malignity, or licentiousness, or envy, as so many depraved affections; and yet, on our principle, they are virtuous or vicious only in so far as they are wilful. * * * * If, apart from the will, there can be neither moral worth nor moral worthlessness—if it be implied in the very notion of desert, that the will has had some concern in that which we thus characterize—if neither actions nor affections are, without volitions, susceptible of any moral reckoning—it may require some consideration to perceive how far the element of moral worth is at all implicated in an emotion. * * * * We think Dr. Brown has made a wrong discrimination, when he speaks of certain of the emotions which involve in them a moral feeling, and certain others of them which do not. There is no moral designation applicable to any of the emotions, viewed nakedly and in themselves. They are volitions, and our volitions only which admit of being thus characterized; and emotions are no further virtuous or vicious, than as volitions are blended with them, and blended with them so far as to have given them either their direction or their birth." (Pp. 173–176.)

Now, is it indeed true that compassion has no moral quality except as it receives its birth from a previous volition? Is not the very reverse of this the fact? Why is a volition to cherish compassion a virtuous and commendable act? Is it not because compassion is a virtuous and commendable feeling? If the feeling were not virtuous in itself, evidently the volition to cherish it could not make it so. But granting that compassion becomes a virtue because the will has had an agency in its production, it must be because the agent aimed at the production of this feeling, and that it came into existence as the result of previous intention and design. But even when the will has had an active agency in bringing before our minds scenes of distress which excite compassion, the production of this feeling has rarely been any part of the agent's intention or design. Did it enter into the design of Howard, in visiting the prisons of distress, to awaken compassion in his own bosom? Was not his heart bent exclusively upon the relief of human wretchedness? But if an increase of compassion was a consequence, how could this feeling be a virtue, according to the doctrine in question,

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since it did not originate in the previous intention or design of the agent? Again, what shall we say of compassion awakened by a scene of distress which we have had no agency whatever in bringing before the mind, but which has been forced upon our attention suddenly and unexpectedly? Would it in this case lose its moral quality? Or, let us suppose the case of two individuals who visit a scene of distress, it may be for the very purpose of awakening in their own hearts salutary feelings. Both may have the same intention; but the same phenomenon does not come to pass in each, owing to a difference in their moral state. The one by the sight of poverty and wretchedness experiences compassion, and is prompted to acts of liberality to relieve the distressed; the other becomes absorbed with no other thought than how he shall most carefully hoard what he possesses, lest he shall be one day reduced to the same want. No one can deny that the former has a feeling very different in moral quality from that of the latter. Why is the one virtuous and the other vicious? The will had the same agency in bringing the scene before the mind of each. If this previous agency is all that rendered compassion a virtue, why did it not render selfishness a virtue? It is very evident that these feelings owe their moral quality, not to the mode of their generation, but to their own essential nature. It may be said of the latter individual that his will must have had a fearful agency, through all his previous life, in bringing about a state of heart so obdurate and unnatural. Let us then suppose a case where it will be conceded that such an objection is not admissible. An individual enters the sanctuary of God, it may be for the purpose of scoffing at religion; for this purpose he lends his attention to a discourse from the sacred desk; through divine grace the truth becomes the means of his conversion; he repents, he believes in Jesus Christ—he loves God. Now, has the affection of love to God in this case no moral quality? But if it is a morally right feeling, surely we cannot here ascribe it to the agency of the will in bringing truth before the mind; nor can we ascribe it to any agency which the will has had in the previous life of the individual in preparing him for such a result: indeed, when has the love of God ever been originated in a single human being by his own previous volition? This affection is, in its own essential nature, virtuous, and cannot be otherwise.

Were we to undertake to point out the specific fallacy with which the reasoning of Dr. Chalmers, and those who think with him, is chargeable, we would say, it consists in con-

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founding two different moralities—if we may so speak—the morality of *having* a certain affection, and the morality of *originating* it. If a man has never purposed, designed, or willed to produce in his own bosom, directly or indirectly, compassion for human misery, or love towards the Supreme Being, then it is very clear the originating of these affections is not to be set to his credit; the morality of a volition to produce them does not belong to him. But if he is found possessed of these feelings or affections, the morality of exercising them is to be set to his credit. He has the virtue of *having* them, whether he has the virtue of *originating* them or not. If he exercises them, and has also originated them, the merit of both is to be set to his credit. The same may be said of a sinful affection. If a feeling of enmity to God ever transpires in any mind, then the guilt of that mind is unquestionable, though it may be free from the sin of intending, or of originating by a previous purpose, such a feeling; a sin of this nature is one of too dark and appalling a character to be charged even upon Satan himself. The same also may be said of human depravity. No man since the fall has the guilt of *originating* his own depravity. Yet the depravity of each is charged upon him as a sin, and is declared to be "exceeding sinful."—Owing to the strong theological bearing of this question, we have dwelt longer on it than we otherwise should have done.

We proceed to a consideration of some of the author's views on human depravity, as expressed in his Lectures, his Essay, and in his Letters to Unitarians. His Essay has already passed, with approbation, an ordeal so high in authority, that the views which it contains might fairly be considered as exempt from further criticism. But in a work whose general execution is most admirable, a single defect will be the more regretted on account of its tendency to mar the beauty of the whole. He has made one concession which we cannot but think goes far toward subverting some of his ownmain positions. He mentions two theories; one of which mai ntains that all sin consists in actions—in the mind's own exercises, and that there is nothing in man anterior to his acts that can be said to have the nature of sin. The other maintains that there is in fallen man a propensity, disposition, or inclination to sin, anterior to any mental acts; that native depravity consists in such a disposition, and that this disposition or propensity is sinful. This he represents to be the general view of orthodox divines, and the one which he himself maintains as the true one. He represents man, on account

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of this propensity, as sinful as soon as he is born. Both in his Lectures and in his Essay, which differ but little, he repeatedly represents this disposition as wrong and sinful; and in his Letters to Unitarians, he could not speak more decisively on this point. He says: "Every man must decide, and does decide, that a propensity, inclination or disposition to sin, is the very essence of sin, and the only thing which makes any outward action or any volition sinful." (Vol. IV. p. 220.) Again he says: "Dr. Ware speaks of the source or *origin* of sin as something distinct from sin itself. If he means the outward act of sin, the distinction he makes is very proper. Outward visible sin springs from inward sin; sin in the life from sin in the heart. But sin in the highest sense is sin in the heart; that is, *wrong affection—corrupt inclination.* It is impossible to form a conception of such a thing as sin, which does not begin in the heart. So that no man can make a distinction that is intelligent between that which in the most proper sense is sin, and corrupt affection or inclination." (Vol. IV. p. 303.) He adds: "But what are we to say of this disposition to transgress which gives temptation all its efficacy? Here we find that which is sin in the ultimate sense, and that without which nothing else could be sin. * * * We come then with humble demonstration to this result, that *sin* lies radically and essentially in a wrong state of heart." (Page 308.) On page 324, he also says: "In my Reply, I represented the very essence of sin as consisting in a propensity, inclination, or disposition to sin." Any one would infer from such expressions that he intended to represent man's corrupt and depraved disposition or state of heart as *sin* in the highest and most absolute sense. Evidently it is only in this view that he could be considered as harmonizing with the Westminster Confession, with Calvinistic theologians generally, and, which is of far more importance, with the Scriptures. This view is undoubtedly very different from that sustained by the other theory above mentioned. Yet, as many Congregationalists, many of Dr. Woods' own brethren, advocate that theory, he has made an attempt to reconcile the two, and has pronounced them identical. But we really do not see how two theories could be more directly opposed. The one represents sin as commencing only in a developed state of the intelligence; the other represents it as commencing with our existence. The one makes all sin to consist in intelligent moral action; the other finds sin existing anterior to all action, in that native disposition, that corrupt propensity or inclination, from which all sinful acts flow. The one represents

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men as responsible only for actual transgression; the other represents them as by nature the children of wrath. Yet the author says: "The theory which I have attempted to defend is generally regarded as different from that which only represents man as responsible for his actions. In some respects it is different. But we know that in many cases two theories which are in some respects different, and which are often supposed to be opposite to each other, will, on thorough examination, be found not only consistent with each other, but to be merely different views of one and the same thing." We are disappointed to find from his subsequent remarks that he does not, after all, regard that native depravity which precedes all action as sin in the highest and "ultimate sense" which he speaks of in his Letters to Dr. Ware, but that he regards it only as sin in a *relative* sense. He says: "If the disposition is pronounced to be sinful, it is pronounced to be so relatively to the action to which it leads." Now, if we can attach any idea to the expression *relatively sinful*, we regard it as applicable only to things which are not in their own nature sinful, but only relatively to something else. When the children of Israel gathered manna on the seventh day, their act was sinful, not because gathering manna was in itself absolutely and essentially so—it was only relatively so—that is, relatively to the command prohibiting the act on that particular day. Is this the meaning which the author attaches to the term? Will he say that our native depraved propensity to actual sin is not in its own nature sinful, but only relatively to actual transgression, and becomes really sinful only as developed in overt acts? If so, then he would make depravity sinful in no other sense than our ordinary appetites are sinful; for, although they are not sinful in themselves, yet if they are not restrained within certain limits, they will be productive of actual sin, and on this account may be said to be relatively sinful. He enters into a labored argument to show that moral exercises commence in very early infancy, and may exist much earlier than we are accustomed to suppose. But for our own part, when we contemplate that deep and inveterate depravity, so malignant in its character that the Scriptures pronounce it enmity to God, if we cannot find in this, and in its own essential nature too, sin enough to account for the sufferings and death of children, we should shrink from extending our inquisition among the tender and earliest buddings of thought in the infant mind, in order to find higher cause of crimination. But our author seems to think that sinful action in some degree is necessary to justify the infliction of any punitive evil what-

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ever; that without this indeed no one can be treated as a subject of retribution. He says: "*What I mean is, there is no such thing as a moral being who is actually treated as a subject of retribution while his moral nature is not in some way developed in holy or unholy action.*" (Vol. II. p. 340.) We are not a little surprised at this announcement from such a source. If this be true, then it will follow, either that no infant can suffer or die till its depraved disposition is developed in unholy action, or that suffering and death are not retributive or penal evils. Again, if this be true, then an infant dying before its depravity is developed in action, since it cannot be treated as a subject of retribution, will need no substitute to bear any penalty, no sacrifice to atone for any sin, no Saviour, no Redeemer. Yet the author appeals for the truth of this sentiment to the Scriptural doctrine that at the final judgment man will be rewarded "according to the deeds done in the body." But we surely take too narrow a view of this subject if we suppose the Scriptures ever designed to teach that the final adjudication of men will be determined by their deeds, any further than these deeds themselves determine and indicate the state of the heart. On no other account are actions regarded before any tribunal, human or divine. And what light does a single deed sometimes cast upon the whole character! What depths of depravity are often revealed by one sinful act! Even beings who have no other means of judging of the nature of a cause than from its effects, may form a just judgment of the moral condition of our collective race from the collective acts of the race, and may judge of the moral state of undeveloped humanity from that portion of it which has been developod in action. How much more, then, can a just estimate of the iniquity of the human heart, in every stage of its existence, be formed by that sovereign Judge who never reasons or infers, but whose unerring eye measures the profound abyss of human depravity by a single glance? Since God, therefore, is not dependent on human action as the medium through which to arrive at an estimate of human character, may He not, at the final day, treat human beings according to their moral state? Is there any thing in the idea of retribuion which will prevent Him from dealing with men according to what they *are*, as well as according to what they *do*? How, otherwise, could He who is to be the Judge of quick and dead, decide, that "the blood of all the prophets which was shed from the foundation of the world" would be required of a single generation? Luke xi. 50. On the same principle, may not the appalling deed of the crucifixion of the Son of God

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be laid upon the conscience of every member of the human family, as emphatically the crime of the race?

From all that we can learn, then, from the Scriptures we are compelled to regard depravity as a sin in its own essential nature—it is spiritual death. And as to those who die in infancy, before actual transgression, we have no reason to suppose that they are exempt from retribution. They are subjects of law, and as such they will need to be redeemed in the same manner as others who are under the law; they can be saved from sin only through the atonement and mediation of Jesus Christ. We cannot suppress an expression of our regret, that the author has undertaken to blend or identify these two conflicting theories. After making firm and strong the doctrine of the Reformers, which we still cannot but regard as his own, he would have done well to let this exercise theory take care of itself. It will prove a thorn in his flesh so long as he keeps it in his company.

As intimately connected with the subject of human depravity, we have yet to notice the views which have been expressed in relation to the effect of Adam's sin upon his posterity. Dr. Woods has no hesitation in admitting the doctrine of imputation; but he admits it in so great a variety of senses, that we are at a loss to determine whether there is, after all, any one sense which really commends itself to his approbation. There is one view of the doctrine, however, which he unequivocally rejects. He says: "But if the doctrine of imputation means that Adam's posterity are literally and personally chargeable with his sin, and that God inflicts the penalty of the law upon them for his offense alone, *they themselves being in all respects sinless*, then the doctrine, in my view, wants proof." That Adam's sin was literally and personally charged upon his posterity, in any such sense as to represent them as personally and *morally criminal* for his sin, which they never committed, is nowhere maintained by the advocates of the doctrine of imputation. In rejecting this view, Dr. Woods is sustained by Calvin, Turretine, and other theologians of the same school. But if he means to deny that any of the penal consequences of Adam's sin have been inflicted upon his posterity, for his offense alone, irrespective of any moral fault of theirs, this would be rejecting what we consider a clear and explicit doctrine of divine revelation. We cannot think that this is the author's meaning. This evidently conflicts with admissions which he repeatedly makes in relation to the effects of the first transgression. But we must not withhold from our readers what he seems to have de-

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signed as a very careful and explicit statement of the way in which Adam's sin affects his posterity. He says: "Again, I inquire whether Adam's sin affects his posterity in this way, namely: *that by a special divine constitution, they are, in consequence of his fall, born in a state of moral depravity leading to certain ruin; or that, according to the common law of descent, they are partakers of a corrupt nature, the offspring being like the parent; and that suffering and death come upon them as the effect of Adam's offense, they being still not innocent and pure, but depraved and sinful.*" Vol. II., p. 351.

The Pelagian doctrine, that men become sinners by imitation, is here decidedly rejected; yet there is an obscurity in the language, which we are unable to dispel. The first clause contains two elements, a fact and its explanation. The fact is, that men are born depraved; the explanation is, that this happens in consequence of Adam's sin by a special divine constitution. We might have supposed that by "special divine constitution" he meant a special divine dispensation or appointment, and that this form of expression was used in order to teach, that the condition in which men are now born is owing to the judgment of God on account of Adam's sin, and not to the *necessary* action of any general law of our nature, physical or mental. But in the next clause, he explains more fully his meaning, and teaches us that by "special divine constitution" he only means the common law of descent, and that it is according to this we are made partakers of a corrupt nature. Now, are we to infer from this, that had Adam sustained no federal or representative relation to his posterity, and no other relation than such as any father sustains to his children, he must, after his fall, have necessarily communicated his own corruption to his children by the common law of descent? If so, we are at a loss to see how the assertion is susceptible of proof. What are we to understand by the common law of descent? Do we mean the law of descent common to human beings? Then it is an assumption to assert, that depraved parents must impart depravity to their children by the necessary action of this law. The mere fact that depravity is *actually* thus conveyed, is no proof that this is a necessary result of the law. Exclude the idea of representation, and also the idea of depravity coming on the race by way of special divine judgment, and then the supposition that there is any thing in the common law of descent which must necessarily entail depravity upon children of a depraved parent, is entirely without foundation. There is nothing in the Scriptures to prove it; there is no analogy in

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the universe to sustain it. On the contrary, since it is conceded, on all hands, that depravity is no part of the substance either of the mind or the body, this would seem necessarily to preclude the possibility of its being strictly propagated, and leave us to account for its universal prevalence in some other way. Accordingly, we shall find that while the Scriptures evidently favor the doctrine that depravity is conveyed by ordinary generation, yet they as evidently ascribe this depravity, this spiritual death, to the just judgment of God, on account of one man's offense. And there is nothing to forbid the idea that God may employ a natural law as the medium of conveying certain penal consequences, which otherwise would have resulted in no such evils. It may be said that it is a law common to all animals, that like must beget its like. But all that was necessary to make good this law, in the case of Adam, was that he should be the progenitor of human beings. And had Adam after his fall propagated an offspring as pure as he himself was when he came from the hands of his Creator, who would have said that the progeny was monstrous, or that the common law of descent had been violated?

The closing paragraph of our author's explanation, we think, needs some qualification. It is true, men do not suffer till they exist; they do not experience natural death till after the commencement of natural life; since, therefore, they commence existence as depraved and sinful beings, then of course they suffer and die, not as innocent, but as depraved and sinful beings; and we freely admit that their own depravity will furnish cause sufficient to justify all the suffering, death, and condemnation which afterwards come upon them, without charging any part thereof to Adam's transgression. But it cannot be denied that there is a kind of death to which we are doomed, irrespective of our own depravity or sin. Depravity itself comes not upon us on account of our depravity; nor our death in sin, on account of our previous death in sin. We have been in the habit of supposing that the moral condition in which the posterity of Adam are born is owing solely to his sin, and could not, in the nature of things, have come to pass through their own moral fault. Here then is the great question, upon the issue of which the doctrine of imputation depends. If it can be shown that the present depraved condition of the human family comes to pass, we do not say as a mere consequence, but as a *penal* consequence of Adam's sin, then what is generally understood as the doctrine of imputation is established; otherwise

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it must fall to the ground. But that our degraded condition is the penal effect of Adam's sin, we think, can be so clearly shown from the Scriptures as scarcely to admit of a doubt The meaning of the apostle in Romans v. 12 may be thus expressed: "Wherefore, as by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin, so this sentence of death extended to all men, since the sin of one was the sin of all." But we may safely allow to the philologist all the latitude he can ask in the interpretation of ἐφ' ᾧ πάντες ἥμαρτον. He may say with Augustine, *in whom* all have sinned; or with our own version, *for that* all have sinned; or with Calvin, all have sinned in the sense of all have become corrupt,—"Porro istud peccare est corruptos esse et vitiatos;" yet no art or stratagem can exorcise from the passage, as a whole, its true spirit, nor evade the obvious and prominent fact, that *judgment, penal consequence, condemnation*, come upon all men on the *sole account* of one man's offense. This is plainly taught in each verse from the 14th to the 19th inclusive.

There are very few who are unwilling to admit that the general corruption of the human family has come to pass in *consequence* of Adam's sin. If Calvinists could agree to pause here, they would gain this advantage; Unitarians and Pelagians would harmonize with them in opinion; but the price of this harmony would be the sacrifice of a clear and explicit doctrine of revelation. Hence, whatever diversity of opinion may exist among Calvinists, they have generally concurred in regarding the depraved condition of the human family as a penal consequence of Adam's sin. Calvin himself, while he denies that we are morally guilty of Adam's sin, since his personal guilt pertains not to us,—"Neque id suo unius vitio quod nihil ad nos pertineat," Inst. Lib. ii. chap. 1, 6,—hesitates not to represent the wrath of God as kindled against the whole race on account of the first sin. "Species ipsa peccati in lapsu Adæ consideranda nobis est, quæ horribilem Dei vindicatam accindit in totum humanum genus." Inst. Lib. ii. chap. 1, 4. He will not allow, indeed, that we are subjected to any miseries which are not merited by us on our own account; but then we see the terrible conception which he forms of our doom, when he represents that not only has the punishment of Adam's sin come upon us, but the corruption which makes that punishment personally *deserved*. "Ab illo tamen non sola in nos pœna grassata est, sed instillata ab ipso lues in nobis residet cui jure pœna debitur." Inst. Lib. ii. chap. 1, 8. He every where represents our depravity as conveyed by the natural law of generation; yet he will

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not allow this to be resolved into the necessary effects of any natural law, but ascribes it to a sentence passed upon us in the person of Adam. "Neque enim factum est naturaliter, ut a salute exciderent omnes unius parentis culpâ. * * * Cunctos immortales in unius hominis personâ morti eternæ mancipatos fuisse, Scriptura clamat." Inst. Lib. iii. chap. 23, 7. "The cause of this contagion," he furthermore says, "is neither in the substance of the body nor of the soul; but because it was so ordained of God that the gifts which he had conferred on the first man should be retained or lost for himself, as well as for his posterity." Inst. Book ii. chap. 1, 7. Hence he declares that it is unnecessary even to trouble ourselves with the question, whether the soul is propagated at all or not from the soul of the father. It is enough to know that the ornaments committed to him were lost for himself and for us all. Chap. 1, 7. Turretine also, one of the successors of Calvin as Professor of Theology in the school of Geneva, expresses himself still more explicitly on this point. He opposed the doctrine which represents imputation as consequent upon our depravity, and which required us to be treated as sinners only so far as our own personal and moral deserts constituted us such; but he advocated that *direct and immediate* imputation which is *antecedent* to depravity and all personal ill-desert on our part, and which caused us to be involved in the same sentence which was pronounced on Adam. He refers to many passages in the writings of his predecessors, Calvin and Beza, to show that they concur with him in opinion. Loc. 9, 6, 41. So far, therefore, from resolving our depravity into the necessary effects of a natural law, he thinks it can be accounted for only on the principle of direct and immediate imputation, and he regards this as the chief ground on which the justice of that divine dispensation can be vindicated which permits depravity to be propagated from parents to children. He says, Loc. 9, 21, "Qua negata imputatione immediata primi peccati, præcipuum fundamentum justitiæ propagationis peccati tollitur. Nec sufficiens ratio reddi potest cur Deus labem illam hæreditariam et inhærentem voluerit a parentibus transmitti ad posteros." Pictet, another of Calvin's successors, expresses himself to the same effect. He maintains that to permit this corruption to pass from parents to children is to inflict a punishment. Now punishment, he says, implies sin; but when corruption is first conveyed to children they are without sin, hence this can be only on account of *imputed* sin. He says—we quote from the French edition of works,

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Liv. vi. 6: "Certainement si le péché d'Adam n'avoit point été imputé à ses décendans, on ne sauroit rendre raison, pourquoy Dieu a permis, que la corruption qui a été en Adam la suite de ce premier péché soit passée à sa postérité."

We have given, with some care, the language of these distinguished theologians, not because their opinions are authoritative, but because their testimony will be considered, by those who belong to the Calvinistic school, as decisive in regard to the true Calvinistic doctrine. It is most of all important, however, to ascertain and teach the simple truth of the Bible. And we cannot but feel that the Scriptural fact is but partially stated when we say merely that our depravity is *in some way* the consequence of Adam's sin. To pause here may tend to conciliate and to put an end to controversy, but even for a result so desirable as this, we are not at liberty to sacrifice any part of the teachings of divine revelation. The same Scriptures which represent the ruined condition of the human family as the consequence of Adam's sin, teach, with equal explicitness, that it is the *penal* consequence of his sin; which is by far the most important and instructive element in this great fact. It is unnecessary so to state this doctrine, as to imply that God himself is the author of our depravity, or that he infused the virus of sin as a positive infliction. We do not see that modern science has been able to devise more felicitous forms of expression for conveying the doctrine of the Scriptures than those employed in the Shorter Catechism and the Westminster Confession. "The sinfulness of that estate whereinto man fell consists in the guilt of Adam's first sin, the want of original righteousness, and the corruption of his whole nature, which is commonly called original sin, together with all actual transgressions which proceed from it. * * * They [our first parents] being the root of all mankind, the guilt of this sin was imputed, and the same death in sin and corrupted nature conveyed to all their posterity, descending from them by ordinary generation."

We surely have enough in the Scriptures to reconcile us to the principle of representation in the human family, since, though it has been the means of entailing misery through Adam, it has also secured to us the greatest conceivable blessings through Jesus Christ. Not only so, if this principle is properly studied, it is undoubtedly adapted to disclose to us exalted and noble views of the dignity of man. It concedes to us something more than a mere existence as separate and floating atoms in the universe of God; it exalts us above the condition of animals, held together by no higher than a mere

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gregarious instinct; it makes us a community, a family, and each individual is constituted a member of a great and universal brotherhood, in which it may be said, in a peculiar sense, no man liveth to himself and no man dieth to himself, but where the acts of one may affect, for good or evil, the interests of the whole. In accordance with these views Olshausen, in his commentary on Rom. v. 12–17, very justly remarks that there are only two stand-points known to antiquity, from which this passage can be viewed, the Augustinian and Pelagian; that the two theories thence resulting differ so entirely from each other on every great problem, that they scarcely admit of any comparison; that they are like parallel lines running side by side, but never meeting. The Pelagian theory, whether it be pure or semi-Pelagianism, can see nothing in humanity but a collection of individuals, each free, intelligent, and independent; in virtue as in sin, each stands or falls for himself. The Augustinian theory, on the other hand, sees in humanity a closely connected totality, where individuals are by no means separate and independent wholes, but each is an integral part of this totality. In this connection he subjoins a note, which is so full of useful suggestion that we have ventured to translate it for our readers.*

We shall be unable to devote to the remaining topics the attention they deserve. In relation to the subject of the atonement, we need only say, that it finds in these volumes a very able discussion. There is scarcely another subject which the

* Whether we attribute the fall to individuals in this world, or in a previous state of existence, as Origen, is all the same in principle; according to this theory, each individual always stands or falls for himself. Compare, in reference to this, the excellent remarks of my honored colleague, Professor Stahl, in his Philosophy of Right, vol. II., part 1, (Heidelberg, 1833,) p. 99, where it is said: "Adam is the original material of humanity; Christ, its archetype in God; both personally living. In them humanity is one; on this account Adam's sin became sin for all, Christ's offering an expiation for all. Each leaf of a tree can be green or wither for itself, but each suffers through the disease of the root, and recovers through its healing. The more superficial a man is, the more every thing will appear to him as isolated; for on the surface all things lie disconnected with each other. He will in humanity, in the nation, nay, in the family itself, see only individuals among whom the act of one has no connection with the act of another. The more profound a man is, the more conscious he becomes of those internal relations which spring from a central point of unity. Nay, the love of our neighbor itself is nothing else than the deep feeling of this unity; for we love only him with whom we can feel and know ourselves to be one. What the Christian love of our neighbor is for the heart, that this unity of the race is for the understanding. Is sin through one and redemption through one impossible, then is the command to love our neighbor incomprehensible. Christian morality and Christian faith are, therefore, indissolubly bound together. Christianity effects in the history of human progress an advance similar to that from the animal kingdom to man, by a revelation of the substantial oneness of men, the consciousness of which was lost in the sundering of nations in ancient times." Very true; it is not till man comes to God in Christ that he comes truly to himself; without Christ he remains in the condition of animal life.

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author has approached which he has treated in a manner more truly Biblical. He very properly abstains from attempting any theory of the atonement, but he so presents the facts of the Scriptures as to give us, after all, the best theory. He leaves no room to doubt that Christ was our substitute; that his sufferings and death were truly vicarious; that they rendered such a satisfaction to Divine justice that God can be just in extending pardon to the penitent believer in Jesus Christ; that the great end designed to be accomplished by the atonement was the salvation of God's chosen people; yet that it lays the foundation for the merciful and sincere offer of the gospel to all men, so that whosoever believes in Jesus Christ may have the assurance of eternal life.

We would also commend to special consideration the views expressed in relation to the office-work of the Holy Spirit. That theory of regeneration which represents it as the mere effect of truth, the result of moral suasion or of human discipline, finds no favor in these volumes.

It was our design to give some attention to the Lectures on Infant Baptism contained in the works of Dr. Woods, but as our remarks have already exceeded the limits which we had prescribed for them, and especially as an article upon that subject exclusively has been prepared for the pages of this Review, by another hand, we drop the purpose altogether.

In closing this article, we are conscious of some feelings of regret that we have felt it necessary to take the least exception to any of the author's views. Dr. Woods is too well known, however, for any one to receive the impression that he is an unsafe writer, or that his works are to be read only with caution. We surely have no such feeling. The suggestions we have made have been prompted by the dictates of candor. Criticism which aims merely to eulogize can be neither discriminating nor useful nor just. Besides, it is an excellency which belongs only to writings of the highest order, that even their own small defects are made the more visible by the very illumination which they bring with them. In our search for truth, we may not be willing to follow our guide in every respect, since the light from his own torch sometimes reveals to us a better way.

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Art. V.—LINCOLN'S HORACE.

The Works of Horace, with English Notes, for the use of Schools and Colleges. By J. L. Lincoln, Professor of the Latin Language and Literature in Brown University. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1851.

Was it on some bright morning when the great city was just awaking to the cares and pleasures of a new day? Was it at panting noon, when the sunbeams fall fiercely upon the slopes of the Campagna, and the scorched eye turns with longing to the mountain-tops and the sea for a sign of breeze or shower? Or was it not rather in that calmer hour which sinks into the heart as it sinks over the landscape, with dews and silence and soothing emotions? There is no record to tell us, and yet how we would wish to know! Some great man may have been going out to his villa,—Pompey perhaps, musing on the last news from Gaul and Cæsar, or Cicero with the Pro Milone or the first outline of the De Finibus in his head. A prætor or a proconsul was setting forth for his province, with freedmen and slaves and stately treading soldiers in his train. Then, too, there were the crowds of comers as well as of goers, welcomes as well as adieus, merchants and soldiers, travellers and ambassadors, patricians and plebeians, wild beasts for the amphitheatre and Eastern perfumes for the toilet, and all those varieties of face and form and array, which must have made the old Appian of that day what it can never be again.

Among them was an old man with a little boy by his side, wending his way onward towards the city with the air of a traveller who is glad to be near his journey's end. The father, with marks of labor and thought on his brow; but the son, a ruddy little fellow, with black hair and black, roguish eyes, and a world of fun in his smile. Did any body pause to give them place, or gaze at them as they rode by? The elephant driver, perhaps, may have laughed at the half-terrified, half-wondering stare of the boy, or a freedman from the proconsul's train have looked down with contempt, as he recognized the homely badge of his order on brows less lordly than his own. But proconsul and prætor, and even the far-seeing Cicero himself, passed on without heeding the humble chariot and its humbler burthen. And now what name rises

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to our lips as we catch our first glimpse of the Eternal City? What eye seems to rest with ours on the long-drawn wave of Soracte, and greet us with a familiar glance from the olive shades of Tibur? Whose spirit hovers over the landscape and blends with the sunbeam, calls up the Naiad from the fountain, mysterious voices from the crumbling ruin, and sheds over the stern realities of the present the soft and soothing hues of the past?

Go boldly on, humble chariot, with thy humble burthen! Little do ye know, proud gates, for whom ye now turn on your ponderous hinges! In a few days we shall meet them again, father and son, in the *Via Sacra*, and there you will find them daily on their way home or to school. Sometimes the little fellow will stop and stare about him, will want to know what all those beaks around the rostrum mean, and what Duilius did to have his name cut in such clear letters on that triumphal column.* Cicero is going to address the people from that semi-circular pulpit at the foot of the Temple of Concord; do let us stop and hear him. And then again he will walk hastily on by column and shrine, telling what a hard lesson he had learnt in his Livius Andronicus, and how glad he had been to get back to Homer. And gradually as time glides on, the boyish form expands to the fuller proportions of manhood, and though his eye still gleams, and smiles spring spontaneously to his lips, there will be a cast of meditation about both lip and eye, to tell that many a bold thought and noble aspiration has already taken root in his mind.

Come now to Athens. Did he go round by water? Was it then that he first saw the heaving of the turgid sea, and thought that the eye which had looked unmoistened on its swimming monsters would fear no form of death? Did he gaze long at Themistocles' tomb and battle-scene, or did his eye dwell with deeper yearning on Sunium and its thousand memories of Plato? How did he feel when he first listened at twilight to the murmurs of the Cephissus, or saw the shadows fall with lengthening bars from the palm groves of the Academy? How did Homer look to him with living Greece for his commentator, and Pindar and Alcæus and Anacreon under their own bright sky? There were many other young Romans there too. Were they all hiving wisdom as thoughtfully as he? Did any of them condescend to make a friend of the freedman's son? Was there any one of them whom he envied for his birth or rank? Young Cicero per-

* The column is gone, but the base with the inscription is still to be seen in the court of the Palace of the Conservatori at the Capitol.

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haps, for he must have felt what an immortality there was in that name. And then, too, Marcus was a good fellow; a little wild, a little careless, somewhat too contented in the shade of his father's laurels to care much about enriching them with any of his own, but withal a good fellow in the main, and he and Horace must have been friends. We will not listen to any skepticism upon the matter—they must have been friends.

"Just see, now, what that good father of mine has been sending me," he exclaims one evening, half vexed, and yet with something like a burst of filial pride, as Horace enters his study. "Only see what a gentle rap the old gentleman has been preparing for my knuckles." It was in the evening, we are sure of it,—one of those evenings with long twilights, into which day seems to melt like a cloud into space, leaving you thoughtful and calm, and with the heart so alive to all good impressions. Young Marcus was stretched lazily on his couch, a table beside him, and on it an open box of scented wood just large enough to hold the three rolls of parchment which seemed to form the subject of his meditations, and one of which he had evidently been reading. "De Officiis," exclaimed Horace, as he took the roll from his hand, "De Officiis, and in Latin! Philosophy speaking Latin, idque Athenis! How gloriously these sentences roll on—look out for yourself, Plato! Græcarum literarum rudes—shall we always be dependent on Greece? Legendis nostris efficiis pleniorem. And why philosophy only?" And down he sinks upon his seat, his right hand still grasping the scarce opened scroll, the left dropping by his side into the deepening folds of the toga, and his head slightly bent forward as if to follow the direction of the eye, which is riveted with all the fervor of its deep, full orbs on the rich mosaic at his feet. And now a gleam of triumph flashes over his face, and his eye glows with intenser fervor. Pindar and Alcæus, and the delicate form of Sappho, and the sunny old Anacreon are with him; strange, indefinite figures and indistinct visions flit before his raptured gaze; uncreated melodies float around him; far down in the mysterious future eddies and whirls the engulphing torrent, wide strown with fragments of empires and thrones, and even his own dear Rome itself, while high above it, rooted on adamantine crags, rises a golden shrine, where, amid the laurel wreaths of centuries and roses still fresh from the stem, gleam out in characters of living light, the names of those great masters of song at whose feet he had sat so reverently; and ever bright and foremost among them that name which he had vowed from his childhood to inscribe where time and tempest should be vain.

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Philippi comes next; not the most brilliant scene of the youthful poet's life, some learned men have said, and yet in spite of the "celerem fugam," we cannot help believing that the case was not quite so bad after all as it has been made out. Demosthenes, it is true, did something of the same sort, but then we have the testimony of stout old Cervantes,* that there are no better soldiers than those that pass from the study to the camp. Cicero's soldiers may have been a little given to flattery, for aught that we know to the contrary,—the air of Asia Minor is said to be singular in some of its effects,—but they certainly did salute him after a well-fought battle with the appellation of Imperator, and both Cato and Cæsar acknowledged the title.† Dante fought at Campaldino just as he wrote in the Inferno, like a stern, daring fellow as he was; and a couple of hundred years ago every boy in Ferrara would have told you that Tasso's sword was as good as his pen. No, no! the man who could look as calmly on life as Horace did, was never afraid of a battle-field in such a cause.

And now that the republic is fallen, how shall a freedman's son and ex-tribune of the republican army make his way at Rome? How did the Imperial city look as he again descended the long slope of the Alban Mount, winding his way through vineyards, and olive orchards, and villas, and monuments, towards the gate which a few years before had received him an artless boy? How natural the mountains must have seemed; how grand the whole landscape; how welcome that mass of porticoes and towers and columns; with what a familiar sound must the vast hum of the innumerable multitude have fallen upon his ear! But was there any one to bid him welcome, or came he again as a stranger? Were there any misgivings in that stout heart, or did he look boldly forward, ready to bear whatever might come, and flee all anxious searchings about the morrow? We should like to have seen him on his first visit to the Forum. Where was that voice, which, even to us who never listened to its thrilling tones, still seems to float around it like sunbeams on a ruin; where those noble forms which had made it so like a temple of the gods? Silent, alas, for ever! mouldering in distant lands, and Roman

* So he says, at least, in the Persiles and Sigismunda, his last work. "No hay mejores soldados, que los que se transplantan de la tierra de los estudios en los campos de la guerra; ninguno salió de estudiante para soldado, que no lo fuese por estremo." Lib. iii. c. 10.

† Imperatores appellati sumus, says the new Imperator to Atticus, in that exquisite specimen of the way in which an absent friend should tell another what he has been doing, which we find, Lib. v. ep. 20. He uses the title himself in various places, but to modern eyes it seems somewhat strange to read C. Cæsar Imp., M. T. Ciceroni Imperatori; or, M. Cato, M. T. C. Imp. S. P. D., etc.

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freedom with them! Oh, sad, sad indeed, must have been his first walk along the Sacred Way!

But there is no time for vain lamentation; he has the world before him, and his way to make. What in the name of Apollo made him think of turning Quæstor's clerk? Barthélemi tells us of a director of the cabinet of medals, where the young Provençal had entered as assistant, who used to insist vigorously upon every *i*'s having its dot. "Only think," says the lively antiquarian,* "what a thing to ask of me, who full half the time forget the *i* itself." How was it with Horace? There was a vast deal of practical wisdom about him, nobody can deny that; but we cannot help suspecting that he was heartily glad, to say the least, when the day's work was over, and he could get back to his Homer or lounge down his favorite Via Sacra. The first time you go to Rome, kind reader, do not forget the Temple of Saturn. You will find it just at the foot of the Capitoline Hill, on your left, if you come down the Tarpeian side, and only a few paces from the Temple of Vespasian. It may not be just as Horace left it. Fire, and pickaxe, and time, the surest destroyer of them all, have made sad work with this sanctuary of the father of the father of the gods. But still there is a portico left, and vaults, and the outline of the ground plan; materials enough for fancy to work upon, particularly if you see it by twilight. At its side is the Tabularium, where Horace may now and then have run over to chat a moment with a brother clerk or take a look at the archives, and between them the shrines of the *Deorum Consentium*, with their twelve statues of gold. Take your Horace with you, (if Appleton would only have it pressed a little more, Lincoln's edition would be just the thing,) take your Horace with you, and sit down in the shadow of those columns and look down on those stones which his feet have trodden so often, (for the *Via Sacra* passes just below, and the pavement looks as though it had never been changed;) let Cicero's voice sweep over on the evening wind from the Temple of Concord, and Virgil and Lucan and Tacitus and Livy and all those kings of thought pass before your expanding mind; and then ask yourself whose work was the surest, the men's who won by sword or traffic, it matters little which, the means of building these monuments, or those who have shed such a halo around them as to make us treasure up the meanest fragment which their hands or their feet may have touched, as we would

* Barthélemi's autobiogarphy is a very lively picture of a very interesting man, who could illustrate medals and decipher inscriptions by the year without forgetting, dulce est desipere in loco.

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treasure a flower or a shrub or even a blade of grass from a father's grave.

Where did he get his first sight of Virgil? At the Esqueline, perhaps, just after he had read the Silenus. That silent vineyard does not look now as if it could once have been the pride of Rome; and yet there it was that Mæcenas had laid out his gardens, and called Virgil first and afterwards Horace himself to live near him. And there Horace and Virgil soon meet as friends, and Varius with them. Many a pleasant hour must they have passed together, enjoying poetry and philosophy and good hearty fun, with true Italian zest. A little country excursion too now and then, a foretaste of the Sabine farm. Goldsmith used to sigh for them, and for want of something better, after a good morning's work, he would roam out into the suburbs of London and call it a shoemaker's holiday. The modern Romans understand them well, and call them *vignate*. If you don't know Italian, gentle reader, we will tell you what this means. You fix upon some day, summer or autumn, it matters little which, and even in spring, they are worth going to Rome for, if the flowers are in bloom and the leaves full enough to shade you. Get every thing ready over night, so as to have nothing to do in the morning but to dress and start. The sun loves to rise clear over the Sabine mountains, and you can count his footsteps long before he appears by the brightening hues that flush the mountain peaks and glow in the eastern sky. All below you is silent and dim. Solid masses of white clouds, the condensed vapors of the night, hang low over the Campagna, sometimes as motionless as a mountain lake, and then again swaying to and fro like a deep heaving sea. The air is cool even to chilliness, but rich with all the odors that the night dews have drawn forth from herb and flower, and the voices of the birds gush through it, as springs gush forth to the light. And now he comes, a gleaming ring at first, on the crest of the mountain, which trembles at his touch, and then you must shade your eyes as he darts upwards, pouring forth his light in torrents that sweep cloud and mist before them, dazzling and blinding you by their glare. But though you can no longer look at him, you can still measure his upward path by the beams as they strike the lower peaks, and the flood of light that bathes the upper slopes, and the shadows darkening and deepening and gradually shrinking at his approach, and the shriller notes of the birds, and the burst of joy from every living thing, and the sweeter smile of Nature herself, and the swelling of your own heart, which beats in thrilling sympathy with this morn-

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ing hymn. Alas! that these pulsations should so often be checked by an icy hand, and the shadows return and close around you, and deepen into darkness, that no sunbeam can ever dispel.

But we are forgetting our vignata. On we go, merrily chatting by the way, stopping every now and then to pluck a flower, or watch some happy bird as he darts to and fro, and then lights and sings a moment, and then whirrs away again, as if he were so full of joy that it needed both wings and throat to tell it all. And we too are dreaming of joy, a joyous day, the things that we will say and the things that we will do; and man even has something of the bird about him when he can look forward. The vineyard gate is open. It is a great day for the peasant also, and he has swept out your rooms and opened the windows betimes to let the fresh air breathe through them, and set out a table for you under the vine-walk; and here he stands smiling at the gate, and his rosy little daughter peeping out from behind him and smiling too. She has made a nosegay for you, and got up an hour before her time to choose the sweetest flowers and arrange the colors aright. Our walk has given us an appetite, and we march straightforward to the table. What shall we have for breakfast? It shall be September, and we will have grapes and figs, and a slice or two of Roman bacon. Do not be startled, reader, it is the very thing you want; only try it once, and you will learn to like it as well as we do. The figs shall be put on a leaf from their native tree, and the grapes on another, and both shall be cool and sparkling with dew. And while you eat, the peasant gives you the history of the vineyard since the last time you were there, and his little daughter comes and stands behind the vine-leaves to listen, and blushes and smiles, and sometimes too will sigh, if you ask her about her sweet-heart.

And next, how shall we pass the morning? Shall we ride? Shall we walk over to some other vineyard, or shall we make an exploring expedition into the Campagna? No; it is so pleasant here that we will stay where we are, and walk under the arbors and among the vines; we will look out upon the mountains; the birds shall sing to us from the tree-tops and hedges, and by-and-by the wind shall come rustling through the leaves and join the concert. And we will talk of Nature and her soothing influences; of man and life and duty; of the insects that hum by us, and the flowers that bend at our touch; of the distant and the dead; of the dim past and the mysterious future: there is always so much to talk about on such a day

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and in such a spot as this. We will read, too. Tasso shall tell us the sweet tale of Aminta, or Ariosto paint again the true-hearted Isabella, or Francesca call forth new tears to moisten the dark page of the Commedia. Perhaps, too, some little brook may run murmuring through the vineyard and carry us back to the *chiare fresche e dolci acque;* and then Petrarca and Chiabrera will fill the hour with the pangs and the transports of love. Before you are aware of it, the day is nearly gone, and you still have your dinner to eat, which, with music and dance, and pleasant converse and rosy wine, (and the Italians, you remember, seldom overleap the gifts of moderate Bacchus,) runs deep into the afternoon, leaving you silence and twilight for your companions home. And, oh! how welcome is a twilight walk at the close of such a day! a day well spent, a day snatched from the headlong current, to be filled with kindly thoughts, with gentle influences, with a healing and purifying and strengthening power; to sink into the heart like summer rain, and call forth all those deeper sympathies and nobler aspirations, which wither and droop and die in the dusty thoroughfares of life.

Horace, no doubt, passed many such a day, crowned with simple myrtle, with Homer or Anacreon, or perhaps some new piece of his own or of his companions to read; and what glorious companions Virgil and Varius must have been. But soon the doors of the great are opened to him; the rich man seeks out the poor freedman's son, and receives him into his intimacy. How sweetly the time flowed on, with friendship and poetry to shed their sunbeams on its current. Nobody ever felt more keenly than Horace what a blessing friendship is. For him it was a second life, a reduplication of his own existence, the only way of developing all those elements of happiness and good, which nature had implanted in his heart. The Romans knew but little of love as we know it; and that exhaustless spring of all pure and great things which wells forth with such deep melodies in the sunshine of home, was almost a sealed fountain for them. And therefore friendship was taught to take its place, and meet, as far as any substitute can do it, that irrepressible instinct of every genial nature. You feel that there is no exaggeration in Horace's devotion to his friends. His whole life shows how firmly he had grappled them to his soul. They were the half of it, for whose preservation he offered up the most fervent prayers and invocations, nor knew either shame or measure to his yearnings after them when gone. No wonder that Mæcenas loved him so.

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What a happy day it was for him when he was made master of the Sabine farm, that home of his longing, that little sanctuary amid the mountains, where he could watch the expanding leaf, and listen to the struggling brook, and slake his thirst at the fountain, and feel that fountain, brook, and leaf were all his own. And then he had always loved the mountains so. Did any body ever live in Italy and not love them? They meet you there at your first step, on the very threshold of the peninsula, and it is only through their dark ravines and over their precipitous crags that you can gain access to this garden of nature. From the plains of Lombardy you may trace their long line as far as eye can reach, swelling darkly upward towards the sky, with here and there a bolder peak, that gleams high above its fellows in its mantle of perpetual snow, while around its shaggy sides and broken base the very shadows seem like forests. On the Appenines they lead you through green and silent valleys, over slopes shaded by the vine and the olive, which, gradually disappearing as you ascend, leave you to the cold fir and the ocean murmur of the pine. Suddenly the scene changes. The road turns to the heart of the mountain, passing under the branches of old forests and the shattered walls of some feudal castle well known in tradition and song; while some torrent, chilled and swollen by the snows that have just mingled with its waters, brawls beside your path and calls forth a thousand echoes from the crags. As you wind along the bottom of the dell, the precipices seem to draw nearer and nearer to each other, shutting you in on every side, above and below, behind and before, beetling over your head and casting their wild shadows at your feet. Another turn, and they open their broad arms like the unfolding of a mantle, receding at each step with a gentle yet fuller expansion, till a valley or a plain, with olive orchards and vineyards and hamlets and flocks and herds, lies spread, as it were by magic, before you. A weight seems lifted from your soul; the very blood flows quicker in your veins; it is as when the sun comes out at the noon of a tempestuous day; you cannot describe, much less define what you feel, but you would spring down the descent with a bound, and shout till every peak and crag re-echoed with your voice.

But the suggestive character of Italian scenery is nowhere felt so deeply as in those scenes in which the mountains are united in one landscape with the sea and the plain. The feelings awakened by the contemplation of the sea and of an extensive plain are in one respect similar, for they both

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derive their strength from that powerful but indefinite sensation which is excited by the perception of immensity. Yet how different they are in their details. The sky spans and overarches the sea as it does the plain. The sight knows no bound but the airy line where the blue of heaven and ocean meet. Immensity, boundless, unfathomable space; for as the heavens rise above, the waters roll beneath, and what human organs can measure or assign limits to their extent? The succession of the waves itself has nothing monotonous in it. They comb and break upon the shore at your feet, and afar off some gigantic billow heaves its vast bulk above the level of the main, and swells misty and indistinct on the blue line of the horizon. And as you gaze upon them, it is not merely in the immensity that your mind is lost; but you think too of the thousands that lie buried beneath those depths, of the terrific awakening of the resistless element. And if your own fate has led you over that pathless space; if from day to day you have seen the sun rising from the wave to return to it again; if you have studied the clouds that girded his pillow, to trace in their folds the coming calm or breeze or tempest, how will your thoughts fly to the solitary ship, which, while you stand in security on the shore, has felt, though far beyond the reach of your vision, the dash of the same billow that breaks idly at your feet, the impulse of the same gale that fans your brow.

From the plain not a sound arises. Smoke curls afar off; a tree traces its flexile lines upon the sky; perhaps, too, the hut of a shepherd; and there is a distant movement, you know not whether of human beings or of the tall grass bending to the wind. And when the stars come forth from their blue dwellings and look down upon you so kindly, you turn to them with an instinctive affection, a swelling of the heart, to think that they and you are works of the same hand. Others too from this breathing plain are looking on them, and rejoicing in their gaze. And your thoughts follow them all to their homes; to the shepherd, as he stretches himself by his fold, and blessing them once more for their soothing beams, closes his wearied lids; to the hamlet or the vineyard, where the voice of mirth rises light and pure on the dewy air. And what matters it that your lots run not together; that ye know not one another with the knowledge and the ties of man? The same sky bends over you all, and the same stars that shed their light on your festivity will shine on your graves.

But it is in the presence of the mountains, that man holds the highest and most ennobling communion with nature.

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They rise in stern and solemn majesty, lifting their hoary peaks above the clouds, and our thoughts and our hopes rise with them. Soaring silently upward, the line where the atmosphere rests upon their summits seems a consecrated spot, set apart for purer thoughts and holy musings. What a rapture to stand there, with the world and the clouds beneath, and no sound around you but the solemn voices of the air, to gaze upon the sun at mid-day, on the soft light of the moon, on the sweet, familiar faces of the stars! Every thing else seems so changeable, so much like man himself. The plain is ploughed, and the harvest is garnered thereon; even the ocean becomes the pathway and the minister of man: but those peaks that tower on high, those walls that rest on granite masses or have been piled up by volcanoes, are the dwelling-place and the throne of Nature herself. For ages, the storm has beat and the sun has shone upon them; cities, generations, nations, have bloomed and faded at their feet, and still they stand, the same for you as for your fathers, and the same when your remotest lineage shall be no more.

But we are wandering far enough from Horace. Forgive us, kind reader. There is something in the genial bard which carries us back, in spite of ourselves, to the scenes that he loved so well; and we never yet could look down from Tibur on the Campagna and the Mediterranean, or turn to gaze on that stern mountain chain which fills up so large a portion of the picture, without thinking how often and how fondly he had looked upon them too. His last years were passed amid these wondrous scenes; and wondrous and lovely too, as they are, there is not one of them, from sunny slope to mountain vale, that does not look more lovely for our remembrance of him. If you would enjoy Italy aright, store your mind with classic recollections. Let the poets be your guide-book, and the landscape your interpreter. Let the wind come laden with familiar voices. Let the sunny vale recall some sunnier ode. Let the sweet music of the rivulet mingle with some melodious verse, and fragrant thoughts will spring up in your memory, as the flowers spring up on its banks. Then you will feel, as you never felt before, how intimate the connection is between thought and imagery; why the ancients painted nature as they did, in outline, rather than in detail; how those three or four lines can fill the mind as completely as a crowded canvas; and why they loved to look and feel, rather than analyze and describe.

It is easy to conceive how happily his last years must have glided by him in scenes like these. The daily enjoyment of

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society that he loved, and the frequent communing with Nature, had given him a keener relish for life, without wedding him to it; and he would seem to have followed for himself the rule which he has taught so well, of making the most of the present without seeking to pry with a fatal curiosity into things which lay beyond his control. We love to dwell upon the last years of his life. It is so pleasant to think that those who have contributed so much to our happiness were happy themselves. We love to think of his death, too, for it came when life had lost its charms. Virgil had gone before him, and now Mæcenas was taken too, and why should he remain? He had enjoyed much; he had obtained all that he had ever asked for, friendship and fame, and the calm pleasures of the golden mean. There is but little room for physical suffering in cases like these, and death never seems less terrible than when it begins with the heart. There is many a beautiful association with the Esquiline, but none so beautiful as that of the great men who chose it for their dwelling-place and their grave. We can barely guess where Horace's house may have stood; we know nothing about his grave. But no matter. His ashes have mingled with that dust and made it sacred. They have consecrated the whole hill, and given a laurel freshness to every vine and shrub. His genial spirit lingers around it with cheering and soothing and strengthening suggestions. It is so pleasant to think that such men have lived! so elevating to feel that there are ties which neither time nor death can sever.

When we first took up our pen, it was our firm intention to enter at once into a critical examination of the volume before us. But there is a fascination in the name of Horace which we have never been able to resist, and thus we have been led off into all these aberrations, for which we will now humbly entreat the reader's pardon, and go back to our work. And in the first place, we were exceedingly glad to see this edition, because we believe that it was very much wanted. There is no author who repays you more richly for patient study, and none who stands more in need of judicious commentation. In this respect, the editions which are commonly used in our schools seem to us to be singularly defective. They are the productions of learned men, but they do not give the student the kind of assistance that he requires. Every study has a two-fold object, knowledge and discipline. We wish to learn all that there is to learn about the subject that we are studying, and we wish to learn it in such a way as to make the learning of other things easier, and the appli-

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cation of our knowledge effective. When the new stock has been added to our treasure, we wish to feel that it has brought us something besides facts with it. We would wish to feel stronger and wiser, to look around us more intelligently, with clearer perceptions and broader views, and the consciousness that our grasp is firmer and more tenacious than before. Not but what there is a charm, an indescribable charm, in knowledge itself, and happy hours in tracing the thoughts of others. But to enjoy them as we ought, we must feel that we too know how to think, that we have a standard in our own minds by which we can test thought, and one which we know how to use. Now this is the work of discipline, the primary object of all our early studies, and the result of knowledge properly acquired.

Suppose, then, that with these views, you enter upon the study of an ancient classic, and, to come directly to the point, let that classic be Horace. You say to yourself, beforehand: "This is an author whom I wish to study, and to study in such a way as to be able to say, when my task is done, that I understand him well, and shall henceforth read every other poet more understandingly for the way in which I have read him. In the first place, there is the language, with its peculiarities of form and construction, and I would wish to know which of them belong to the author and which to the subject; what materials he had to begin with, and what he was obliged to engraft from his Grecian models on the native tree. Then there are the various styles, the grave and the gay, the simple and the rich, the playful and the biting, the pleasing description and the passionate outpouring of feeling, epistle, satire and ode; all these, too, I must learn to discriminate, and tell what belongs to each. There are his thoughts also, which, first of all, I must interpret correctly, and tell which of them paint the man and which the times; which were true only when they were written, and which will be true for ever. There is his imagery, the true key to a poet's habits of observation and thought, which will show you at once whether he painted things as he saw them, or drew from his fancy; looked with his own eyes, or with the eyes of other men. There is his verse, which will tell you whether he wrote from the music that was in his soul, or merely tortured words into prosodaic submission. And lastly, there are allusions innumerable, to manners and customs, and traditions and history, and opinions and men, all of which I must try to understand or give up understanding

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my author. Now what part of this must I do for myself, and what must my editor do for me?"

If you have studied your grammar well, you ought to be familiar with all that belongs to the general language, and would hardly thank a man for telling you which verb requires a genitive and which a dative, or any thing else that you could find out for yourself by a few minutes' reflection. But if you meet a form which you cannot account for by any common rule, or which might lead to a different interpretation if you were to construe it differently, you would think that your editor had forgotten his own school-days, if he should leave you to grope through it in the dark. Neither would you feel that you ought to be left altogether to yourself for divining the peculiarities of the author's language and style. Horace is fond of Hellenisms, and many of them are given in the grammar; but then, again, there are some where a few words from the editor would help you wonderfully. His construction is simple, though elaborate. He uses words with a curious felicity. If your attention is drawn to these points by an occasional remark, you will naturally follow out the inquiry yourself, and feel what a pleasing and instructive one it is. But then, again, there is something for the teacher to do in the class-room; and there is a great deal in style, too, which addresses itself to the ear, and which nothing but repeated reading can make you feel. This is the case, in part, with those diversities of manner which distinguish, or ought to distinguish, different kinds of composition. Your ear must distinguish the grave march, the elastic spring, and the familiar flow, or nothing will ever do it for you. We were talking once with Thorwaldsen about harmony of proportions, and expressing our admiration for his singular perception of it. "I cannot tell you why it is so," said the great old man, "but a false proportion makes precisely the same impression upon me as a false note in music." And so it must be in style and verse: you must read again and again, and never suffer yourself to grow weary in reading, till your ear has learnt to tell you at once what is right and what is wrong. Nothing in Horace is more beautiful than the imagery by which he illustrates or embellishes a thought, and the truth, in most cases, of the thought itself. He looked upon nature with an exquisite feeling for all her aspects, and on man with a keen perception of his weakness, and an expansive sympathy for his pleasures and hopes. There is so much truth in what he says, that hundreds have been proud to repeat it after him, and hundreds, too, have been led by it to thoughts

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that they would never, perhaps, have hit upon without him. Then, again, there are many things that similar circumstances might naturally have suggested to a man who had never read Horace, if such an unhappy phenomenon could be found. Now, to trace these out through the different forms which they have assumed in different literatures and different ages, is one of the most delightful of tasks, and the editor who should neglect to put you upon the track by a few apposite examples, would neglect a very important part of his duty. Among the allusions, there are many which a single line will explain sufficiently, and time be gained thereby for greater difficulties. There are others, which involve important questions of history, or geography, or mythology, all of which are, or ought to be, answered in the classical dictionary. To encumber your notes with the answers, or introduce long extracts from a book that ought to be at every student's elbow, is a very easy way of making a book, but a very bad one for making a scholar. In all these things, the editor's duty is clear enough: he must do for the student every thing that the student cannot reasonably be expected to do for himself. He must remove the obstacles that would discourage him, explain the difficulties which he has not the strength to grapple with, direct his attention from time to time to characteristic thoughts and forms, so as to accustom him to be on the look-out for them himself, and train him, from the beginning, to feel that every thing may be studied from many different points of view, and that he must learn to study them all if he would study aright.

Therefore, a great deal must be left to the student, and not a little to the teacher. It is in the recitation-room that the ground-plan must be enlarged and the work verified. A recitation in a classic should be a critical examination of the text and an expansion of the commentary. No real teacher will ever thank an editor for doing all his work to his hands, and leaving him nothing to his share but to see whether the parrot can repeat his phrase. He will want to get hold of the minds of his pupils, by making them feel his own, and keep up their attention by directing it to its proper objects. There is no duller place than a recitation-room where nothing is called in play but the memory; and none more hopeful than that to which the student brings a daily tribute of earnest labor, and carries away the materials and the desire for more.

And for the very same reason, we object to the filling up your notes with translations. This is the student's work and

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not the translator's, and you are depriving him of one of the most precious results of classic study if you do it for him. Explain the real difficulties of construction, illustrate the passages which difference of manners or any other cause renders obscure, help him now and then to a choice word or appropriate expression which you have gleaned from your own reading, and which, limited as his must yet be, he would be unlikely to find; but if you want to make a scholar of him, never think of translating. Why should you, when one of the objects of his study is to get a clearer insight into his own language, and there is no exercise like this for leading him right into the heart and genius of it? Not your anatomical translations, word for word, from the dictionary, and just as they stand, giving you about as just an idea of the original as a skeleton does of a man. None of your slipshod paraphrases either, three words to one, and each carrying you ten steps further from your text—a kind of a tallow-candle illumination of a grotto that only asks for a single sunbeam to blind you by its brilliancy. These are not translations, but perversions—the work of a traitor instead of a translator, as the Italian proverb has it. But a cautious, elaborate, exact rendering into your own tongue of every word and form for which you can find an equivalent, preserving studiously the characteristics of the author, and yet constructed so naturally, with such freedom and grace, as to be neither harsh nor obscure to those who are unable to read the original. One year of such translations, oral and on paper, tying the student down to a model which he cannot choose but copy, and leaving him none of those get-offs, which come so easy in original composition, where, if he cannot say just what he wants to, he can recast his sentence and say something that looks like it,—one year, we say, of this, under a competent teacher, equally learned in both languages, will go further toward making a good writer, or a correct, copious and ready speaker, than twice that time in any other kind of exercise that was ever devised.

We began by saying that we believed a good edition of Horace to be very much needed; and our reason for this was, that the editions generally used in our schools and colleges seem all of them to do either too much or too little; to be downright *ponies*, if we may make bold to use a technical term, or to show a want of that practical familiarity with the recitation-room which is the first requisite for an editor. We will try to illustrate our meaning. Let us take an Ode, say the 34th of the first book: it is simple and short, but still

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comprehensive enough for our purpose. Now before we turn to the notes, let us look a moment at the piece itself, and, as nearly as we can, with the feelings of a student who takes it up for the first time.

There can be no difficulty in making out the subject, which is evidently some change in his religious feelings. He has been neglectful of his duty to the gods, a remiss and negligent worshipper, and Jupiter recalls him to a sense of his weakness and dependence by a sudden manifestation of his power. This is all plain enough. But what was the real nature of his negligence? Was it a mere forgetfulness of external rites, or the deeper error of false doctrines, as the second line would seem to imply? Why should the thunder pealing out from a clear sky produce so sudden a change in his feelings? Here I want some help.

Let us come now to the words. There is no difficulty in the first line, *parcus et infrequens*. My dictionary will help me to it if I do not know the words already, and if my first question has been answered right I shall have no difficulty in applying them. *Insanientis philosophiæ*, however, is a curious expression; of course it must refer to something false in his theology, but it has a very odd sound. I wonder whether the ancients often indulged in these singular combinations? A word or two on the subject, Mr. Editor, if you can spare the time. The next two lines are clear enough. *Retrorsum vela dare* is a very pretty figure, but perfectly intelligible to any body that ever heard of a sail. *Diespiter;* evidently a compound, but how can you squeeze in the *dies*, and is it an old or a new form? *Per purum tonantes* seems to be the key to the whole story, and I should like to know something more about it than my text can give me. Perhaps some other poet, whom I can easily put my hand on, has spoken of the same thing, and if he has, I should like to know where I can find the passage. I must stop a moment, too, at *bruta tellus*, which belongs to the curious chapter of epithets which three or four comparisons would illustrate admirably. The next epithet is highly appropriate, but too simple to require a commentary; and Styx I remember all about, or at least I ought to. *Tænari* puzzles me a little. I never saw it before, that I recollect. Is it of importance enough to carry me to my dictionary; or would not a line from the editor do just as well, and save me some three minutes for something more serious? There is nothing to stop you in the next line. The three following are not quite so clear, but still I am pretty certain that I can make them out myself. *Apicem*

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is a puzzler; how did it come to mean a crown? Why should *stridore* be applied to fortune? It is not the wheel, surely, though the venerable old Delphin used to say so, and was somewhat eloquent upon the occasion.* Ten to one, too, I may have forgotten the peculiar use of *posuisse*. It is a grammatical question; the only one in the whole piece that carries you out of the common track, and without a reference I might forget to compare it with the *collegisse* of the first Ode, which is used in the same way.

Let any thoughtful student examine this Ode carefully before he turns to the notes, and see whether there is any thing else in it which he had not rather work out for himself. Certainly he must know enough about the rites of Roman religion to explain the *parcus et infrequens*, if indeed *parcus*, as it is interpreted by Moore and Osborne, can be reconciled with the *humilem feriemus agnam* and *immunis aram si tetigit manus*, or even with that general contempt for costly things which Horace not only professed but illustrated throughout all his life. The *insanientis philosophiæ* is necessarily understood from the introduction, which, of course, every editor will give; but it seems to us very questionable whether this is the proper place for expounding Epicurus. To do it with any effect, would require a couple of pages; and since, to understand many other things in Horace, you must have a general idea of the philosophy in which he once believed, the only sure way is to go directly to your classical dictionary and read it up once for all. *Consultus* belongs to the lexicon, and the student who needs to be told that it is used here just as it is in *juris consultus*, had better go back to his primer. And we would send him to the same venerable authority if he should chance to stumble at *iterare cursus relictos*, which is altogether too simple and natural an expression to call for commentary or translation. We cannot say the same for *diespiter*, which requires some explanation, both for the old form of the genitive *dies*, and the derivation of the word itself; and as not every body has got a Varro by him, (those who have, have got Müller's edition, we hope,) we are not certain but what Professor Lincoln would have done better to have given the whole passage, which is only two lines. But, at any rate, he has given you the substance of it, and tells you where to go for the original. *Per purum tonantes*,

* As our old friend is a little out of date, we give the whole passage: "Volubilis fortunæ rotam, ejusque rapidæ conversionis stridorem notat. Et quidem non sine gravi mortalium concussione, perturbatione, querimonia, fiunt illæ mutationes, quibus imperia ab his ad illos transferuntur."

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too, as we have already said, requires a gloss; but who could need to be told that *purum* refers to *cœlum*, and who would not gladly go back to his Virgil and read again that noble description of the phenomena which followed the death of Cæsar, when

—— cœlo cecidêrunt sereno
Fulgura ——

is brought in with *comets dire* to close the terrific scene? *Bruta tellus* has suggested to Professor Lincoln the *terram inertem* which Horace uses in the fourth Ode of the third book, the *terra immobilis* of Virgil, and Seneca's *immota tellus*. How happens it that Anthon and Moore have found nothing worthier of the student's attention than—Moore, that *bruta* in this place means *heavy, immovable*, which, with the exchange of *inert* for *immovable*, he would have found in Leverett, with this very passage for his authority; and Anthon, that "By the *brute earth* is meant, in the language of commentators, *terra quæ sine sensu immota et gravis manet*," an interpretation which a moment's reflection would probably have suggested to any mind that was not laboring under the same calamity. The note in his octavo edition was certainly much more to the purpose; and the allusion to the old doctrine that the earth stood motionless in the centre of the universe, was both appropriate and in good taste. Very beautiful, too, is the development of the contrasted epithets *bruta* and *vaga*, which we find in a German commentator: "Sentit vim Jovis terra immobilis, sentiunt etiam flumina perpetuo motu agitata." But still, this is a thought which the pupil ought to be required to develop for himself, and the only really practical and suggestive annotation is that of Professor Lincoln. *Tænari* has brought out a comment from all three: Anthon's, diffuse but valuable; Moore's, a mere geographical indication; Lincoln's, terse and comprehensive, as usual, and with another reference to Virgil. *Atlanteusque finis* is translated and commented by Anthon; Moore gives us the τέρμονες Ἀτλαντικοί of Euripides, to which we have nothing to object; Lincoln assigns it to the domain of the classical dictionary, and indeed, how a Latin student could get so far and not know what this expression means in ancient geography, we are somewhat at a loss to conceive. *Valet ima summis mutare* is paraphrased, translated, and grammatically commented by Anthon, from whom we shall beg leave to differ, toto cœlo, in considering *summis* as an example of the instrumental ablative. Moore and Lincoln have left it to the student, who probably will not feel very much exhausted by any efforts

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he may have to make in getting through it. *Attenuat*, too, is explained at length by Anthon, and the train of thought, which the student ought to be able to make out, if he can make out any thing, is expanded into a full exposition. Moore translates, or rather paraphrases it, and not very felicitously. Lincoln leaves it, where it belongs, to the student. *Apicem*, with the lines that follow it, are paraphrased by Anthon, commented by Moore, under the heads of *hinc*, *apicem*, *stridore*, *sustulit*, and *hic*; and by Lincoln under those of *apicem*, *stridore*, *posuisse*. We will give them all three, as a specimen, and let the reader judge for himself. We begin with Anthon, p. 308: "*Hinc apicem*, &c. From the head of this one, Fortune, with a sharp, rushing sound of her pinions, bears away the tiara in impetuous flight; on the head of that one she delights to have placed it. Sustulit is here taken in an aorist sense, as denoting what is usual or customary. As regards the term *apicem*, it may be remarked that, though specially signifying the tiara of Eastern royalty, it has here a general reference to the crown or diadem of kings."

Moore's comment runs into three notes, p. 269: "*Hinc*, 'from one;' *apicem*, *apex*, properly the crest on the helmet, was used for a diadem, and here stands for a badge of royal power.

"*Stridore:* the shrill sound made by wings cleaving the air. Fortune is always represented as winged.

"*Sustulit:* used as an aorist; *hic*, 'on another.'"

Lincoln has three, p. 344: "*Apicem:* The apex, properly a piece of olive-wood, worn by the flamines on the top of the head, came to be applied to the *pileus* or priestly *tiara*. (See Dict. Antiq., p. 67.) Here it means *a crown*. *Stridore: rustling*, i. e., of the wings, for Fortune was represented as winged. *Sustulit—posuisse:* See n. O. i., l. 4, on *collegisse*." And to show the style of his grammatical commentaries, we will give the note to which he here refers, p. 314: "*Collegisse:* The Latin poets, and some prose writers, use the perfect infinitive in many places, where, in translation, the English idiom requires the present. Of this usage, we have here an illustration; for others, see O. iii. 4, 52; Sat. i. 2, 28; ib. ii. 3, 187; Ars P. 168; ib. 455. See Z. § 590; also Kruger, § 477, A. 2. Reisig, in *Vorlesgg*, § 290, suggests that the poets resort to this use of the perfect wherever the present would be excluded by the metre."

We took up this Ode at a venture; any other would have given the same result. But the surest test of all would be the "Epistle to the Pisos," for in this it is not merely a poem

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that we are reading, but the critical canons to which a life of study, meditation, and original composition had led a man of sound judgment and exquisite taste. A rigorous analysis, therefore, is indispensable, in order to follow the general train of thought, and trace the connection and bearing of the particular developments and illustrations.* Professor Lincoln's commentary on this celebrated epistle is clear and copious, a model of the style in which such works should be commented, meeting all the student's wants, and guiding him surely and firmly where it would have been impossible for him to have guided himself.

The introduction fills little more than a page, but contains all that the student needs to be told in this form. The notes run out to twenty pages, which, by the admirable clearness and precision with which they are written, are equivalent to full thrice that number in that diffuse, unpractical style which commentators love so much. The general analysis is admirable, as all those who know how hard it is to do such a thing well will acknowledge. P. 528:—

The course of thought which the poet pursues, seems to be, in general, as follows: (The details will be given in italics, in the notes.)

I. He first lays down and illustrates some general precepts, applicable alike to all kinds of poetical composition, (1–152.) II. Thence he passes to a series of rules and historical notices of the drama, with chief reference to the tragedy of the Greeks, (153–284.) III. Then, after touching upon the aversion of the Roman poets to slow and laborious composition, (285–294,) and the absurd notion with which it was connected, concerning the frenzy of poetic inspiration, (295–303,) he goes through in the rest of the piece with a course of critical instruction for the poet; whence he may derive his resources and his culture, what are the noble aims and attainments of excellence in his art, and what the fatal consequences of ignorance and error, (304–end.)

This general analysis is now to be connected with the details belonging to each head. The first division, extending from the 1st to the 152d verse, inclusive, as we have seen, comprises general precepts:—

1–152. General precepts. The principal points are these: Simplicity and unity of design; its necessity illustrated, and some of the modes of its violation, (1–37;) choice of a subject, order, use of words, (38–72;) the different species of poetry, and their respective measures, (73–85;) the necessity of a practical knowledge of the province and character of each kind of poetry, (86–89,) *illustrated (from the drama) in regard to* the

* Perhaps the young student will not object to our referring him, in this connection, to the examination of "Hurd's Commentary," by Gibbon, in the abstract of his readings, which, with the extracts from his journal, ought to be in the hands of every student who wishes to learn the art of "hiving wisdom with each studious year." V. p. 408 et seq., ed. of 1837.

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appropriate style of tragedy and comedy, their diction, (90–118,) and characters and subjects, (119–135;) the beginning of a poem, (*not dramatic alone, but of any poem,*) (136–152.)

Coming now to a still minuter analysis, he takes up each principle in order:—"Lines 1–23. In these lines Horace inculcates the precept that in every poem there must be simplicity and unity of design. 1–4. To illustrate by contrast the importance of unity, the poet describes a picture of a monstrous creature, composed of the most incongruous elements. Comp. Virg. Æn. iii. 426, et seq." Then follows the verbal commentary with the same judicious selection and in the same concise and lucid style, of which we have already given a specimen. The difficult and controverted passages, too, are discussed with appropriate fulness. If any body doubt it, let him read the note on *Difficile est proprie communia dicere*, on the 535th page. With the 153d line begins a new division, which is again resolved into its appropriate elements, each studied minutely and in order.

Now can any thing short of a thorough acquaintance with the whole piece, and a clear conception of the rhetorical and critical principles which it contains, be the result of such a study of the "Ars Poetica" as this style of commentation supposes? When we add that Professor Lincoln's edition is the only one which contains this thorough-going analysis and these broad views of this precious code of taste, we believe that we have said enough to show how much it was needed.

Another thing which cannot be too highly commended in this edition, is the scholar-like spirit and tone which pervade it. Nothing is more provoking than to have a man talk to you in loose and slovenly, or stiff and pedantic English, which ought to be whipped out of a school-boy, about the exquisite taste, the well-chosen words, the terseness and vigor and harmonious sentences of a classic. No wonder that the friends of classical literature should every now and then be called upon to fight their battles over again, when the lists are disfigured by such champions as these. A commentary should be an illustration as well as an interpretation, an example, like the περὶ ὕψους of the subject which it treats. The brazen faces of some men are as unaccountable as their consciences. They have not even the seeds of human affection in them. They will live all their lives long with a fellow-being, or rather with the best part of him, his thoughts, without ever feeling a touch of sympathy. They are like that Parisian naturalist, who has passed the last ten years in a cel-

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lar with bats, feeding them till they have learnt to come at his call, then putting their eyes out to try whether they can find their way to him without them, and finally dissecting them to the last bone and fibre in order to see how the curious little things are put together. Just think what a picture we should have had if Horace could but have seen them!

The style of Professor Lincoln's notes is clear and compact, without aiming at any other beauty than that which results from its perfect adaptation to the subject. It seems to have been his object to say in pure English all that his reader had a right to expect from him, and to say it in such a way as not to make Horace shudder. The analyses at the head of each commentary are written with that directness and simplicity which are the only appropriate ornaments of this kind of composition. In the life of Horace he has found ample scope for beauties of a higher order. The subject itself must have been a most inviting one for so enthusiastic an admirer of the old bard. Without confining himself to a mere expansion of the meagre sketch of Suetonius, or copying any of his five hundred predecessors, he has gone directly back to the original sources, and chiefly to the best and surest of all, the poet himself. Horace has told us so much about himself, that every scholar feels as if he had seen him with his own eyes, and heard him talk, and passed many a merry hour with him. Now this is just what a sympathetic biographer wants, and if he will only put his materials together with skill and taste, he will be sure to inspire his reader with some share of his own enthusiasm. Professor Lincoln has done this with eminent success. He has told the story of the poet's life, a simple one in itself, though not unmixed with care, in a very graceful and pleasing style, and with those infusions of phrase and expression from his author's works which, when judiciously chosen and well translated, give a singularly warm and truthful coloring to a picture. We agree with him fully in his opinion of Horace, both as a poet and as a man; and we were especially pleased with the sound judgment with which he meets that stale old charge of plagiarism, which has been the favorite refuge of little minds ever since the first lyre was strung. We trust that this beautiful specimen of literary history is but an earnest of what Professor Lincoln will some day do for the whole field of Roman literature. The subject is a very beautiful and a very important one, and we know of nobody so well qualified to do it full justice.

In re-reading what we have written, we find that we have laid ourselves open to a misinterpretation to which we

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should be very unwilling to submit. In comparing Professor Lincoln's labors with those of other editors we have been led to speak unfavorably of the edition of Professor Anthon. This our convictions, our sincere and unprejudiced convictions, compelled us to do, in spite of our great respect for that eminent editor. No man in his senses would ever think of calling in question the high scholarship of Professor Anthon. He is a man of extensive erudition, unwearied industry, and an enthusiasm above all praise, in the cause of classical literature. This is a tribute which every fair-minded scholar will pay him, and which is justly due to a life of laborious and patient study. But we believe that the style of commentation which he has adopted is not the true one, not that which is best calculated to make good scholars, and to secure both to pupil and teacher that kind of assistance which each has a right to require. But our views upon this subject, and our reasons for them, have already been given in full, and our only reason for returning to it again was our unwillingness to be classed among the detractors of a well-earned renown. If there is any thing which, in our innermost hearts, we utterly abhor, it is that vile spirit of enmity and injustice which degrades the republic of letters to a race-course, and fills it with scenes that would dishonor a dram-shop. There is nothing more humiliating than to see great things belittled by little spirits, and the power that was given for noble purposes perverted to the instrument of vulgar passions. It has been our lot to stand by the graves of many great men, of those who hallow to our souls the green turf and marble slab, although we may never have looked upon the form that is silently crumbling beneath; and then, when we have read by the same sunbeam the epitaphs of some who would seem to have begrudged each other the blessed light of day, and who stole so large a portion from their immortality that they might devote it to envy and hatred, an inexpressible sadness has come over us, and we have turned away with loathing, where we would gladly have knelt down and poured forth our gratitude. Our literature is as yet at its dawn; we have as broad a field before us as human heart could wish, and bright with every promise of usefulness and glory. Would that no idle feuds nor petty jealousies might disgrace it. We have all been wrong too often, to inflict harsh blame upon our companions in life's slippery path, for not being always right. There were many noble things in Godfrey of Bouillon; he was valiant, he was generous, he was wise. But never did he seem greater than when he refused to wear the insignia

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of his triumph on the spot which had been consecrated by the sublimest of martyrdoms. And this whole world is consecrated to martyrdom; is consecrated to toil, and self-denial, and tears, and bitterness of heart. Would that there might be some Godfreys amongst us, to show us what wreath blooms fairest on a victor's brow.

One word more about Professor Lincoln and Horace, and we have done. We look upon this volume as one which will exercise a great influence upon the cause of classical learning, and an influence of the healthiest kind. It will help students in the difficult art of studying, attract them by the new vistas which it opens into pleasant scenes, and strengthen their minds by the judicious exercise of their native powers. It must be a cheering thing to have done so much for so noble a cause. For the cause of classic learning is indeed a great and a noble one. It has done much for the world in times past, and has still much to do for it in the future. It is connected with many a beautiful story of softening manners, and hearts that grew refined, and sympathies that expanded, and genius that learnt to soar, under its gentle and invigorating influences. It carries us back to generous minds which learnt from it to labor for us, as they who built up its imperishable monuments had labored for them. It stores our memories with ennobling recollections, opens our minds to higher conceptions, reveals new beauties in nature and new wonders in art, has words of gentle warning for the intoxication of joy, and steals with a sweet and dewy freshness into the withered heart of care.

Haud ignara mali miseris succurrere disco.

What purer lesson can be drawn from the chastenings of sorrow?

Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto.

What does it leave for the most ardent philanthropy but to develop and apply its all-comprising truth? It would be easy to fill pages with passages like these. It is always easy to call up beautiful thoughts, and bright examples, and grave warnings, and eloquent exhortations from it, and it is good for us to do so. It is good for us to cast aside now and then the shackles of immediate care, and go back in thought and live a while with them who, though they knew us not, yet thought and lived for us. We would not for all that the future can give be cut off from this communion with the past. The literature of our own days has many precious things in it, great and consoling truths, beautiful and elevating teachings; but we

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would not for these forget our Milton, and still less renounce the blessed privilege of listening, at least, to the murmurs of that fountain from which he drew such deep and inspiring draughts.

We remember, and it is one of the pleasant recollections of our childhood, a venerable old man who has long been in his grave. His life had been one of mingled adventure and repose. The Revolution found him at his studies in the quiet spot where we are now writing; it saw him patient and enduring on that toilsome march to Quebec; a prisoner where Montgomery fell, and profiting by his recovered freedom to hasten back to the army and bear a foremost part in the brilliant defense of Redbank. He had been one of the first, when the war was over, to repair to England, and renew, by the natural ties of commerce, the connection which had been severed by unnatural political subjection; the first to unfurl in the China seas that new banner which was to float so proudly over every sea; then guiding the plough once more, with contented hand, through the fields which his fathers had sown; and at last reposing from his long labors, and gently moving downward towards the grave, in the midst of the children who had grown up to thank and reward him for his cares. Kind-hearted old man! with what pleasure do we recall that genial smile and tranquil brow! How beautiful did old age seem, with such treasured wisdom and so many soothing recollections to blend with its deepening shades! This old man had learnt in his boyhood to love Horace, and he loved him still. His copy; if we remember right, was a common English edition, such a one as was most likely to be found in the colonies in his schoolboy days. But that copy had been with him through all the vicissitudes of his chequered career, a firm and cheerful and ever welcome friend. And now that he needed it no longer for the practical purposes of life, now that so many of its lessons had been so well applied, so many of its precepts engrafted into him so deeply that they had become a part of his nature, he still loved to keep it by him, and read it daily, and talk of it with those whom he loved, and especially with those who, like ourselves, had still to choose their guide and friend. It was from him that we learnt to love the glorious old bard, and to feel what a power there is in those teachings which come down to us from afar, fragrant with the benedictions of thousands who in every age and clime, and in almost every sphere of life, have laid them up in their hearts and cherished them as its richest treasures.

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ART. VI.—WORDSWORTH CONSIDERED AS A RELIGIOUS POET.

1. *The Prelude; or, Growth of a Poet's Mind. An Autobiographical Poem.* By WILLIAM WORDSWORTH. New-York: D. Appleton & Co.
2. *Memoirs of William Wordsworth, Poet Laureate, D.C.L.* By CHRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH, D.D., Canon of Westminster. Edited by HENRY REED. Vol. I. Boston: Ticknor, Reed & Fields.

THE death of Wordsworth, a little more than a year since, and the announcement that his "great posthumous poem" was shortly to appear, to be followed by his biography, excited a feeling in the literary public highly favorable to the reception of both works. It was impossible to look back without emotion on such a long and unique literary career; while the fact that the poet's most elaborate production, with reference to which he had most jealously studied his own powers, and in which his poetic genius and constructive capacity were to find their completest exemplification, was as yet given to the world only in part, was fitted to awaken high expectation. The appearance of the "Prelude" brought with it an instantaneous sense of disappointment. Thirty-six years had elapsed since "The Excursion, being a portion of the The Recluse," was published, and it was now announced that the "philosophical poem," to which the author's other works were all described as but the accessories, was still a fragment. Before undertaking it he had carefully reviewed his mental history, to ascertain his qualifications for attempting it. This history he embodied in The Prelude, addressed to Coleridge, in the conclusion of which he avows his confidence that the effort would not be presumptuous. But it does not appear that after the publication of The Excursion he made any sensible progress toward the completion of his original design.

The Prelude, if perused with the expectation naturally excited by its history, or by the rapturous eulogium of Coleridge,—

> ——An Orphic song indeed!
> A song divine, of high and passionate thoughts
> To their own music chanted!—

will seem at first hardly to sustain itself. Coleridge heard it recited. There must have been profound sorcery in the

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author's voice to invest it with such transcendent glory. But apart from these considerations, if thoughtfully studied, it must be confessed a production of extraordinary power, reviewing the author's mental progress from infancy to the maturity of manhood with a wonderful introspective vision, and portraying the natural and social influences that shaped his character with a vividness of fancy and felicity of diction, not seldom rising to a majestic harmony, to which the coldest intellect must render homage. It is not likely that the most acute self-inquisitor, looking back through a vista of thirty years to survey the development of his faculties, could certainly assign the origin of all his mental peculiarities. They spring up from seeds hidden, he knows not when, and are trained into unforeseen forms by powers whose agency he cannot detect. If, therefore, some things here asserted of "the growth of a poet's mind" appear to the sober judgment more fanciful than real, it is no more than was to have been expected from the nature of the subject. Making every necessary deduction on the score of substance or form, it is a worthy expression of a great genius, and must maintain a high place in the estimation of thinking men.

The Memoirs of Wordsworth, the first volume of which lies before us, furnish the complement of his inimitable autobiography. They make no very high pretensions. With the conviction that "a poet's life is written in his works," and the desire that his writings, without any attempt at critical vindication beyond what he had himself from time to time furnished, "should stand by themselves and plead their own cause before the tribunal of posterity," Mr. Wordsworth in effect forbade the composition of any formal biography. The present essay, therefore, professes to be merely "a biographical commentary on the poet's works." But without any direct prohibition, his literary executor must have been restrained by the necessity of the case within nearly the same limits that were thus imposed. Wordsworth's life was singularly uneventful, and left few materials for a biographer. It can be summed up in two or three sentences. He was born in 1770, received his preparatory education at Hawkshead, in Lancashire, was entered in 1787 at St. John's College, Cambridge, and on leaving the University, spent a year in France. At the close of 1792 he returned to England, and was shortly after enabled, by a bequest from his friend Raisley Calvert, to devote himself to literature as a profession;—from which time the dates of his successive works, his occasional tours, and his elevation to the Laureateship in

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1843, constitute the principal epochs in his long career. Nor was the lack of external incident made up, as in the case of Southey, Scott, and other contemporaries, by a voluminous correspondence. His habits, physical and mental, were averse to epistolary labor. He had no liking for the pen, and it was only by the affectionate industry of his wife and sister, who made themselves his voluntary amanuenses, that many of his minor poems, muttered to the air in his favorite walks, were committed to paper and preserved to the world. Seldom has one so keenly alive to the pleasures of friendship, judging from the testimony of this volume, left so few letters for public or private gratification. "Partly from some constitutional infirmities," he says, (in a letter without date, but apparently written in 1802,) "and partly from certain habits of mind, I do not write any letters unless upon business, not even to my dearest friends." It must be admitted that his biographer has worked up the materials at his disposal with much skill. We will not say that the minuteness of detail in some parts might not have been spared to advantage; but admirers of the works on which it is a "commentary" will prize the whole, and others, we fear, would take little interest in it were it ten times better. Yet the indifferent might be won to a livelier appreciation of the *poems* by the vivid delineation of the *man*.

The grand features of nature in the romantic region where his lot was cast gave to the poet's imagination its greatest riches. Not less happy was he in his home and his life-long friendships. The engaging purity of his domestic life gave a charm to his writings that no splendor of genius, unhallowed by such influences, could have imparted. It is good to contemplate such a life. It accompanies his verse as with a low, continuous strain of sweet music, causing its accents to sink more deeply into the heart. The record furnished in these memoirs, imperfect as it must be, makes a most pleasing impression, and read in connection with his poems, which are referred to on almost every page, cannot fail to give freshness to the enjoyment derived from their study. It is with some reluctance that we must turn away from these memorials of a personal and literary career that can never cease to be eminently instructive, to examine the poet's works in that relation which most appropriately concerns us as Christian reviewers.

Wordsworth, during a long life, had many critics and comparatively few readers. We have no intention, therefore, of increasing that disproportion, by reviving any of those vexed questions of literary criticism, that were enough to fix the poet's name immovably among the *celebrities* of his day,

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even if he had not possessed sufficient energy of nature to insure a place in human memories by his own achievements. Whether he is to be considered a star of primary or of lesser magnitude in the poetic heavens; whether his theories of imagination, fancy, and poetic diction are founded in truth; what may be the exact merits of the Scottish Pedlar, or of Peter Bell, as creations of genius, and whether it was wise to brave the public taste by linking some of his highest poetry with these questionable heroes; the exact significance of his ode on the "Intimations of Immortality," and other equally stubborn questions, may safely be left to the wise judgment of readers who are interested in their just decision. The race of those who would utterly cast him out as an intruder among the inspired sons of song, never very numerous, must now be nearly extinct. He has some ardent admirers who would exalt him next to Milton, and a few detractors who would depress him below those "wits" of the eighteenth century to whom he himself almost grudged the name of poet. But both together do not compose a very large proportion of the public. The voice of hostile criticism, partly wearied by the poet's sturdy, persistent defiance, partly overcome by the actual power of his verse, became softened and at last almost hushed. The praise, if not the reading, of Wordsworth has become "the fashion," and all silently assent to his eulogy. Yet we are inclined to think there is more of indifference than of admiration at the bottom of this acquiescence. Our publishing houses, unrestrained by any law of international copyright, and by no means backward to avail themselves of any man's popularity with the reading public, have exhibited no unseemly eagerness to compete for the profits of his works. That he has exerted an important influence is undeniable, but it has been gained mediately, through a limited number acting as conductors of his power to the many, who could not be brought into direct communication with his mind.

This state of things has had a peculiar effect on the character of much of the criticism (if criticism it may be called) to which his writings have been subjected. Without meaning to attribute conscious injustice to any reviewers, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the excessive contempt with which it was once fashionable to load his successive works, would have been very considerably diminished by the knowledge that a large number of readers were ready at once to sit in impartial judgment upon the poet and his critics. In like manner, since the tide has turned, many writers have indulged in a strain of eulogy, which we cannot help believing

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would have been somewhat qualified, if they had really supposed the mass of readers would take the trouble to question its justice. So great, however, is the influence of his poetry, and so widely transmitted by a class of ardent thinkers for whom his meditative strains have a peculiar fascination, that it becomes a matter of no little interest to watch the tendencies of public opinion and taste, to interpose, if need be, a word of caution. For Wordsworth is no holiday singer. His are emphatically "poetical *works*." He deals with momentous themes, and challenges for his verse the most searching scrutiny. No apology is necessary, therefore, for attempting an inquiry into his merits as a religious poet.

To some, the suggestion of a doubt on this point will seem presumptuous. So often have they heard of "Wordsworth, the Christian poet,"* that they will regard with no friendly eye any disparagement of his title to these sacred laurels. But such high honors are not to be lightly claimed or carelessly awarded. The question, however, is not a new one, and critics of no mean name (Professor Wilson, for example) have made as positive assertions upon the other side. But the matter is not to be settled by the dicta of any men, however respectable. It can only be concluded by an actual survey of what the poet accomplished, in its relations to the state of opinion around him, and to the religion of which he has been claimed as a chosen laureate.

It is to be remarked that the expression of religious ideas and emotions is often significant, not so much of the author's individual character, as of the prevailing sentiment of the community. In a society largely pervaded by the influence of religion, where Christian institutions have long been established, and Christian ideas have become closely interwoven with popular thought and feeling, there arises a sort of conventional reverence for sacred things, which naturally shows itself in all social and public action. Those to whom religion is the controlling principle of life are a minority, and often a

* "Wordsworth will be read in the better days of the Christian church. His pure strains will be a feast to regenerate spirits. Beside Spenser, and Milton, and Cowper, he may take his seat on the hill of Zion. For the world's benefit, we are anxious that he should be fully identified with the *elect spirits*. Long has he contended for this high distinction. Sweet and immortal his reward!"—*Bib. Repository and Obs.*, vii. 198.

"Though in his elevation so far from us groundlings, that his light has but slowly reached us, we believe that he is surely destined to become the poet of Christendom, as he is the poet of Christianity."—*Ib. Second Series*, i. 233. "Our little planet is rolling on to her golden age, and to the millennial glory of the church. In that pure day, who can doubt that Wordsworth shall be still better beloved and appreciated?"—*Ib.* 238.

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small minority. A much larger number give their assent to more or less of Christian doctrine; and beyond these a more numerous class may be found, who combine an undefined reverence for religion with a regard for public and private morals. In such a community the expression of irreligious notions, or even a refusal to recognize the authority of Christianity, does violence to public opinion. Thus, in our own country, for the most part, it is a matter of course that important popular gatherings, not seldom including political "mass meetings," shall begin their deliberations by acts of religious worship; that legislative bodies must have their chaplains; and that a profession of belief in the Christian religion is as customary a part of the inauguration of a chief magistrate as the oath of office. Popular literature, which is but the reflection of public sentiment, takes a similar tone. Nor is this trait of our literature, we are glad to believe, *merely* conventional. Even where it is not the spontaneous utterance of individual feeling, it may be the fruit of a true taste, which recognizes the beauty and power of the Holy Scriptures, and of the works of great masters who have drawn their inspiration thence; or the response of the heart to the just requirements and unspeakable rewards of moral duty, although defective notions of obligation prevent a cordial subjection to its acknowledged claims.

If the inherent energy of religious ideas, acting under a polity that imposes no restraint upon individual opinion, is sufficient to produce such effects, it is easy to see that their efficiency will be greatly increased where they are allied with the force of law, the institutions of government, and all the traditions of the State. This is not saying that the purity, the spiritual power, the highest interests of religion will be promoted by such a union; but that the supremacy of Christian ideas over public opinion, and their consequent recognition in all literature, art, and social observances, will be more complete and universal. Such is the case in England. Christianity has been judicially declared a part of the common law. The sovereign is defender of the faith and head of the church. The great majority of the people, from the font to the tomb, live in a succession of religious observances, formal, perhaps, and vaguely apprehended, but all characteristic developments of that pervading sympathy which constitutes them, in their own consciousness and the general consent, a Christian nation. The Universities are fenced by religious tests. Theology and ecclesiastical history belong to the usual course of a liberal education. British literature, therefore, has a

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peculiar character. No arbitrary division of labor excludes religion from any part of it. There are religious papers and magazines, but few leading periodicals are *exclusively* secular. The principal Reviews discuss theological subjects with freedom and power, and often by the pens of laymen. No important question agitates the church, without enlisting on either side statesmen and men of letters, as well as bishops and doctors of divinity; while through a large portion of the current literature runs a noticeable vein of religious sentiment, that testifies how deep are its sources in the popular mind.

Now the mere circumstance that a poet, among such a people, exhibits in his verse a reverence for Christian truth, or occasionally gives expression to religious sentiments such as conform to the conventional standard of propriety, cannot reasonably be held sufficient to constitute him, by way of pre-eminence, a Christian poet. "Elegant extracts," or inelegant, taken by themselves, establish nothing. If they were admitted as conclusive, we should have some strange faces in the gallery of sacred poets. Dryden, whose dramas contain passages nauseously filthy, wrote some elaborate religious poems. Prior's tales are not regarded as models of decency, but he made paraphrases of Scripture that have a very edifying sound. Burns mingles the amatory, the sacred, and the profane, in a manner indescribable and inimitable; and Thomas Moore furnishes hymns for some very popular collections of psalmody.* But the same considerations that detract from the positive force of these circumstances give them great negative significance. If a certain range of religious sentiment is so far accordant to the general feeling and taste that even vicious poets conform to it in some measure, he who seldom or never rises above it manifests a defect in his standard of thought, and gives evidence that religion has

* Although aside from our present purpose, we cannot forbear saying that these contributions, in our judgment, do not greatly enrich our psalmody, on the score of devotion or of taste. Moore's range of thought and feeling is at an immense distance from that of prophets, apostles, and martyrs, and the voluptuous softness of his melodies mingles strangely with their solemn harmony. Even apart from this contrast, and judged by the ordinary laws of composition, some of his sacred pieces are of a low order of merit. In that commencing,

> "Thou art, O God, the life and light
> Of all this wondrous world we see,"

there is something exquisitely bathetic in his comparing the stars of the firmament to the eyes in a peacock's plumage!—

> "When night, with wings of starry gloom,
> O'ershadows all the earth and skies,
> Like some dark, beauteous bird, whose plume
> Is sparkling with unnumbered eyes," &c.

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little power over his affections and his aims. It may not prove him an *anti*-Christian or *ir*religious poet, but it must extinguish all claims to become a favorite "in the better days of the Christian church."

That Wordsworth recognizes the truth and occasionally utters the language of Christianity, the most cursory reader of his works must perceive. But it will not be claimed that the great mass of his productions have any direct religious aim, or are even tinctured with Christian ideas. Considering the large number of subjects he treated, and the lofty views he entertained of the poet's vocation,—views which imply a profound sense of obligation in regard to the exercise of his powers,—this feature of his works is remarkable, if we suppose him to have been eminently devout in his habitual feelings and purposes. It is one that has evidently attracted the attention of his religious eulogists. Indeed, we have seldom seen any attempt to demonstrate the piety of his writings by quotations, that did not include pieces in which he speaks *dramatically*, and which may, or may not, utter his own sentiments. Thus, the Excursion closes with a prayer uttered by the parish priest, conceived in a spirit of lofty devotion. It is evident that the poet might deem such language appropriate to the personage in whose mouth he puts it, without adopting it as his own. So of his "Inscriptions," which purport to have been made by *a hermit*, and other compositions that might be named. An exclusion of these would leave a still more marked disproportion between his religious writings and the total of his works. If, therefore, Wordsworth is to be acknowledged as a Christian poet, it cannot be for the sake of any considerable amount of professedly Christian poetry. If that title describes a poet who finds in the truths of Christianity his most potent inspiration, and who devotes to the service of Christianity his highest powers, it cannot be applied to him without some violence.

But it may be asked, Is it necessary that a Christian poet should always, or often, dedicate his verse to sacred themes? May not the piety of his heart be manifest in his views of life and nature, as a principle that underlies and controls his active powers? Are not purity, charity, gentleness, affections that embrace mankind and fasten themselves on all the Creator's works, evidences of a Christian spirit? And do not these, and other kindred virtues, joined to a sentiment of reverent obedience that habitually bows before the idea of duty, lend to the poetry of Wordsworth its most attractive lustre? Questions like these would be more appropriate, if

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the object of our inquiry were to ascertain the genuineness of Wordsworth's personal piety. It is conceivable that an author may be a Christian, and write habitually in the exercise of a Christian temper, who, for reasons satisfactory to himself, commonly withholds his pen from treating of religious subjects; just as he might be interested in astronomy, without publishing any thing worth mentioning on his favorite study. Yet it would not be just to rank him distinctly as a Christian, any more than as an astronomical, writer. Thomson would never have been classed as a *descriptive* poet, if he had written nothing but his dramas and the Castle of Indolence, whatever *capacity* for excellence in descriptive poetry might have been discerned in those works. There seems to be no more propriety in applying to any one the title of a *Christian* poet, unless it describes the leading characteristic of his productions. We may grant him to be a Christian *and* a poet, but that is all. Yet, when we consider the nature of true poetry, as the language of the heart rather than of the inventive and reflective intellect,—as the expression of emotions that compel the utterance to transcend the common forms of language,—we confess that it is not easy to make such an admission except in the exercise of an expansive charity. The warmest emotions of a Christian are kindled by objects that eye hath not seen nor ear heard, but which are revealed to faith by the Word and Spirit of God. Receiving his gift of song, "the vision and the faculty divine," as one of the most precious that could be bestowed by the Father of lights, a Christian poet, it would seem, could do no less than to say with the sweet singer of Israel, "My heart is fixed; I will sing and give praise even with my glory;" or, as an older version has it, "with the best member that I have." It would be strange, indeed, if he could lavish the riches of his imagination every where except only where his highest affections are unalterably fixed!

To this view of the matter it may be replied, that the great excellence of Wordsworth's religious poems more than atones for their fewness. Such are the Ode to Duty, the Thanksgiving Ode, the Ecclesiastical Sketches, and portions of the Excursion. Reserving the Excursion (which is hardly to be ranked as a poem distinctively religious) for separate consideration, we must take leave to join issue on the merits of these productions. The Ode to Duty recognizes nothing more than the general notion of moral obligation. The Thanksgiving Ode acknowledges the power, providence and justice of God, which few Deists would take the trouble to deny.

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The only idea peculiar to revealed religion, is the implied duty of expressing gratitude by private devotion and the ceremonies of public worship. The Ecclesiastical Sketches have been so much admired, that the reader may be startled at the assertion that their tone of religious sentiment is low; but if carefully examined they will verify this judgment. Martyrdom does indeed have its praise, in lofty verse, for there is too much of the heroic spirit involved here to be unrecognized by a true poet. In general, however, it is the picturesque, the graceful, or the outwardly sublime, that calls forth the highest strains. Canute arresting his barge to listen to "monks in Ely chanting service high," the Crusaders, the fable of Cranmer's heart miraculously preserved from the fire, are beautifully commemorated. But compare the tame "commonplacery" of the sonnet on the translation of the Bible, with the glorious outburst of song on the architecture of Cathedrals, or of King's College Chapel. Go through the whole and select those sonnets that contain the distinct acknowledgment of any Christian truth, going beyond such generalities as *piety*, *faith*, and the like; their fewness, and their general inferiority, will excite surprise. One exception deserves mention, the "Ejaculation," near the close of the series.

We should not have thought it necessary to dwell at any length on the propriety of a title, the import of which must necessarily vary with the multiform notions of religion that prevail, were it not that "names are things," and that they are abused in our current literature to a degree that demands correction. There is a sort of cant increasingly prevalent, which insists on labelling every thing good, and almost every thing evil, with the name of Christian. Every "earnest," humane, generous poet, who utters aspirations for "progress" and the perfection of "the race," is forthwith ranked with David and Isaiah, with Milton and Cowper. Christianity is debased, her claims are lessened, and her saving influences impaired in their just efficiency by such practices. Nearly akin to this is the humility with which she is made to acknowledge the slightest homage from "great men." We boast that in this country the gospel is left to assert its claims without any aid from the secular State, and that its power over society is the best vindication of its prevailing energy. But to judge by the eager rehearsal of every pious sentiment uttered by a President, a Senator, or a Governor, it would seem that our faith is under weighty obligation to these august personages for extending to it their patronage. The majesty

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of divine truth should be spared this homage at the shrine of "brief authority." We are far from confounding Wordsworth with the gauzy sentimentalists whose effusions constitute what may be called the *new* Christianity of the transcendental school, or with the vulgar great, whose *pro forma* confessions of faith sometimes figure in the newspapers. But when we consider what his genius might have done for religion, and compare it with the slight tribute he actually rendered, we cannot read with complacency the excessive eulogies which the religious press has heaped upon him. We cannot comprehend how some half dozen odes and lyrics, and a few sonnets,—few of them productions that any admirer of his verse would offer as specimens of his poetic achievements,—excepted from the immense volume of song that he poured forth during a life of fourscore years, should call for devout thanksgivings from the church universal.

That, in an age when infidelity was rampant, and found its votaries in the muses' bower,—when vice had its laureates, who poured forth a stream of misanthropic ribaldry, the most distant retrospection of which is appalling,—a poet like Wordsworth should have given himself to patient thought, to serene contemplation, to the genial simplicity of nature, and the cherishing of all humane and kindly and noble affections; that he should aspire to find "his haunt and the main region of his song" in "the individual mind that keeps her own inviolate retirement," turning away from the agonies of unholy passion to muse "on man, on nature, and on human life," entitles him to high and enduring honor. That honor we would be the last to question or diminish. It is only when an attempt is made to crown him with laurels that he never earned, or professed to seek, (and he was by no means backward to utter his aspirations in prose or verse,) that we have ventured to interpose an humble remonstrance.

Having thus endeavored to negative the sacred pre-eminence which a fond admiration has sought to confer upon him, it remains to consider the actual merits of Wordsworth as a religious poet, deduced from a view of the moral tendencies of his writings. Two points are here to be settled—the nature of the ends he aimed at, and the means which he deemed appropriate and sufficient to secure them. In the case of many poets such inquiries would seem out of place, but Wordsworth never wrote for amusement. He professed to be a teacher, and if faith is to be placed in his own testimony, he designed that all his compositions should have a substantial unity of impression. In the preface to the Excursion, he

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compared that work (or rather, the projected poem, of which that was a part) to a Gothic church, and his minor pieces to the lesser adornments and accessories of such a structure. The language in which he speaks of the poet's vocation, as that of a seer, inspired by a "prophetic spirit," and possessing a "divine vision," is too familiar to the reader of his works to need special quotation.

A popular misapprehension, that has been fostered by critics who ought to have been more discerning, represents him as "the poet of Nature," as if he were merely, or chiefly, a descriptive writer. Mr. Macaulay says :—

> Wordsworth appeared as the high priest of a worship of which Nature was the idol. No poems have ever indicated so exquisite a perception of the beauty of the outer world, or so passionate a love and reverence for that beauty. * * * He has accustomed himself to gaze on nature with the eye of a lover—to dwell on every feature, and to mark every change of aspect. Those beauties which strike the most negligent observer, and those which only a close attention discovers, are equally familiar to him, and are equally prominent in his poetry.

How one could hazard such a comparison, after reading his "Lines composed near Tintern Abbey," we are unable to conjecture. In that poem, one of the most beautiful and suggestive that ever flowed from his pen, and one that we shall have repeated occasion to quote, we have the acknowledgment that in time past he did cherish the feelings here ascribed to him :—

> The sounding cataract
> Haunted me like a passion: the tall rock,
> The mountain, and the deep and gloomy wood,
> Their colors and their forms, were then to me
> An appetite; a feeling and a love,
> That had no need of a remoter charm
> By thought supplied, or any interest
> Unborrowed from the eye.

But it is also avowed that this season of youthful love had passed away :—

> That time is past,
> And all its aching joys are now no more,
> And all its dizzy raptures. Not for this
> Faint I, nor mourn nor murmur; other gifts
> Have followed, for such loss, I would believe,
> Abundant recompense. For I have learned
> To look on nature, not as in the hour
> Of thoughtless youth; but hearing oftentimes
> *The still, sad music of humanity,*
> Nor harsh, nor grating, though of ample power
> To chasten and subdue.

In these lines we have the key-note to all the varied har-

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monies of his verse. He cherished, and he sought to diffuse, exalted conceptions of the human soul, in its single, spiritual dignity, independently of all conventional and temporal distinctions. This, far more than any mere critical notions, is the reason that (perhaps unconsciously) underlies his theories of poetic diction, and explains his taste—so strange in the eyes of some warm admirers, and so ridiculous to hostile reviewers—for themes drawn from humble life, from aspects of poverty and rustic simplicity. This made him a republican in the outset of the French Revolution; and when he revolted from the unlooked-for issue of those thrilling events, this preserved him from the rancorous spirit of reactionary toryism. But while driven, as he thought, by solemn convictions of duty, to rally for the British Constitution in Church and State, he gave way to no morbid hate of the "swinish multitude,"* like some of his disappointed contemporaries. He was firmly, even stubbornly, but ever *humanely*, conservative. He was a lover of nature, not for her own sake as a satisfying object, but as the outward manifestation of an infinite, pervading spirit, and instinct with mighty forces. He recognized in her sensible phenomena the puttings forth of a power acting beneficently on every teachable mind, and responding with more than human sympathy to the most sensitive moods of joy and grief. Yet the "main region" of his song, he tells us, was "the mind of man;" the progressive elevation of the individual, and the species, was the burden of his desire, and the aim of his life-long task—a noble and a Christian aim, it must be conceded.

But it is quite possible, in directing the pursuit of this end, to ignore, or deny, or pervert Christianity, and in either case there is a serious blemish. If, in charging such a deformity on Wordsworth's moral system, as developed in his poetry, we seem to contradict our admission that he recognizes the truth and uses the language of Christianity, it may appear in the sequel that the inconsistency is not ours. Both assertions may be allowed to stand face to face for the present. We are not about to set up any narrow doctrinal tests, and condemn the poet for not conforming to this or that dogma, of this or that church. There are certain propositions which lie on the surface of the matter: That Christianity is a *revelation* of truths, which, whether possible to be inferred from the contemplation of nature and the suggestions of reason, or not, mankind either suffered to be lost, or failed to discover; that

* Burke.

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it is a supernatural system, embodying and propounding spiritual aids, without the action of which the human race have no hope of renovation. If any one denies these truths, and still claims to be called a Christian, we shall take the liberty of dismissing his pretensions without the trouble of arguing them.

Now we maintain, not that Wordsworth any where denies these truths in set phrase,—on the contrary, he declares them, directly or by implication, in repeated instances and in most emphatic language,—but that he too often nullifies them by the use of language inconsistent with a steadfast and vivid belief of them. He asserts the possibility of restoring mankind to the height of primitive purity, by a process purely natural and independent of any superior agency. He does this not once or twice, but persistently, in the preface to the Excursion and in the most elaborate passages of that poem. The importance of this point will justify more copious illustration than we have heretofore deemed it needful to attempt. In the lines which he quotes from the Recluse, introductory to the Excursion, and which he offers as a prospectus of the whole contemplated poem, we find this significant query:—

> **Paradise, and groves**
> **Elysian, Fortunate Fields—like those of old**
> **Sought in the Atlantic main—why should they be**
> **A history only of departed things,**
> **Or a mere fiction of what never was?**

The coupling of *paradise* with heathen fables is in bad taste, to say the least. But passing this—the question is one of high and solemn import, involving the destiny of the race on earth. We know how it is answered in Scripture. We know how Christian poets, echoing the annunciations of prophecy, and the accordant promises of Him who appeared in the fulness of time as the predicted Restorer, have answered it. Milton sang of Paradise lost,

> **——— till one greater Man**
> **Restore us, and regain the blissful seat;**

and Cowper's muse inspired him with unwonted power, as he looked for the coming of the new earth, and heard in anticipation that "one song" which shall "employ all nations:"

> **Worthy the Lamb, for he was slain for us!**

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But what says Wordsworth?

> For *the discerning intellect of man,*
> *When wedded to this goodly universe*
> In love and holy passion, shall find these
> A simple produce of the common day.

The adjective *holy* may seem to convey an idea of spiritual preparation, as a necessary antecedent of the promised felicity; but the lax and improper use of that word is one of the corruptions of our modern poetical diction. It is so often applied to objects that have no moral quality whatever, as to breed confusion of thought. That we are under no mistake as to his estimate of our capacity for self-restoration, will be seen as we quote further:—

> I, long before the blissful hour arrives,
> Would chant, in lonely peace, the spousal verse
> Of this great consummation;—*and by words*
> *Which speak of nothing more than what we are,*
> Would I arouse the sensual from their sleep
> Of death, and win the vacant and the vain
> To noble raptures; while my voice proclaims
> How exquisitely *the individual mind*
> (And the progressive powers perhaps no less
> Of the whole species) to *the external world*
> Is fitted; and how exquisitely, too,
> The external world is fitted to the mind;
> And the *creation* (by no lower name
> Can it be called) *which they with blended might*
> *Accomplish:*—THIS IS OUR HIGH ARGUMENT.

If these passages do not assert the ability of man, individually and as a race, to repair the evils of apostasy by powers inherent in the soul, aided by forces that reside in external nature; if they do not conclusively ignore all necessity for the direct interposition of Divine power and mercy, there is an unwarrantable confusion of language.

The poem is worthy of such a preface. In strains of surpassing beauty and grandeur, the capacities of the soul and the exhaustless sympathies of nature are held up for contemplation, positively declared, persuasively reasoned, skilfully illustrated, and embellished with the finest trophies of imaginative power. There is no shrinking from conclusions, no extenuation of meaning, but all that is implied in the "high argument" of the perfect sufficiency of nature to the human mind, finds emphatic utterance. In the third and fourth books, particularly, the sentiment is expanded and carried to its ultimate consequences, with singular directness. The reader of the Excursion will not need to be reminded of the Solitary and his disconsolate history,—bereft of his family,

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disappointed in those visions of social perfection which the French Revolution awakened within him, disgusted with both Europe and America, dissatisfied with himself, and without any sustaining faith in the verities of the unseen world. The "gray-haired Wanderer," (the hero of the poem,) in his response to this sorrowful narration, expounds the truths in which his compatriot is to find sufficient consolation. He begins by expressing and commending a devout trust in Divine Providence, a fixed adherence to the law of duty, and faith in the security of future blessedness,

> Which reason promises, and Holy Writ
> Insures to all believers.

Acknowledging the force of internal and external temptation to draw the soul downward from this ideal standard, he proceeds:—

> What then remains?—To seek
> Those helps, for his occasions ever near,
> Who lacks not will to use them; vows, renewed
> On the first motion of a holy thought;
> Vigils of contemplation; praise and prayer,
> A stream which, from the fountains of the heart
> Issuing, however feebly, nowhere flows
> Without access of unexpected strength.
> But, above all, the victory is most sure
> For him, who, seeking faith by virtue, strives
> To yield entire submission to the law
> Of conscience; conscience reverenced and obeyed,
> As God's most intimate Presence in the soul,
> And his most perfect Image in the world.
> Endeavor thus to live; these rules regard;
> These helps solicit; and a steadfast seat
> Shall then be yours among the happy few
> Who dwell on earth, yet breathe empyreal air,
> Sons of the morning.

Here we have a religious, though exceedingly vague and indistinct recognition of spiritual agencies:—God, in his providence, the source of all beneficence; his answer of prayer, the sustaining energy of enfeebled nature; and his law, the immutable standard of virtue. The Solitary receives this advice with no visible satisfaction. The Sage, nevertheless, goes on to reprove his misanthropy, and counsels more active intercourse with life and nature, the soothing and elevating influences of which are pictured forcibly and at length. He affirms that superstition, even, is better than the apathy of solitude or the elation of conceited science, and descants on the spiritual benefits of pagan idolatry—in a manner that contrasts rather strongly with St. Paul's allu-

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sions to the same topic in his address on the Areopagus and his Epistle to the Romans. After chiding his friend for trusting his understanding to the guidance of one like Voltaire, (a volume of whose works they had observed in his cottage,) he "asserts"—so says the author, in his own analysis of the book—"*the power of the soul to regenerate herself*," in lines often quoted:—

> Within the soul a Faculty abides,
> That with interpositions, which would hide
> And darken, so can deal, that they become
> Contingencies of pomp, and serve to exalt
> Her native brightness. As the ample Moon,
> In the deep stillness of a summer even,
> Rising behind a thick and lofty grove,
> Burns like an unconsuming fire of light,
> In the green trees; and kindling on all sides
> Their leafy umbrage, turns the dusky veil
> Into a substance glorious as her own,
> Yea, with her own incorporated, by power
> Capacious and serene: like power abides
> In Man's celestial spirit; Virtue thus
> Sets forth and magnifies herself; thus feeds
> A calm, a beautiful, and silent fire,
> From the encumbrances of mortal life,
> From error, disappointment,—nay, from guilt;
> And sometimes, so relenting Justice wills,
> From palpable oppressions of Despair.

The Solitary is moved by this description, but not cheered. Reverting to the starting-point of the discussion, he replies despondingly, "in rueful tone, with some impatience in his looks":—

> But how begin? or whence? The Mind is free;
> Resolve—the haughty Moralist would say—
> This single act is all that we demand.
> Alas! such wisdom bids a creature fly
> Whose very sorrow is that time hath shorn
> His natural wings! To Friendship let him turn
> For succor; but perhaps he sits alone
> On stormy waters, in a little boat
> That holds but him and can contain no more!
> Religion tells of amity sublime,
> Which no condition can preclude; of One
> Who sees all suffering, comprehends all wants,
> All weakness fathoms, can supply all needs:
> But is that bounty absolute? His gifts,
> Are they not still, in some degree, rewards
> For acts of service? Can His love extend
> To hearts that own not Him? Will showers of grace,
> When in the sky no promise may be seen,
> Fall to refresh a parched and withered land?
> Or shall the groaning spirit cast her load
> At the Redeemer's feet?

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Revolve these questions carefully; read again this utterance of a broken spirit, bowed under a sense of moral helplessness: what shall be the response from "the poet of Christianity," the destined "poet of Christendom," whose fame is to blend with "the millennial glory of the church," and who will sit down with Milton and Cowper "on the hill of Zion?" Think what Cowper, himself having writhed in deeper anguish, could say to one in such perplexity. Our thoughts instinctively recur to the pious advice first communicated, and the poet, speaking in his own person, intimates that *his* thoughts, for the moment, took the same direction. But on deliberation, he puts into the Wanderer's mouth a more "apt" reply. The sage begins by affirming that as men's constitutions differ, and as they fall in various ways, "so manifold and various are the ways of restoration,"

> ——— tending all
> To the same point,—attainable by all;
> *Peace in ourselves and union with our God.*

For his desponding friend, in particular, a hopeful way is indicated by his manifest tenderness of spirit. He is not so far fallen as he supposes:—

> Here you stand,
> Adore and worship when you know it not;
> Pious beyond the intention of your thought;
> Devout above the meaning of your will.

He is appealed to, to say if the influences of nature have not deeply impressed his soul at times with emotions of awe; if his "cherished sullenness" has not been forced to bend even in scenes where "her amenities are sown with sparing hand." He is urged to trust himself abroad,

> Where living Things, and Things inanimate,
> Do speak, at Heaven's command, to eye and ear,
> And speak to social Reason's inner sense,
> With inarticulate language.

The first effect of such a regimen will be to create a sympathy with his fellow-men:—

> For the man
> Who in this spirit communes with the Forms
> Of Nature, who with understanding heart
> Doth know and love such Objects as excite
> No morbid passions, no disquietude,
> No vengeance and no hatred, needs must feel
> The joy of that pure principle of Love
> So deeply, that, unsatisfied with aught
> Less pure and exquisite, he cannot choose
> But seek for objects of a kindred love
> In Fellow-natures and a kindred joy."

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this will flow a sense of duty to man, lding to th e exercise of true philanthropy:—

> And further; by contemplating these Forms
> In the relations which they bear to Man,
> He shall discern how, through the various means
> Which silently they yield, are multiplied
> The Spiritual Presences of absent Things.
> Trust me, that for the Instructed, time will come
> When they shall meet no object but may teach
> Some acceptable lesson to their minds
> Of human suffering, or of human joy.
> So shall they learn, while all things speak of Man,
> Their duties from all forms; and general laws
> And local accidents shall tend alike
> To rouse, to urge; and with the will, confer
> The ability to spread the blessings wide
> Of true philanthropy.

The intellect will then be made to harmonize with the higher faculties:—

> The light of love
> Not failing, perseverance from their steps
> Departing not, for them shall be confirmed
> The glorious habit by which Sense is made
> Subservient still to higher purposes,
> Auxiliar to divine. That change shall clothe
> The naked Spirit, ceasing to deplore
> The burden of existence. Science then
> Shall be a welcome visitant; and then,
> And only then, be worthy of her name.

The grand result will be a complete subjection to the laws, and a full enjoyment of the rewards of moral duty:—

> So build we up the Being that we are;
> Thus deeply drinking-in the Soul of Things,
> We shall be wise perforce; and while inspired
> By choice, and conscious that the Will is free,
> Unswerving shall we move, as if impelled
> By strict necessity, along the path
> Of order and of good. Whate'er we see,
> Whate'er we feel, by agency direct
> Or indirect, shall tend to feed and nurse
> Our faculties, shall fix in calmer seats
> Of moral strength, and raise to loftier heights
> Of love divine, our intellectual soul.

If we have correctly analyzed this discourse, (and the reader is invited, if our quotations are not sufficiently extended, to compare the whole fourth book of the Excursion, in which it is contained,) Wordsworth here assures to every man peace of conscience, union with God, and the entire conformity of his will to the law of moral rectitude, with all the present and eternal felicities of such a state, on the sole

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condition of assiduous self-culture, the study of nature, and free intercourse with mankind upon principles of benevolence and philanthropy. The inquirer complains of moral weakness, and is told of unmeasured resources in his own breast; he laments an alienation from God, and is directed to Nature as the all-sufficient mediator. It may be asked how we dispose of the devout language of praise, and the assured aids of prayer commended to the desponding, in the first part of the Wanderer's exhortation? In no other way, we answer, than by the aid of that significant remark, that the modes of restoration are as various as the shades of human character. Under cover of that, it was perfectly consistent to promise the same desired result by a totally different process, one that ignores all Divine interposition, makes every man his own saviour, and virtually represents Christianity as superfluous.*

Were this conclusion drawn from single fragmentary lines, or fugitive poems dropped from his pen in some unguarded hour of enthusiastic feeling, the fruit of those "dizzy raptures" that charmed his youth, we might be charged with undue austerity of judgment. The poet would have a claim for allowance. But the passages cited form an important portion of a work on which he deliberately staked his fame. They carry out the purpose described in his prefatory lines. They present the detailed exposition of his chosen text, harmonizing throughout with its most obvious meaning. And a comparison with his other writings shows that the sentiment had full possession of his mind. In the lines on Tintern Abbey he says:—

> Therefore am I still
> A lover of the meadows, and the woods,
> And mountains; and of all that we behold
> From this green earth; of all the mighty world
> Of eye and ear, both what they half create,
> And what perceive; well pleased *to recognize*
> *In nature, and the language of the sense,*
> The anchor of my purest thoughts, *the nurse,*
> *The guide, the guardian of my heart, and soul*
> *Of all my moral being.*

To the like guardianship he commends his sister, as sovereign against all "solitude, or fear, or pain, or grief." His

* The reader will find in Howitt's Homes of the Poets (art. Wordsworth) an extended collation of passages expounding the poet's faith, not the less valuable, perhaps, from the author's vehement admiration of it. There are also some curious facts suggesting the probable source of these ideas. He styles the doctrine of the Excursion "poetic Quakerism," a designation that has a certain degree of appropriateness, though we can hardly believe that the Friends, as a body, will regard Mr. Howitt as an authoritative exponent of their principles.

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highest aspiration for the "Cumberland Beggar" is that he may live and die "in the eye of nature." The sign and token of "Peter Bell's" hardened depravity is, that he had travelled far and wide, and resisted all the influences of skies, and stars, and breezes, and flowers.

> A primrose by a river's brim
> A yellow primrose was to him,
> And it was nothing more!

Such quotations might be multiplied, but it is unnecessary. A thorough examination of his miscellaneous poems would disclose a very frequent expression, more or less distinct, of this master idea.—We pass to more decisive considerations.

The poem, the title of which is placed at the head of this article, from the connection it has with the Excursion, and its bearing on the present inquiry, demands particular notice. It embodies a most authentic commentary upon the great work of which it is a fitting "Prelude." When the author projected the Recluse, of which the Excursion is a fragment, he deemed it necessary, he informs us, to review his own qualifications for attempting such a work. The result of this process was a resolution to record in verse the origin and development of his powers. "The Prelude" is that record. Beginning with early childhood, he describes the process of his mental growth, the sources of his habitual purposes and feelings, the shaping influences that moulded his affections, and impressed on his soul its most individual characteristics. The discrimination of his views, the beauty of his conceptions, the stately elevation to which his verse not unfrequently rises, though aside from our inquiry, deserve a passing notice. Through the whole course of this retrospect, embracing his boyish sports, school-days, residence at the University and in London, and his foreign travel, he descends to great minuteness of detail. He dwells at length on the aspects of nature that left their impress upon his mind, on the genial influences of society, of books, and of extensive observation. The most trivial objects, "even the loose stones that covered the highway," have their affectionate commemoration, as things that, however passionless in themselves, acting on his susceptible nature, were linked with his moral life, and became the prompters of elevated thought and emotion. *Nowhere does he intimate any important influence of religious truth or of Christian institutions.* If he was the subject of early religious instruction, it seems to have escaped his recollection. The

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village church is once or twice mentioned, as a feature of the landscape, in which its taper spire makes a graceful figure; but as for any other purpose it fulfilled, he seems, like Falstaff, to have "forgotten what the inside of a church is made of." In reviewing his residence at Cambridge, he utters an indignant protest against the compulsory religious services of the University; and a satirical description of a fashionable metropolitan preacher compels the inference, that while in London he sometimes went to the house of prayer. There is also, in one place, a cold mention of the Bible as superior to other books. Aside from these passages, we have not been able to discover any distinct allusion to the power of revealed religion. "Nature and the language of the sense" are represented as most emphatically the guardians of his moral being. To every form of material, social, and literary influence, even to such questionable gratifications as his youthful games at cards, he recurs with fervent gratitude; but "the grace of God that bringeth salvation" has not even a passing tribute.

A comparison between this autobiography and the discourse we have so largely quoted, in the fourth book of the Excursion, is instructive. The discourse commends a confiding subjection to the inspirations of nature; the autobiography rejoices in the experience of such subjection. The discourse predicts as a primary result the elevation of moral purpose to the love of mankind; the poet affirms that he himself was indebted for that result to the same efficient cause. The one gives assurance of a harmonious development of all the faculties of the soul through these genial agencies; the other affirms a consciousness of having largely enjoyed that inestimable benefit. In both, with a vague acknowledgment of superior powers, there is an almost studious negation of the direct spiritual blessings of Christianity.

We have seen that in the intensity of his love for nature and of his reverence for humanity, the poet was led to exalt both to a degree that is at war with the spirit of the gospel. It is not strange, therefore, that he should have been occasionally betrayed into the use of language suggestive of a more pernicious idolatry of the universe, nearly allied to pantheism. We do not mean to charge that he deliberately and consciously entertained pantheistic opinions, but there can be no doubt that he cherished trains of thought tending toward that subtle philosophy, and gave utterance to his musings in terms that fall but little short of its Godless con-

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clusions. In the poem we have before cited—Tintern Abbey*—there is a passage of this kind:—

> I have felt
> A PRESENCE that disturbs me with the joy
> Of elevated thoughts; a sense sublime
> Of SOMETHING far more deeply interfused,
> Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
> And the round ocean, and the living air,
> And the blue sky, and in the mind of man:
> A MOTION and a SPIRIT *that impels*
> *All thinking things, all objects of all thought,*
> *And rolls through all things.*

Now this vague, impersonal, anonymous conception of a *something*,—a spirit, a motion, a presence,—diffused through all things and moving all existences, whether they be spiritual or material, *may* have been intended to describe the omniscient Deity, who is the object of Christian adoration, but the whole description has a decided smack of the pantheistic. It suggests that notion of a "soul of the world," of whose spontaneous activity the universe is the outward sign and sensible image, that an atheistic philosophy has set up to supplant the worship of the all-holy Jehovah. The same idea is suggested by the oft-quoted invocation:—

> Wisdom and Spirit of the Universe!
> Thou Soul, that art the Eternity of thought,
> And givest to forms and images a breath
> And everlasting motion!

But these passages are mild compared with one or two others. They spring from his veneration of the outward

* The characteristics of this poem, in both views in which we have considered it, are noticed by Dr. Wordsworth, (Memoir, page 119,) whose apology deserves to be quoted. "If the reflecting reader should be disposed to think that too much reliance is there expressed on the powers of man's will, leaning on the aid of Nature alone, and independent of those supernatural means which are provided by a gracious Providence for the purification of the corruptions, and for a support to the infirmities, of humanity; * * * if also, as is not improbable, he should be of opinion that a 'worshipper of Nature' is in danger of divinizing the creation and of dishonoring the Creator, and that therefore some portions of this poem might be perverted to serve the purposes of a popular and pantheistic philosophy, he will remember that the author of the *Lines* on *Tintern Abbey* composed also the *Evening Voluntaries*, and that he who professes himself an ardent votary of Nature has explained the sense in which he wishes these words to be understood, by saying, that

> 'By grace divine,
> Not otherwise, O Nature! we are thine.'"

But no "reflecting reader," we apprehend, will consider a gloss of a dozen lines a sufficient antidote to sentiments elaborately interwoven with the texture of so many poems, especially of one which the author composed after years of deliberate meditation, as his most important legacy to posterity.

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universe, but in his soaring conceptions of the soul, he ventures on a more daring style of expression, such as (unless taken with an extenuation of meaning that no author has a right to expect) shocks our sense of the reverence due to the Creator. In the Excursion (book fourth) there is an address to the Deity, containing these lines:—

> Thou, Thou alone
> Art everlasting, and the blessed spirits
> *Which thou includest, as the sea her waves.*

And in lines on hearing of the expected death of Mr. Fox, he says:—

> That Man, who is from God sent forth,
> Doth yet again to God return!
> *Such ebb and flow must ever be;*
> Then wherefore do we mourn?

To comprehend the full import of such expressions as these, compare the following extract from Mr. Morell's discussion of Cousin's philosophical system, in which he is showing its pantheistic tendencies:—

> Even if we admit that his is not a doctrine like that of Spinoza, which identifies God with the abstract idea of substance; or even like that of Hegel, which regards Deity as synonymous with the absolute law and progress of the universe; if we admit, in fact, that the Deity of Cousin possesses a conscious personality, yet still it is one which *contains within itself the infinite personality and consciousness of every subordinate mind. God is the ocean; we are but the waves.* The ocean may be one individuality and each wave another; but still they are essentially one and the same.

In view of such wide departures from the fundamental ideas of Christianity, his minor deviations may be briefly alluded to. Such are his representations of infancy, as a state of holy and perfect communion with God,—representations which he certainly did not derive from the Scriptures, from the standard writers of universal Christendom, or from the articles and formularies of the Church of England. In the Excursion we find the Wanderer consoling the Solitary under his domestic bereavements, in this style:—

> I cannot doubt that they whom you deplore
> Are glorified; or, if they sleep, shall wake
> From sleep, and dwell with God in endless love.
> Hope, below this, consists not with belief
> In mercy, carried infinite degrees
> Beyond the tenderness of human hearts:
> Hope, below this, consists not with belief
> In perfect Wisdom, guiding mightiest Power,
> That finds no limit but her own pure Will.

Since the moral deficiencies of men cannot detract from the Divine perfections, we do not see why the same might not be

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said of the eternal prospects of every human being. But as we have disclaimed, in the outset, any purpose of insisting on what may be deemed narrow doctrinal tests, it is not material that we should pursue our inquiry into the minuter shades of error which may be detected in his verse. Enough has been said, we apprehend, to show that in some points of prime importance, Wordsworth deviates from the Christian standard of thought, and that those who have undertaken his canonization, as one of the great bards of the Christian church, have suffered their admiration of his poetical excellence to obscure their moral discrimination.

It may seem like an affectation of candor, after all this, to express a belief that the poet was thoroughly sincere in his profession of Christianity, and that he never wrote a line with the conscious intention of lessening her claims or questioning her truths. But such are the anomalies of human nature. It is indisputable that he gave utterance to some of the central doctrines of our holy religion with a frank simplicity that cannot be easily misinterpreted. These contradictions are significant of peculiarities in his character and early culture, which are not obscurely disclosed in his works. He was a member and admirer of the Church of England, whose history, whose venerable temples, and whose solemn ritual he has feelingly commemorated, and for whose perpetuity he uttered fervent aspirations. Yet, judging from the tenor of his writings, especially of his poetical autobiography, it would seem that his early religious education was superficial. The recollections of his childhood, so copious and so beautiful, are silent on this theme. There is nothing to indicate that in his youth he was trained to the investigation of those high questions which the Bible presents to task the intellect and fill the heart. He was subjected to the discipline of the Church from infancy, and feeling no temptation to stray from her venerated inclosure, he was under no compulsion to examine strictly the grounds of his profession. Thus he received her doctrines passively rather than by active personal acquisition, with an habitual and unquestioning assent, rather than with earnest conviction or ardent faith. Her formularies and rites stirred his sensibilities, not more by their intrinsic force than by the tender associations connected with them. In maturer life the love of country mingled with these feelings. He loved the Church, because it was the Church of *England*, the Church of his fathers, linked indissolubly with the memory of past ages. It was not strange that he sought to embalm her memory in enduring verse. Loyalty and patriotism, in fact, had as much

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to do with the inspiration of *some* of his religious poems as any higher considerations. The series of Ecclesiastical Sketches, as he tells us, was planned in view of the pendency of the "Catholic question," that great bone of political contention, that made and unmade cabinets, agitated Parliaments, and convulsed the nation for thirty years. The Thanksgiving Ode (which one critic commends as excellent Sabbath morning poetry) is a thanksgiving for the victory at Waterloo. Occasionally, as he contemplated themes that appealed to his religious sensibilities, they called forth sentiments of a more directly pious and Scriptural character. Thus, though possessing religious impulses sufficient to tinge his poetry, they were not strong enough to control it. They appear in fitful bursts of song, but their force is not constant, and his mind strays through by-paths of meditation that lead him to trespass not seldom upon forbidden ground.

It is not to be inferred from these observations, that we regard Wordsworth's religion as a barren sentiment, possessed of no moral efficiency to mould his character and life. The high moral tone he uniformly maintains; the stainless purity of his thoughts, fitly typified by the austere simplicity of his diction; his conceptions of human virtue, lifting themselves sublimely above the atmosphere of worldly life like the summits of his loved mountains, bear witness to his personal worth, and give lasting beauty and fragrance to his well-won chaplet. His piety is not to be pronounced hollow and unreal because his works show that it failed to "bring *every* thought into captivity," obvious and durable as were its actual conquests. Some of the blemishes we have noted have their origin in mental rather than moral obliquity. If, indeed, Wordsworth were what he has been denominated, and what he may have aspired to be, a philosopher, a contrary conclusion might be drawn. Such a claim will hardly bear examination. His habits were meditative, but not reflective. He lacked the comprehension and the steady balance of thought, that are essential traits of the philosophic mind. He contemned the process of logic, and such contempt always has its appropriate retribution. His sensibility and imagination domineered over his rational faculties, a dominion that increased his poetical, but detracted from his purely intellectual power. "The joy of elevated thoughts," he well says, "disturbed" him. It intoxicated his mind, and the rapture forced him to exceed the limits of his calmer convictions. His secluded life, to the influence of which he attributed so much value, tended to nourish these traits of character. It

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was as if the mountains that bounded his ordinary vision imposed a like restraint upon his mind, and impelled his thoughts, if they would transcend the common horizon, to pass upward into the immensity of space, where they found no limit but "their own sweet will." Something is due, also, to the antagonistic attitude he assumed. Perceiving that poetry had been enervated and corrupted by neglecting nature for the trivial conventionalities or the baser passions of artificial life, he sought to restore her wasted powers. He mused long and lovingly on the beauty and grandeur of the outward world, and the force of human affections in their most elementary forms of manifestation; and he sought to kindle the same spirit in others. It is not strange that his ardor should have transported him beyond the bounds of exact truth. His primary conceptions were just, but they became distorted by a very natural exaggeration of feeling.

We have intimated a high admiration for the moral tone of Wordsworth's works,—an admiration that suffers no abatement from a sense of their religious defects. The service he rendered to literature in this respect can hardly be overrated. With no prudery or morbid delicacy, with a manliness and healthful energy of spirit that breathe through all his productions, he passes before us like Milton, as described in his own matchless language, with

> —— keen eye, courageous look,
> And conscious step of purity and pride.

If the fervor of his human love seduced him at times into an undue exaltation of man's unaided powers, he never sought to deify lust, or apologize for the excesses of untamed passion. Nothing malevolent or scornful, nothing base or selfish, nothing sensual or corrupt, taints a single production of his pen. Nor are his merits exclusively negative. He loves to dwell on the aspects of human goodness, to paint scenes of domestic tenderness and peace, to clothe virtue with a lustre from which vice shrinks abashed. Human nature is glorified in his view by its relations to the divine; the present life is illuminated by gleams from the endless future. And although we cannot doubt that the eternal Spirit will yet inspire bards of greater might, whose powers shall be more entirely devoted "to celebrate in glorious and lofty hymns the throne and equipage of God's almightiness, and what he works and what he suffers to be wrought with high providence in his church," the effulgence of their genius will never, we may believe, utterly hide the "starlike virtue" of Wordsworth's song.

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Art. VII.—ROBINSON'S GREEK AND ENGLISH LEXICON.

BY HENRY J. RIPLEY,

PROFESSOR IN NEWTON THEOLOGICAL INSTITUTION.

A Greek and English Lexicon of the New Testament. By Edward Robinson, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Biblical Literature in the Union Theological Seminary, New-York. A new edition, revised and in great part rewritten. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1850.

The reputation of Dr. Robinson in Biblical Literature is so well established, that the present edition of his Lexicon of the New Testament will of course be received with favor. It has unquestionable claims to favor. It is a good specimen of such a Lexicon, in its minuteness as to the signification of words and phrases and its condensed information in Biblical geography, history and exegesis. To a considerable extent, it answers the purpose of a concordance, and puts a student in possession of materials for making his own commentary.

In using a lexicon of the New Testament, it is important to remember that in such a work, as in a commentary, an author's theological views will appear, and will influence his representations of the meaning of words; though, justly speaking, theological views ought to be moulded by the philology of the lexicon. We are entitled to expect in a lexicon impartiality, or freedom from all extraneous bias in fixing the definitions of words; for a lexicon professes faithfully to collect and record facts as to the meaning of words and phrases, and should, therefore, have the justice and coolness of history. Literary justice would be disregarded should an author attempt, when philology requires of him an account of a word unaccordant with his predilections, to neutralize the proper influence of the account he gives.

The decisions of a lexicon, it should also be remembered, are by no means final; they are only the conclusions which its author has formed from the resources within his reach; and those resources may have been, in the case of any word, copious or meagre, and may have been judiciously employed or otherwise. There always lies an appeal from the lexicon to the authors in the original language, or to the original passages in which a word occurs. A student should form the habit of going back, as far as his means allow, to original sources, thus making himself independent even of lexicons. As lexicons present the conclusions of their authors, it is desirable also to have several, so that the deficiencies of one may be supplied by the fulness of another, and the errors of one, occasioned by the numerous untoward influences felt in the domain of theological literature, may be rectified by the more impartial conclusions of another.

We have been led into this train of thought, probably, by the manner in which the author treats the word βαπτίζω. After presenting a just view of its use among classic Greek writers, he proceeds to its use in the New Testament, and states as the first meaning, *to wash, to lave, to cleanse by washing*. As an authority for, or illustration of, this indefinite signification, he produces Luke xi. 38, in which ἐβαπτίσθη occurs; and compares it with Mark vii. 2, 3, where νίψωνται occurs, the circumstances in the two cases being represented by Dr. Robinson as alike. Mark vii.

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4, in which βαπτίσωνται occurs, is also referred to. The author's judgment, apparently, is that the words in these instances are used alike, and that νίπτω, *wash*, serves to explain βαπτίζω, *baptize*.

This judgment is certainly incorrect. A careful examination of the verses cited from Mark shows that two quite diverse cases are there spoken of, one requiring a comparatively slight washing, (νίψωνται,) and the other a copious ablution (βαπτίσωνται). With this latter case corresponds the one mentioned in Luke xi. 38 (ἐβαπτίσθη). The very candid view taken of Mark vii. 2–4, by Dr. G. Campbell, in the Notes to his translation of the Four Gospels, is worthy of careful consideration. He translates the passage in the following manner: "For the Pharisees . . . eat not until they have washed their hands by pouring a little water upon them; and if they be come from the market, by dipping them." In his note, he says: "For illustrating this passage, let it be observed, that the two verbs, rendered *wash* in the English translation, are different in the original. The first is νίψωνται, properly translated *wash*; the second is βαπτίσωνται, which limits us to a particular mode of washing; for βαπτίζω denotes *to plunge, to dip*. . . . By this interpretation, the words which, as rendered in the common version, are unmeaning, appear both significant and emphatical; and the contrast in the Greek is preserved in the translation."

More modern writers, of the first ability, also differ from the author of this Lexicon. Olshausen, on Mark vii. 2, 3, after saying that the evangelist felt it necessary to explain to readers who were not Jews the Jewish custom of washing the hands before meals, thus proceeds: "Mark passes on from the custom of washing hands to similar customs; for washings of every sort were customary among the Jews; he ends, however, with the washing relative to provisions. Βαπτίζεσθαι differs from νίπτεσθαι. The former is here the immersing and cleaning off of provisions that had been purchased, in order to remove every possible impurity which might have been on them. Νίπτεσθαι embraces also a rubbing off, since such an act occurs in every form of washing."

C. F. A. Fritzsche, in his Commentary on Mark, after a very copious discussion of the passage, presents the following views: "Verse 4. And when they have come from the market, that is, from business in the market, they do not eat unless they have washed their body. Thus Beza and Grotius explain this passage. Most rightly." In alluding to a possible charge of tautology in this interpretation, he remarks: "So far from there being tautology in this method, the writer advances to a still stronger case. The Pharisees, says Mark, according to traditional precepts, do not eat bread unless after having carefully washed their hands. And when they have come from the market, they do even more; namely, they do not take food *unless they have washed their body*. The Pharisees judged it necessary to wash their bodies on returning from the market, because there was ground for fear lest in a public concourse they should, even through imprudence, have contracted some serious defilement, as they might have either ignorantly fallen in with an unclean man, or incautiously touched some very impure thing." In reference to Kuinoel's remark that antiquity bears no testimony to the practice among the Pharisees of washing their persons before meals, after returning from the market, he says, "The testimony of antiquity which Kuinoel required is in the New Testament itself, in Luke xi. 37, 38."

De Wette, after assenting to the insertion, for explaining the evangelist's idea, of the clause *when they have returned* before the clause *from the market*, adds: "This explanation receives a better sense when with

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Beza, Grotius, Fritzsche, we understand βαπτίζεσθαι of the whole body, than with Lightfoot and Wetstein merely of the hands."

H. A. W. Meyer, in his Manual on the Gospels of Mark and Luke, has the following note: "'Εαν μὴ βαπτίσωνται is not to be understood of the *washing of the hands*, (Lightfoot, Wetstein,) but of the *immersing* which the word always means in the classics and the New Testament; that is, here, according to the context, *the taking of a bath*. So likewise Luke xi. 38. Having come from the market, where, among a crowd of men, they might have come in contact with unclean persons, they eat not without having first bathed themselves. The representation proceeds in a climactic manner: before eating they *always* observe the washing of hands, but [employ] the *bath* when they come *from the market*, and wish to take food."

It is no part of my object here to determine whether βαπτίσωνται relates to the persons spoken of, or, as Olshausen and others suppose, to provisions which had been purchased in the market; nor even, whether it relates to the entire body, or only to the hands. This is wholly unnecessary so far as the meaning of the word is concerned; since, in either case, the difference between this word and νίπτεσθαι is perfectly obvious. My purpose has been to show that Dr. Robinson's judgment in regard to Mark vii. 2, 3, as employing νίπτω and βαπτίζω in the same sense, opposes leading authorities of the present age. So far as βαπτίζω is concerned, his Lexicon cannot be regarded as a "memorial of the progress and condition of the interpretation and lexicography of the New Testament, at the close of the first half of the nineteenth century."

Dr. Robinson produces in this connection the two Hebrew words טָבַל and רָחַץ, apparently, as illustrating the resemblance between βαπτίζω and νίπτω. The comparison fails, however; for the relation between the two Hebrew words, as is evident from the very passages he quotes, 2 Kings v. 14, compared with 10, is not the same as between βαπτίζω and νίπτω, but the same as between βαπτίζω and λούω; the two words, both in Hebrew and Greek, being so related that when the prophet Elisha directed Naaman to go and *wash* (רָחַץ, λούω, properly *bathe*) in the Jordan, Naaman went and *dipped* (טָבַל, βαπτίζω) himself. Now while λούω and βαπτίζω are thus kindred in idea, λούω and νίπτω are distinct from each other; as appears from the Gospel of John, xiii. 10. In this passage it is said that a person who has been *bathed*, λελουμενος, needs after that copious use of water only *to wash* (νίψασθαι) his feet. The distinction between νίπτω and λούω is here obvious. Equally obvious is the distinction between νίπτω and βαπτίζω. The cases in John xiii. 10 and Mark vii. 2, 3, are remarkably similar as to the relation of these several verbs; and amply show how uncritical it is to regard βαπτίζω and νίπτω as interchangeable and as indiscriminately employed.

Two passages are also produced from the Apocrypha as confirming the statement that βαπτίζω bears the general signification of *washing*. In these passages, however, the cases referred to are such that a very *copious* use of water is intended to be expressed, and not *washing* merely, without necessary reference to the idea of copiousness.

Appended to the article we have been considering is a note, designed to support the opinion that "in Hellenistic usage, and especially in reference to the rite of baptism, βαπτίζω would seem to have expressed not always simply *immersion*, but the more general idea of *ablution* or *affusion*." It ingeniously acknowledges that "in Greek writers, from Plato onwards, βαπτίζω is every where *to sink*, *to immerse*, *to overwhelm*, either wholly or *partially*." The opinion above stated the author, however, labors to confirm by the following considerations: 1. "The circumstances

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narrated in Luke xi. 37, 38, compared with those in Mark vii. 2–4." These passages have been already sufficiently examined. A word or two more may seem requisite in regard to βαπτισμοὺς in the 4th verse of the passage in Mark, as applied to cups, pots, brazen vessels, and tables. No valid objection against the specific meaning of the word can arise from its use in this connection, since all these articles, even the more bulky ones, were capable of immersion, part by part, if not the whole at once; and the more bulky articles were expressly required by later Jewish regulations to be actually covered with water in order to be cleansed. In regard to the smaller articles, we find in Lev. xi. 32, the direction that any vessel on which the dead body of an unclean animal had fallen—and Jewish scrupulosity would, doubtless, in subsequent times, extend the rule to all cases of defilement, real or presumed—"whatsoever vessel it be wherein any work is done," (except only earthern vessels, which, when polluted, were to be broken in pieces, Lev. xi. 33,) "it must be *put into water*," in order to be cleansed. Meyer, also, whom we have already quoted, says of βαπτισμοὺς in this verse: "It is to be understood of the cleaning off by *dipping in*."

2. Another consideration adduced to sustain the indefinite signification of the word in question is, that "in Acts ii. 41, three thousand persons are said to have been baptized at Jerusalem apparently in one day, at the season of Pentecost in June; and in Acts iv. 4, the same rite is necessarily implied in respect to five thousand more. Against the idea of full *immersion* in these cases there lies a difficulty, apparently insuperable, in the scarcity of water. There is in summer no running stream in the vicinity of Jerusalem, except the mere rill of Siloam, a few rods in length; and the city is and was supplied with water from its cisterns and public reservoirs. From neither of these sources could a supply have been well obtained for the immersion of eight thousand persons."

We will repress levity, and in seriousness ask, If three thousand persons were baptized on one day, and five thousand were subsequently baptized, whether on one day or at several different times, how does this furnish a ground for objecting that there was not water enough for immersing eight thousand persons? So far as the number is concerned, the entire statement of the sacred record is met by the opinion, generally received, that in Acts iv. 4 not a fresh addition of five thousand persons to the Christian company is meant, but that the company had increased to five thousand; and this increase was not, so far as appears, simultaneous, but gradual. Then, as to the water itself, without starting the inquiry which the author's statement certainly suggests, How much water is consumed in baptizing a person? or, How many persons will any considerable mass of water allow to be baptized without being exhausted, or rendered unsuitable for the purpose?—without starting these inquiries, but limiting our view to the sufficiency of water in the city, we may, in the absence of precise testimony from ancient times, well believe that so populous a city as Jerusalem was not destitute of adequate supplies of water for the purpose, but that, as the ancient geographer Strabo testifies, it was "well watered;" especially as, by the prescriptions of their religion, all the adult males of the nation were required to repair to Jerusalem three times every year; and one of those times was the very festival which was occurring when the three thousand embraced the Christian religion. The burden of proof that Jerusalem was destitute of sufficient water and conveniences, in face of the acknowledged meaning of the word as commonly used, and in face of divinely appointed customs which required large quantities of water both for religious purposes and for personal cleanliness, lies on those who raise the suspicion that Jerusalem was not

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able to furnish an adequate supply of water. This proof has never been given; and the subject is far enough from such a state as would authorize a departure, in sense, from the ordinary meaning of a word which a sacred writer has employed. Should researches continue to be made, we have a right to presume that, as has happened on other subjects and on other questions pertaining to baptism, the increasing light of science will confirm the plain, unsophisticated declarations of the Holy Scriptures.

Desirable as it is to oppose facts to doubts, we must sometimes be content to oppose probabilities to improbabilities, and wait for additional light. That additional light in regard to the present subject may never be attained, because the question relates to the ancient city which has been so sadly devastated and has undergone so many changes. And yet so far as explorations have been made which might create, or warrant, a general impression on the subject, a perusal of Dr. Robinson's Researches in Palestine, (Vol. I. Section VIII. Art. IX., on the Supply of Water in Jerusalem,) and of the additions to the Researches grounded on communications from Messrs. Smith and Walcott, can hardly fail to produce conviction that a city, so wonderful for the labor and skill expended in securing immense quantities of water, for both public and private use, could not have been destitute of places in which immersion could have been administered to an indefinite nember of persons. When we read of remains of ancient reservoirs, in length 316 feet, in breadth from 200 to 218 feet, and 18 feet in depth; also, in length 592 feet, in breadth from 245 to 275 feet, and in depth from 35 to 42 feet; and when various notices of aqueducts and other means of supply pass before our minds, showing great ampleness of accommodations for water, and a most remarkable attention to the safety and comfort of the city in every vicissitude of circumstances; it does seem utterly unreasonable to cast suspicion on the meaning of the word *baptize* by the suggestion that the city could not supply a sufficient quantity of water for immersing so many as the inspired account may warrant us in saying were baptized. A more particular reference to the interestlng facts presented in the works above named is unnecessary. Future years may bring to light other and still more definite facts; for the researches thus far made give stimulating promise of yet more wonderful disclosures to reward the enterprise of explorers, and to confirm the sacred records. In the mean time, the general impression from researches hitherto prosecuted is by no means adverse to the belief that the baptism in Jerusalem on the occasions referred to was, in accordance with the meaning of the word, a veritable immersion.

3. Another consideration produced by Dr. Robinson as adverse to the idea of immersion being involved in baptism is, that "in the earliest Latin versions of the New Testament, as for example the *Itala*, which Augustine regarded as the best of all, and which goes back apparently to the second century and to usage connected with the apostolic age, the Greek verb βαπτίζω is uniformly given in the Latin from *baptizo*, and is never translated by *immergo* or any like word; showing that there was something in the rite of baptism to which the latter did not correspond."

Without entering into the doubtful, and, for the present purpose, unnecessary inquiry, how far any existing Latin renderings belong to the genuine Itala, a satisfactory account can be given of the transfer of the Greek βαπτίζω into the early Latin versions in preference to a real translation of that word. There is no necessity for supposing such a flexibility or comprehensiveness of meaning in the Greek word as would not allow any existing Latin word to be its representative. The supposition has been made that the earliest Latin versions, unless we may ex-

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cept the Itala, had their origin in Africa, where the Latin was generally used, but was not spoken, or written, in purity; and where, of course, a word not of the genuine language, yet well understood, would without repugnance be adopted. Whatever may be in this, the expressing of the Greek word in a Latin form proves only, that at the very early period when Latin versions commenced, the word βαπτίζω had come to be so associated with the sacred observance, and had become so familiar among the people for whom the versions were made, that it was naturally transferred instead of being translated. It is by no means surprising, then, that even among those Christians in the Roman empire who used mostly the Latin language, a classical or a colloquial Latin word was not employed in Latin translations instead of that to which, in sacred matters, they had become accustomed, and which was by usage as well understood as the corresponding genuine Latin word.

4. The remaining consideration presented in the note, is drawn from "the baptismal fonts still found among the ruins of the most ancient Greek churches in Palestine, as at Tekoa and Gophna, and going back apparently to very early times," which "are not large enough to admit of the baptism of adult persons by immersion, and were obviously never intended for that use."

How ancient were these fonts? A question of essential importance to the purpose for which the Lexicon mentions them; namely, showing how a certain word was understood in the apostolic age. That they belong "to very early times" is not sufficient; for at the early times to which they may belong, erroneous practices may have become prevalent, requiring them for a purpose other than that of the baptism of adult persons. They "were obviously never intended for the baptism of adult persons by immersion." For what use were they intended? Will any one inform us, and thus enable us to conjecture whether they oppose the idea of immersion as belonging to baptism? If any one says, they were designed not for the immersion of adults, but for some other mode of using water at the baptism of adults, let him prove this; else he begs the question. But if they were designed, according to the practice of Greek churches elsewhere, for the baptism of infants, then they do not oppose the ordinary meaning of the word: they rather favor it, for why was a font "four feet in diameter on the inside and three feet nine inches deep,"* employed for the baptism of infants, unless the baptism was an immersion? If then they cannot be fairly traced back—and who will pretend that they can be?—to that period in the Christian history when conveniences for the baptism of infants were not needed, infant-baptism not having yet, according to all early history, been introduced, their antiquity is not of the least avail against the idea of immersion being contained in βαπτίζω. It is not sufficiently remote.

Having examined, as was meet, the several grounds on which the acknowledged classical signification of this word is withholden from it when used in reference to the rite of baptism, we may be allowed to say that any word which is descriptive of an act might easily become shrouded in darkness if the same license were practised in regard to it as has fallen to the lot of this much abused word. And as an offset to the irrelevant considerations which are so often produced to disprove its retaining in the New Testament its confessedly classical signification, we beg to ask, how can it be fairly accounted for that in the earliest Christian writers after the apostolic era, whenever the mention of the rite of baptism is associated with descriptive circumstances, or when descriptive terms are

* Robinson, Biblical Researches in Palestine, Vol. I. p. 78; Vol. II. p. 182.

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employed instead of the words *baptize* and *baptism*, the descriptive terms and circumstances invariably point to immersion as the act of baptism?

Under the word ὕδωρ, *water*, the phrase, ὕδατα πολλα, *many waters*, *much water*, is in this work quite summarily dispatched. It is here defined *many fountains;* and this meaning is ascribed to the expression in John iii. 23. In support of this definition, two references are made to classic Greek authors. This phrase, however, as occurring in the New Testament, is not to be illustrated by classic usage, since it is a *Hebraistic phrase*, and must be examined as such. Now it is remarkable that while this phrase is of frequent occurrence in the Apocalypse and in the Old Testament, both the Septuagint version and the original Hebrew, and thus the means of elucidation are sufficiently ample to produce satisfaction, Dr. Robinson has produced but a single Biblical passage, Ex. vii. 15, Sept., as illustrating it, and, unhappily for his definition, the relation of that passage to the phrase does not appear. Perhaps it is an error of the press. But whether a misprint or not, whoever, in order to explain John iii. 23, will examine the passages in the New Testament in which this Hebraistic phrase occurs, Rev. i. 15; xiv. 2; xvii. 1; xix. 6; and will then examine the places of its occurrence in the Septuagint, and of the corresponding Hebrew phrase in the Hebrew Bible, 2 Sam. xxii. 17; Ps. xviii. 16; xxix. 3; xxxii. 6; lxxvii. 19; xciii. 4; cvii. 23; cxliv. 7; and will also observe the usage of the Septuagint, in which *much water* and *many waters* are equivalent expressions, cannot admit the meaning ascribed to it in this Lexicon, but will feel compelled to translate it, in accordance with our version, *much water* and *many waters*.

The precise idea of a word is sometimes overlooked by Dr. Robinson, while he presents the essential meaning, though in a form diverse from that which the original writer employed, thus being logically correct, but not philologically, and therefore not giving a satisfactory account of the word. In the article on βαπτίζω, for instance, he quotes a passage from Josephus, in which that writer says of certain robbers who had broken into Jerusalem, that "they baptized the city;" that is, says Dr. Robinson, "filled it with confusion and distress." This is substantially a true exhibition of the thought which Josephus conveyed, but the word *filled* is too remote from the original word to represent it. The more kindred phraseology, "they *plunged* the city into confusion," or, "they *inundated*," or, "*overwhelmed*" it with confusion, would present the original cast of the thought and preserve verbal accuracy.

So under the word αἷμα, *blood*, he gives the following explanation of our Lord's idea in John vi. 53–58, where, he says, "the phrase *to eat the flesh and drink the blood of Christ*, signifies 'to receive Christ wholly into oneself, so that he may become wholly united and incorporated with us, as food with the body, and we thus become partakers of that life which is in him;' comp. Gal. iv. 19; Col. i. 27; iii. 10." Our Lord's idea in this connection was not, we think, so definite and intensive. He rather meant to be understood as saying in general, that, as your bodily life is sustained by what you eat and drink, so by me only can you have spiritual life, or, from me must be derived spiritual aliment. But however this may be, the several passages adduced do not illustrate the *language* of our Lord; they present the same idea under as many different aspects. And while they help to a logical conception of the passage, they may, as thus presented, really hinder a student's exact discrimination between the different shades of thought. We interpret a passage inaccurately, when, instead of seizing on the precise idea, or the form of thought, we express its meaning in terms equally adapted to several other different passages,

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and in all probability equally unadapted to the precise shade of thought in either of those passages.

Passing over some other unsatisfactory matter, and some deficiencies, it is gratifying to see so copious space given to the explanation of particles. These are small words, but incalculably important in their influence on the words to which they stand related. It is delightful, too, to meet here with so many instances in which a good Lexicon sheds a flood of light on a passage by explaining some one word, or by inserting an explanatory word or clause.

The Preface to the work is richly instructive and satisfactory.

It is a matter of regret to have had occasion to say so much on the meaning of βαπτίζω. The honest conclusions of philology ought, at length, to be acquiesced in, and not to be unsettled by suspicions and surmises more shadowy than real. In the spirit of genuine and ingenuous scholarship let the meaning of the word be acknowledged. Notwithstanding such acknowledgment, room may still be found for inquiry, whether the genius of Christianity does not permit its rites to be materially modified according to circumstances? or, whether there may not be such a thing as an imperfect baptism? Such inquiries would be more appropriate to the state of philological learning at the middle of the nineteenth century, than questionings about the meaning of the word.

This is to be regretted, again, because it is liable to be abused as fostering the unfounded prejudice that the chief difference between Baptists and others relates to a mere mode of baptism. So far from this being true, the question about the meaning of the word has not a hundredth part of the importance which belongs to the question, To whom is baptism to be administered? If all were agreed, both in sentiment and practice, as to the meaning of the word, this latter and chief inquiry would still be open. And this inquiry, however decided, has connections and results too grave for indifference. Strange as it may appear to some, this question involves the inquiry whether the Word of God is our sole and sufficient directory in matters of religious obligation, or whether tradition should also be appealed to. For who, with the Bible alone before him, would ever think of *infant* baptism? It involves, too, the inquiry whether the Jewish element of children's being in covenant with God by virtue of their parentage belongs to the Christian church; and whether a worldly element uniting unregenerate persons in church relations, to whatever extent, with genuine disciples, belongs to the Christian church; and again, whether an ordinance most evidently instituted by Christ and sacredly observed by the apostles, that is, the baptism of believers on profession of their faith in him, is to be displaced and eventually—for such is the tendency of infant baptism—annulled? Such are the inquiries which are involved; and they certainly demand wakeful jealousy for the honor of Christ, the church's head, as well as the meekness of wisdom. The question as to the proper subjects of baptism is not appropriate to the design of the present paper. When a favorable occasion arises for examining that question, it can not only be shown that the Word of God authorizes only the baptism of believers, but also, that the earliest period of church history, that which alone can pretend to be valuable in such an examination, embracing the apostolical fathers and succeeding writers down to Tertullian, about the year 200, is as barren of evidence for infant baptism, and is as directly in favor of believers' baptism, as is the New Testament itself.

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Art. VIII.—NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

The Illustrated Domestic Bible. By the Rev. Ingram Cobbin, M.A. New York: Samuel Hueston, 139 Nassau street.

It is with pleasure that we call attention to this edition of the Sacred Scriptures. It is a quarto of convenient size; the plates from which it is printed were cast in England upon the clearest type; the paper is of good quality, and the binding for substantialness and elegance is an honor to the art. But the treasures of the book lie within. It contains, in addition to the text of the common version, with the usual marginal readings, a very large number of parallel references, which there is every reason to believe are made with judgment and care. If its merits extended no further, even these, in our estimation, would give it special claims to patronage. To students of the Bible, whether as ministers or private Christians, such numerous references form an aid which none can justly value who have not made trial of them. But added to these, there are notes, reflections, and questions, designed as aids to the reader, brief, intelligent, pertinent and practical. The chronological order is carefully indicated, following Dr. Townsend; the metrical portions are distinguished; and improved divisions of the chapters are introduced. Besides all these features, the work has a peculiarity which, to many in these times will specially recommend it. In addition to the received text, it contains improved readings, wherein, in the judgment of Mr. Cobbin, the translation might be made better. These readings, while to a certain extent aiding as explanatory of the sense, indicate by a ready comparison just about how much would be gained and how much lost by a revision of the common version of the Scriptures, and thus bring that question to a practical test. The work contains likewise a vast number of illustrative cuts, inserted not for the idle purpose of decoration, but to make apparent the sense. These are generally pictures of noted places, or of manners or rites. The author of the work has recently rested from his earthly labors. Cut off from pulpit services in early life, he devoted the remainder of his career, extended through thirty years, to Biblical studies, and to the production of commentaries and other works illustrative of the Scriptures. The work before us embodies the results of these long continued labors. The allusions to the personal character of Mr. Cobbin which we have seen, speak of him as a man of devoted piety as well as of large Biblical attainments. Mr. Hueston has performed an acceptable service in reproducing in this country this elegant and valuable work, and we shall be glad if our commendation directs to it the attention and patronage of our readers.

Struggles and Triumphs of Religious Liberty: An Historical Survey of Controversies pertaining to the Rights of Conscience, from the English Reformation to the Settlement of New-England. By Edward B. Underhill, Esq., London. With an Introduction by Sewall S. Cutting. New-York: Lewis Colby. 1851. 12mo, pp. 242

This volume is a valuable contribution to the annals of religious freedom. It is composed of a series of papers prepared by Mr. Underhill, the Secretary of the Hanserd Knollys Society, as introductions to the successive volumes which that Society has given to the public, all of which relate to the same general subject. They are now for the first

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time separated from the volumes to which they belong, and published together in this country for the purpose of illustrating a truth which is often strangely overlooked even by intelligent readers of history, viz.: that the early struggles of religious freedom in Massachusetts were not begun here, but were inherited from a former age and imported from the Old World. In this volume these struggles are traced back as far as the reign of Henry VIII., and their progress is recorded down to the period of the settlement of New-England. It is shown that through all this period the Baptists of England invariably maintained the independency of the church and the civil power, and the responsibility of every man in matters of religion to God alone, among the most cherished articles in their Confessions of Faith. They defended it in their writings, they embodied it in all their organizations, and they transmitted it to other ages as an inheritance of priceless importance, till at length the doctrine was for the first time incorporated into a colony in America, from which it is now making its triumphal progress to the four quarters of the globe. In the Introduction which Mr. Cutting has prefixed to the volume, the progress of the perpetual struggle, through which religious freedom has won its way to its present vantage-ground, is admirably delineated, and the questions which are involved in that struggle are presented with a clearness and power which no intelligent reader will fail to appreciate. The volume goes very strongly to prove what we have always attempted to maintain, that the Baptists, hated and despised as they long were—maligned and traduced as even now they sometimes are—have always contended for the unchartered and inalienable freedom of the human soul, and that whatever else they have failed to do, they have invariably, at all times, and in all places, appealed to the Scriptures as containing the only law that can bind the conscience in any matters of faith or worship. This is a distinction which we believe can be awarded to no other portion of the Christian church, and it is one which we delight to connect with the still neglected memories of the ancient fathers of our denomination.

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The Life and Times of John Calvin, the Great Reformer. Translated from the German of PAUL HENRY, D.D., Minister and Seminary Inspector in Berlin, by HENRY STEBBING, D.D., F.R.S., &c. &c. In two volumes. Vol. I. New-York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1851. 8vo, pp. 519.

The original work of Dr. Henry was published at Hamburg, in three volumes, in 1835–1844, and the translation of Dr. Stebbing appeared in England in two volumes in 1839. Some of the notes and references which were appended by the author to the German edition are understood to have been omitted by the English translator. The work, however, is a vast magazine of facts and views respecting the life, times, and doctrines of the great Genevan Reformer, and we welcome its reprint in the United States, by Messrs. Carter, with unusual pleasure. As a biographer, the German author cannot be said to possess a very high order of skill either in the selection or the arrangement and grouping of his incidents; and as a writer of English Dr. Stebbing falls far below the standard by which we would naturally measure one who has been so long practised in historical composition. But after all the drawbacks which are implied in criticisms like these, the volume already published is quite sufficient to establish the great merits of the work as an illustration and exposition of the life and views of Calvin. The briefer and more recent life by Mr. Dyer has been generally thought to be harsh and unjust in its judgments of his character, and we are not sure but the present work may be deemed by

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some as verging towards the opposite extreme. Yet we think all who read it will be satisfied that it contains the materials—not always, indeed, very thoroughly digested and arranged—for a full and complete judgment alike of the deeds and the doctrines of John Calvin. It is a work which should find a place in every theological library, and we are happy to learn that its cost does not place it beyond the reach of most theological scholars.

Annals of the Famine in Ireland, in 1847, 1848, and 1849. By Mrs. A. Nicholson. New-York: E. French. 12 mo, pp. 336.

Near thirty years ago, the author of this volume was the teacher of a school for lads and misses, in a quiet village, embosomed among mountains in the northern part of the State of New-York. We were but a child then, but we well remember those qualities in her character which have of late been developed in her remarkable mission among the suffering Irish. She is a lady of talents and cultivation, of high Christian purposes and abundant energy, of great shrewdness and a close observer of the world; but eccentric withal, and a little impatient that society will not be reformed as rapidly as she desires. After a residence of several years in this city, where she was well known as the keeper of a "Vegetarian" boarding-house, she was seized with the idea that she must trace the stream of Irish immigration to its source; why, she knew not, but for some reason she must go; and so she travelled over Ireland, sometimes on foot, sometimes in peasants' cars, and sometimes in the public coach; sometimes with money, and then, when her remittances failed her, quite without; lodging sometimes in hovels and at others in castles; sometimes welcomed and sometimes spurned. She fed the poor; she read the Scriptures and sung Christian hymns to companies of peasants who understood religion only through the mysterious forms of the Catholic Church; she studied the people; she fathomed their miseries, and wrote a book, entitled "Ireland's Welcome to the Stranger." Those were the days when the famine was approaching. The famine came, and with it claims enough for ministrations of mercy. This new misery, this deeper depth of woe, she sounded. Amid want, horrible want and death, she made her way—the almoner of the charities of the merciful, and draining too her own purse—feeding the starving, teaching the miserable people how to husband and how to use their narrow supplies, and comforting sorrowing souls with the solaces of Christian instruction. "The Famine in Ireland" is a record of those dreadful times, and will be read with melancholy interest. Its representations may be received with confidence.

First Impressions of England and its People. By Hugh Miller, author of "Footprints of the Creator," &c. &c. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1851.

This is the third of the delightful works of this great Scottish geologist which Messrs. Gould & Lincoln have recently given to the public, and to the unscientific reader it will undoubtedly prove the most attractive and readable of all. It is a simple and exceedingly natural record of the incidents of the author's first extended journey in England, in the autumn of 1845, in the course of which he visited the places, alike in town and country, which are famous either by the historic or the personal associations connected with them, and also many spots interesting to the man of science. The whole condition of England—the subject of so much speculation and anxiety—passes in review before him. Its government and its religion—the Established Church and the several bodies of the Dissenters

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—its education in schools and universities—its science and literature—its people as they live alike in cottages or in castles, are all subjected to the inspection of one who knows well how to sympathize with all the fortunes both of man and of society, and who has a ready eye for the peculiarities of both. The author maintains his character as a man of science, and mingles with his narrative a large amount of rich and varied instruction respecting the condition and progress of the sciences in which he is especially interested. The volume is printed in the best style of Messrs. Gould & Lincoln's press, and has for a frontispiece a well-executed head of the illustrious Scotchman.

The Course of Creation. By JOHN ANDERSON, D.D. With a Glossary of Scientific Terms. Cincinnati: W. H. Moore & Co. 1851. 12mo, pp. 384.

This valuable contribution to the science of geology and its bearings upon theology, appears to be the fruit of such leisure as an active and well-employed clergyman has been able to glean from his more pressing duties, for the cultivation of his favorite branch of knowledge. The work is divided into four parts, of which the first treats of the geology of Scotland; the second of that of England, with several comparisons, both in this and the preceding, with that of the United States; the third of the geology of France and Switzerland, and the fourth of certain general principles of the science, in the course of which the author discusses the theory contained in the "Vestiges of Creation," and shows how the Mosaic records are to be harmonized with the discoveries of geological science. The work is evidently the product of an earnest and well-informed mind.

Life of Algernon Sidney; with Sketches of some of his Contemporaries, and Extracts from his Correspondence and Political Writings. By G. VAN SANTVOORD. New-York: Charles Scribner. 1851. 12mo, pp. 334.

The name of Sidney has always been cherished by the American people, and we are happy to find that one of our countrymen has prepared this fitting tribute to his life and character, and his illustrious services in the cause of English freedom. The story of his life is plainly though clearly told, as it runs on through that most troubled and contentious period which lies between 1622, the date of his birth, in the reign of James I., to 1683, when he was beheaded on Tower Hill, according to the sentence of Judge Jeffries, in the reign of Charles II. It deserves to be welcomed as an interesting addition to our means of understanding and appreciating the character of one of the purest patriots who adorned a corrupt and shameless age.

A Memoir of the Rev. Henry Watson Fox, B.A., Missionary to the Teloogoo People, South India. By Rev. GEORGE T. FOX. With an Introductory Essay by Rev. C. P. M'ILVAINE, D.D., Bishop of Ohio. New-York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1851.

This is an interesting memoir of one of those lofty and magnanimous spirits whose memory is always green in the hearts of those who knew them. Henry W. Fox was a missionary of the English Church Missionary Society among the Teloogoos, and began to reside at Madras in 1840. Before five years had passed away, his constitution had yielded to the inroads of an Indian climate, and he was obliged to return to England,

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where he spent nearly a year in awakening a missionary spirit, especially at the Universities, and at length went back, with renovated health, to the distant field of his chosen labors. But his constitution was too much impaired, and he was soon again compelled to relinquish his post and seek an asylum in his native country. After a brief period of employment in the service of the Missionary Society at home, he died at Durham, the residence of his brother and biographer, in the autumn of 1848, at the early age of 32. The work is introduced to the American public in an earnest preface, breathing a warm and devoted Christian spirit, from the pen of Bishop M'Ilvaine, of Ohio.

A Treatise on Political Economy. By GEORGE OPDYKE. New-York: Published for the Proprietor, by G. P. Putnam. 1851. Pp. 339.

The author's aspiration has been, in the preparation of this little treatise on a most important and interesting science, to present in a brief outline a view of Political Economy suited to the condition and progress of our own country. The views which he presents, though not all of them novel, are certainly deserving the attention of the thoughtful reader. His general exposition of the nature and objects of the science is clear and correct; he favors the doctrine of free trade as the true policy of the United Staes, and develops some peculiar views respecting the functions of money, and the laws which should regulate its use as a medium of exchange. The treatise is enriched with many interesting and striking facts, and is pervaded by a general fund of good sense, which, in speculations of this kind, is of inestimable value.

MR. GEORGE P. PUTNAM has issued *A Commentary on Ecclesiastes.* By MOSES STUART.—In the earlier part of his professional labors, Professor Stuart abandoned the attempt to lecture on this book, assigning to his students as the cause, that he was not satisfied that he understood it. In later years, however, he has resumed the study of it, and, as he believes, has conquered the difficulties. In this volume we have the results of his investigations and reflections, with the processes through which he has reached them. "With all the alleged and seeming skepticism of the book, it becomes," he says, "clear as the sun, that the writer, after revolving all the difficulties in his mind, comes out from them with a lofty tone of morality, with an unshaken confidence in future judgment and retribution, and with high, adoring, submissive confidence in God, and in his wisdom, goodness, and power. FEAR GOD AND KEEP HIS COMMANDMENTS, is the final, the grand result of all." 12mo, pp. 300.—*Para, or Scenes and Adventures on the Banks of the Amazon.* By JOHN ESAIAS WARREN. There is no region of the earth less known or more luxuriant and beautiful than that which is drained by the Amazon. Readers who are unfamiliar with the few books which describe it, will welcome these fresh pages of a recent traveller. 12mo, pp. 272.—*Travels in America. The Poetry of Pope.* Two lectures delivered to the Leeds Mechanics' Institute and Literary Society, Dec. 5th and 6th, 1850. By the Right Honorable, the Earl of Carlisle. These Lectures are here presented in an extremely beautiful edition. Though they will fail to raise the estimate of Lord Carlisle's intellectual powers, the first of them will be certain to win respect for his candor, his good sense and liberal feeling. We only regret that he has not written more, and more elaborately. 12mo, pp. 135.—*Trenton Falls,* Picturesque and Descriptive. Edited by N. P. WILLIS. A beautiful guide-book, a gem indeed in its way, which will certainly call travellers to the Falls, and add vastly to their pleasure while

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there.—*The Alhambra.* This is the fifteenth volume of the revised edition of Washington Irving's Works,—a charming production, which has a fitting place in the immortal series.—*The Pioneers*, the fourth volume of Mr. Cooper's Leather Stocking Tales.

THE AMERICAN BAPTIST PUBLICATION SOCIETY has issued another 12mo volume from the writings of Bunyan, under the general title *Bunyan's Devotional Works.* It contains five distinct treatises, entitled respectively, The Spirit of Prayer, The Saint's Privilege and Profit, The Desire of the Righteous Granted, The Unsearchable Riches of Christ, and Paul's Departure and Crown. The volume appears under the supervision of the Editorial Secretary of the Society, the Rev. John Newton Brown, whose labor seems to have been performed with discrimination and care. Mr. Brown thinks that only the first of the treatises here named has appeared in an American edition, and the present combination of them is entirely new. Happy the Christian whose heart is in sympathy with their spirit.—From the same Society we have several small publications, of uniform size, intended for general circulation. They are, *Seven Letters to the Society of Friends*, on the Perpetuity, Subjects and Mode of Baptism, by R. Pengilly; *The Primitive Churchman*, or Reasons why I am not an Episcopalian; *The Power of the Cross*, by R. Fuller, D.D.; and *The Primitive Rule of Giving for Benevoleut Purposes*, by J. R. Scott.—We are glad to know that the Society is in a prosperous condition.

MR. CHARLES SCRIBNER has published *The Fruit Garden*, a practical work, by a practical man, intended to explain and illustrate the physiology of fruit trees, and the whole process of rearing and cultivating them. The work was written by Mr. P. Barry, of the Mount Hope Nurseries, Rochester, N. Y.

ART. IX.—INTELLIGENCE.

ONE of the most important Biblical announcements of the season has recently been made in this city. The Rev. Thomas J. Conant, D.D., Professor of Biblical Literature in the University of Rochester, is engaged in making a new translation of the Holy Scriptures into English, to be accompanied with brief explanatory notes. Though based upon the older translations, it is, as we are informed, to be an independent work It will preserve, as far as practicable, the language found in those wells of undefiled English, but will endeavor to engraft upon it the results of later scholarship. We understand that its aim will be not only to aid a critical study of the Scriptures, but to make the meaning more apparent to every class of minds. The enterprise is a private one, the sole parties to it being Dr. Conant and his publisher, Mr. Lewis Colby, of this city. The work will appear in parts, the first of which will be issued in the ensuing autumn or winter. It will form, when completed, a large royal octavo volume. The project has been long in the mind of Dr. Conant, and his preparations for the work have been accumulating through many years. We certainly wish him the largest success.

Among the forthcoming publications of Mr. Charles Scribner, are *The Epoch of Creation*, by Eleazer Lord, in which "the Scripture Doctrine" is to be "contrasted with the Geological Theory;" *Essays on the Primitive Church Officers*, reprinted from the Princeton Review; *Rural Homes*, containing sketches of houses suited to American country life, with designs, by G. Wheeler; *The Captains of the Old World*, by Henry W. Herbert; *Naval Life*, by Lieut. Lynch; *The Fall of Poland*,

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containing a history of the nation, with the causes of its overthrow, by L. C. Saxton; *The Old Guard*, by J. T. Headley. Mr. S. will likewise issue for Gift Books, *Watching Spirits*, by Mrs. Ellet, and the *Evening Book*, by Mrs. Kirkland. These books will be elegantly illustrated. The popular books of Ik. Marvel remain in great demand, and new editions have been issued. A new work by the same author is in preparation.

Messrs. Carter & Brothers are now issuing a new edition of the complete works of Dr. JOHN OWEN, in sixteen octavo volumes, each volume containing upwards of six hundred pages. The printing is executed with great care on fine linen paper, and the work is furnished to those who subscribe at the very low price of five dollars for four volumes, making the entire set cost only TWENTY DOLLARS. Four volumes are now ready for delivery. We trust the enterprise of these publishers in thus re-publishing the complete works of the greatest of the English theologians, will be remunerated by a large sale. They are also about to publish a Commentary on Leviticus, by Rev. ANDREW BONARS, in one volume, 8vo, and a Collection of Prayers for daily Family Worship, morning and evening, prepared by one hundred and eighty clergymen of the Church of Scotland. The work is designed to be an assistant in the devotions of the family. They have also in preparation an octavo volume containing the Lectures recently delivered before the University of Virginia on the Evidences of Revelation, by several eminent American divines.

Mr. WM. F. POOLE, of Danvers, Mass., is preparing an index to subjects treated in the principal Reviews and Periodicals in the English language. Its publication, which we understand has been retarded by an untoward accident, may be looked for early in the ensuing fall. Mr. Poole published in 1848 an Index of a similar character, though on a smaller scale, for the Library of the Brothers in Unity, Yale College. This work has been in great demand, and has rendered good service to writers and students, by rendering available as books for reference several hundred volumes of standard periodicals, which, from the want of proper indexes, have hitherto been comparatively useless.

THE OXFORD UNIVERSITY comprises twenty Colleges and five Halls, most of which possess valuable Libraries of their own. Of these the celebrated Bodleian Library, which is the University Library proper, alone issues catalogues of all its MSS. Mr. Coxe, therefore, the Assistant Librarian, has taken upon himself the tedious labor of registering the MSS. in the different College Libraries, and has already finished a large quarto volume in which three thousand titles are recorded, and to which the Index only is wanting. This volume when published will form a valuable addition to our bibliographical works. The catalogue of the printed books in the Bodleian Library, which is considered to be one of the very best of its kind, comprises three folio volumes, published in 1843; and a supplement, folio, published recently.

In Germany 746 newspapers are published, of which 646 are printed in German, 5 in French, 1 in English, 15 in Polish, 3 in Wendish, (the Wendes are a Slavonic people in the midst of Germany,) 7 in the Lithuanian language. In all Europe, according to *official statements*, 1356 newspapers are published, of which 169 are issued at Paris, 97 at London, 79 at Berlin, 68 at Leipsig, 36 at Petersburg, 24 at Vienna.

Of the most prominent Paris papers, the Constitutionel has a list of 30,000 subscribers, the Presse 24,000, the Patrie 14,000, the Journal des Debats 11,000, the National 5,000. The circulation of the latter paper is generally believed to be larger than it really is.

In Holland the number of periodicals is very great, there being no less than 125 monthlies, and 14 weeklies.

UNITED STATES EXPLORING EXPEDITION.—The volume on Conchology, by Dr. Gould, is in press, and most of the beautiful folio plates are finished. The preparation of the volume on Fishes has been committed to the distinguished Agassiz. The unrivalled plates which are to accompany it are mostly finished, under the

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superintendence of Mr. Drayton. The volume on Ferns, by Mr. Brakenridge, one of the Botanists of the Expedition, is ready for the press; as is also the folio Atlas of illustrations.

SMITHSONIAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO SCIENCE.—The second volume will soon appear. Several of the articles have already been distributed in a separate form, in accordance with the plan of the Institution, which is to diffuse knowledge as widely and as rapidly as possible.

GERMANY.

CORRESPONDENCE OF THE CHRISTIAN REVIEW.

Berlin, May 19th, 1851.

THE first and principal source of information respecting new books, in Germany, is the Messkatalog. This is prepared more especially for booksellers, and contains simply the titles and the prices of all the new publications in this country. This catalogue began to be regularly published in the sixteenth century. The Literarisches Centralblatt, in speaking of it, says: "In the Messkatalog we possess an index at once comprehensive and definite of the various tendencies and changes in the literary life of our people, for nearly three centuries. No nation can show any thing which is to be compared with it." The last number contains a list of the books which have appeared during the last half-year, (between Michaelmas, 1850, and Easter, 1851.) It is a closely printed book in large octavo of three hundred pages! It must not be supposed that I have read this book through, for the purpose of preparing a few paragraphs of literary intelligence. By the aid of certain classifications one can readily ascertain what books have appeared on any given subject, and of this aid I have availed myself.

The Literarisches Centralblatt, to which I am indebted for much information, is a valuable weekly periodical which was commenced about six months ago. It is published by Dr. Fr. Zarnke, in Leipsic, and has the same object as the London Atheneum and the New-York Literary World. It sustains a high character for criticism, and is indispensable to every public library.

Among the new books which have lately appeared in Germany, we deem the following worthy of particular notice:—

Die Staatshaushaltung der Athener. A. Boeckh, Berlin, 1851. This new edition of the economy of the Athenian State is greatly enlarged, and contains the results of the investigations of Boeckh, and of the best philologians upon this subject, for the last several years. The work is indispensable to every one who would form the most complete and just conception of Athenian life. The relations of the several classes of inhabitants in Attica to one another, the mode of transferring property among the Athenians, their current prices for a great variety of articles, and also their revenues, are topics specially worthy of attention, as presented in this book. Many persons will be surprised at the discovery which Boeckh professes to have made, that the treatise on the Athenian State, heretofore printed among the works of Xenophon, was composed by his more talented contemporary Critias.

The Satires of Juvenal, with the readings of the best manuscripts and the old scholia, by Otto Jahn, Leipsic. With respect to the text, this is by far the most critical edition of Juvenal.

Xenophon's Anabasis; a new edition, with a Lexicon, by Krüger. Appian's Anabasis of Alexander, with notes by the same author. Also a new edition of Krüger's Greek Grammar. This is acknowledged to be the best Greek Grammar now in use, in Germany. Krüger has also just published a book entitled Historisch-philologische Studien, in which, among a variety of other articles, are found critical reviews of Buttmann's and Kühner's Greek Grammars.

In the Bibliotheca Teubneriana, printed at Leipsic, have lately appeared an edition of Pindar, by F. G. Schneidewin; Demosthenes, by W. Dindorf; Herodotus, by Dietsch; Thucydides, by J. Boehme; Virgil, by J. C. Jahn; Livy, by N. Weissenborn; Cicero, by R. Klotz. The object of this series of Greek and Latin authors is simply to present the most accurate text, well printed, and at the most moderate

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rice. If the editions which have already appeared may be taken as a fair specimen of the whole series, it will be far preferable to the Tauchnitz classics, (which have been so extensively used in our country,) both in respect to its critical character and the fairness of the type.

The collection of Greek and Roman authors, with notes in German, published by Weidmann, in Leipsic, (called the Weidmansche Sammlung,) is intended to include the principal Greek and Roman classics, in a convenient form and at a reduced price. In this collection have just appeared Plutarch's Themistocles and Pericles erklaert von C. Sintenis; Cicero's Orator erklaert, von Otto Jahn; Virgil's Gedichte, von Th. Ladewig; Ausgewählte Reden des Demosthenes, (Rede vom Kranze, Rede gegen Leptines,) von Ant. Westermann. The names of Haupt and Sauppe, who superintend the work, are a sufficient guarantee for its excellence.

A new edition of the Brockhaus Conversations Lexicon has recently been commenced, and is progressing as rapidly as the nature of the work will admit.—The Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft, by Pauly, published at Stuttgardt, is nearly completed. (It is carried already as far as Tullii.) This is a work of much value to the philologist.

Briefe (antiquarische) von Boeckh, Loebell, Panofka, Raumer and Ritter, herausgegeben von Raumer. The main tendency of this book, as might be inferred from the name of the editor, who is also the principal writer, is to free principles both in politics and religion. It is nevertheless worthy of perusal, as presenting the opinions of several distinguished men on a variety of important topics connected with the ancient world.

The Phœnicians, by Dr. F. C. Movers, Professor in the Breslau University. In this book one will find many things which are new in respect to that interesting nation of antiquity.

Lehrbuch d. griech. Antiquitäten, von Dr. K. F. Hermann, III. Theil. This third part of Hermann's Grecian Antiquities treats of the private life of the Greeks. It is a book of the highest character for ripe and critical scholarship.

A new and improved edition of Kiepert's Atlas of Ancient Greece. This is beyond all question the best work of the kind. It is gratifying to see that the author has acknowledged in his preface the invaluable services of Col. Leake.

Die schönsten Ornamente u. merkwürdigsten Gemälde aus Pompeji, Herculaneum u. Stabiæ, nebst einigen Grundrissen u. Ansichten, von W. Zahn, Berlin. There are two editions of this work, one of which is prepared at much expense and is quite elegant.

Basreliefe u. geschnittene Steine, erklaert von F. G. Welcker, II. Th. This is a book of most critical character and of great value, both to the antiquarian and to the philologian.

Anmerkungen zur Ilias, nebst einigen Excursen, von Dr. C. Fr. Nägelsbach, Professor zu Erlangen. This is a new edition, enlarged and improved. The 4th Excursus is upon that inexhaustible subject of dispute, "the Homeric question." Dr. N. argues that the Iliad was composed by a single author, and opposes the views of Lachmann, Hoffmann, Curtius and Köchly.

A great number of political books have appeared in Germany within the last few months. Most of these books are in their tendency *reactionary*, as the Germans now express themselves to denote every thing which favors a return to the former strict monarchical system of government. Of much more value, and perhaps equal in number, are the scientific works which have been published during the same time. My space will not allow me to attempt any enumeration of these latter. I have observed with interest advertisements of the following American books, as having been recently translated into German,—a sign that America is beginning to give back something to a land from which she has received so much that is valuable: Ticknor's History of Spanish Literature; United States Exploring Expedition, by Com. Wilkes; Channing's works; Elements of Zoology, by Agassiz and Gould Emerson's Arithmetic! This latter book is entitled Nordamericanisches Elementar-Rechenbuch, and is printed at Halle.

Of the recent theological works, I may also mention one or two whose character has struck me as being a little remarkable.

Wissenschaftlichkeit d. modernen speculativen Theologie in ihren Principien, von C. A Thilo. This work is rather a criticism of the theological opinions of Schleier-

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macher, Rothe and Müller, and the chief aim of the writer is to show that the tendency of the modern theology is to pantheism and atheism.

Gedanken über die Unsterblichkeit als Wiederholung des Erdenlebens, von Dr. Gust. Widenmann, Wien. This writer, says the Lit. Centralblatt, has adopted and presented anew the doctrine of Lessing, Schlosser, Jean Paul and Drossbach, that man, after his departure to the other world, having remained a greater or less period, returns again to this life on the earth, that he may by successive stages and repeated probations pass through the different grades of development in this mortal existence, for which a single life-time is not adequate! The critic who notices the work does not think that the author has succeeded in placing his doctrine beyond a doubt!

Das Wesen des Protestantismus, von Daniel Schenkel, Dr. Theol. Prof. zu Basel This is spoken of as being an able book. The whole work is directed against the error that the Protestanism of the Reformation is a complete system, so that the only duty of the Christian world at the present day is to preserve that platform unimpaired.

Among the most interesting books advertised as being in press, I have noticed the following:—History of our own Times, from the year 1837 to the present: by Dr. A. Schmidt, Professor of History in the University of Berlin. This work will appear as a continuation of K. F. Becker's well-known general history.—Bernhardy's Outline of Grecian Literature, with a collateral view of Roman Literature. Braun's Panorama of Rome in nine copperplate engravings; and by the same, The Ruins of Rome, seven plates royal fol.—The Peloponnesus with maps and plans, 2 vols, by Professor C. Curtius.—The Twenty-first and Twenty-second Books of Livy, by Drs. E. N. Faber and Heerwagen, 2nd ed. Nuremberg.—A new and complete edition of Plato, in 6 vols., by Professor Hermann, of Göttingen.—A new edition of Suidas' Lexicon, by Professor Bernhardy, Halle.—A Lexicon of the Latin Language, in 2 vols., by R. Klotz. In this work the best Latin scholars in Germany, anticipate something very valuable. It promises, as they say, to supply a deficiency of which they now seriously complain.—A new edition of Passow's Lexicon, by Rost, Palm and Creussler.—As additions to the Weidmansche Sammlung, Tacitus, by K. Nipperdey. Sophocles (Œdipus Rex and Œd. in Col.,) by F. W. Schneidewin.

The following items of general intelligence may not improperly be introduced here:—

The three distinguished Professors of Philology at Leipsic, Haupt, Mommsen and Jahn have just been dismissed by order of the government, the cause being, their alleged connection with some popular movement about ten months ago. Although the matter was then brought before a court of justice, and proof of the accusation was wanting, still the government of Saxony remained dissatisfied, till at length it resorted to this summary proceeding.

Within a few weeks the University of Jena has suffered a great loss in the death of F. G. Hand, Professor of the Grecian Literature. The University of Berlin has also been recently deprived of one of its ablest men, by the death of C. Lachmann, Professor of the Roman and of the old German Literature. I have heard it suggested that after a suitable lapse of time, Professor Haupt will probably be called to Berlin to take the place of Lachmann.—Professor Lehnert, late of the University of Königsberg, has been appointed to the place made vacant by the death of Neander, and has already entered upon the duties of his office.

We copy the following from the National Zeitung:—The number of students during the last Semestre in all of the German Universities, with the exception of those in Königsberg, Kiel and Rostock, whose statistics have not been published, amounts to 11,945. In respect to number of students, the Univerities assume the following order: Berlin, Munich, Bonn, Leipsic, Breslau, Tübingen, Göttingen, Würzburg, Halle, Heidelberg, Giessen, Erlangen, Freiburg, Jena, Marburg, Greifswald. Berlin had 2,107, including the unmatriculated, who were entitled to attend the lectures; Greifswald 189 students. The law students in the Universities, collectively, were the most numerous, amounting to 3,973. The number of students in Theology was 2,539; in Philosophy and Philology, 2,357; in Medicine, 2,146; in Political Economy, 549. In proportion to the whole, the largest number of theological students was in Halle,—330 out of 597; the largest number of law students in Heidelberg,—349 out of 557; the largest number of medical students in Würzburg,—271 out of 671; the largest number of students in Philosophy in Jena,—182 out of 358.

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The largest *absolute* number of theological students was also in Halle; of law students, in Munich, (800;) of Medical students, and likewise of students in Pilosophy, in Berlin, (the former being 414, the latter 503.) The Universities of Heidelberg, Göttingen, Jena, Würzburg and Leipsic had the greatest number of foreigners.

J. R. B.

FROM ANOTHER CORRESPONDENT.

HALLE, May 10, 1851.

On account of the political commotions which have disturbed the peace of Germany for the last three years, philosophy has been thrown into the shade. The following are the most valuable works in the several departments of literature which have recently appeared:—The third edition of "Geissler's Bibliographical Hand-Book of the German Philosophical Literature since the middle of the eighteenth century." (Leipsic, 1850.) It is accompanied by a title-register of books arranged according to subjects. Soon after appeared a new work by Professor Gumposh, entitled "The Philosophical Literature of the Germans from the Fourteenth Century to the Present Time." The time is divided into three periods, viz.: "Until Leibnitz," "From Leibnitz to Kant," and "From Kant till now." Writers on kindred subjects are grouped together, and short biographical sketches are added. This work contains also historical sketches of all the universities in Germany, with particular reference to teachers of philosophy. Observations are made on all the works on philosophy which have appeared quite up to the present time. The criticisms of the writer are not always to be relied on; still the work exhibits extensive learning, and it supplies a desideratum which has long been acknowledged to exist; and it is the only work which in itself furnishes the means for an extensive study of every branch of philosophy. The sixth and concluding volume of Erdman's History of Philosophy is soon to be published. To each volume of this work are appended a large number of quotations from foreign authors, particularly from the French and English. In richness of materials and in completeness of elaboration no other work is worthy of comparison with this. Professor Galybäus, who is favorably known as the author of a History of the Nach-Kantischen Philosophie," has published his system of ethics in two volumes. His work inculcates correct religious sentiments, and the writer gives proof of possessing a reflective, well-balanced, and discriminating mind. The freshness and vigor of the style make the reading of these books an agreeable task. Of the editions of old philosophical works Bonitzen's Recension of the Metaphysics of Aristotle deserves particular notice. This edition is far superior to that of Schwartzler; notes and explanations in Latin are given upon every part of the original text.

In theology, a subject which excites great interest at the present time, a large number of pamphlets on questions relating to church government have recently appeared, though works of this latter kind have not excluded those of a more scientific character. Professor Tholuck has recently put forth a new edition of his Commentary on the Hebrews, accompanied by supplements; the whole having undergone a thorough revision, this justly celebrated work is rendered still more valuable. Two parts of Hengstenberg's Interpretations of the Apocalypse, "designed for popular use," have already appeared, but the concluding part is still wanting.

The first part of Liebnof's Treatise of the Grand Principles of Christology has just been published and is a valuable addition to Dogmatic Theology. Professor Lange of Zurich, known as the author of a "Life of Jesus," has given to the world a "Speculative Dogmatick," which has been received with no small degree of disapprobation by the systematic theologians of the stricter sort, notwithstanding the ability and the luminousness of argument which characterize certain portions of his book. The "Philosophy of Religion," by Professor Hanke, of Marburg, gives a concise view of all the different religions, together with an introductory essay on the "Relation of Faith to Knowledge." The flowing style and the vividness of the representations add much to the interest with which one reads this book. Professor Jacobi of Berlin, formerly a pupil of Neander, will soon publish the second and concluding volume of his excellent Compendium of Church History. The complete Lectures of Neander are soon to appear in 15 vols. They will be edited by Professor Julius Müller of Halle. The Interpretation of the Gospel of

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John will form the first part of this great work.—In the department of biography, Böhring's "Thomas à Kempis" deserves high commendation. The book contains a vivid picture of the times in which the subject of the memoir lived, together with extracts from the best part of his writings. Wehrenhahn's "Luther" is a book whose merits are beyond all praise.

Professor Bernhardy's History of Roman Literature, in one volume, has just appeared; it is pronounced the very best work on this subject in the German language. The first volume of the author's History of Greece is to be revised before that work is completed.

Ecclesiastical Record.

DEATHS.

John C. Montague, Middlesex co., Va., Jan. 20, aged 59.
John M. Jewett, Lexington, Ky., Feb. 2.
Ammi R. Cleaves, Cumberland, Me., March 12, aged [illegible].
A. F. Spalding, Montreal, C. E., March 21.
David Budlong, Paris, Oneida co., N. Y., aged 87.
Isaac Malin, Henry co., Ky., Oct. 31, 1850, aged 79.
R. G. Lewes, Hornby, N. Y., April 29.
Alfred Bennett, Homer, N. Y., May 10, aged 71.
Daniel Dodge, Philadelphia, Pa.
C. W. Hodges, Bristol, Vt., April 4.

ORDINATIONS.

J. S. Read, Vernon, Ohio, Feb. 15.
Jacob Stillwell, Penfield, Ga., March 8.
Mark A. Westmoreland, Auburn, Macon co., Ala., March 24.
James W. Smith, Lowell, Mass., April 6.
C. R. Negus, Bridgeport, Madison co., N. Y., April 10.
W. S. Briggs, Winns' Meeting-house, Hanover co., Va., March 12.
J. S. Kalloch, Rockland, Me., April 15.
J. C. Hyde, Point Pleasant, Bucks co., Pa., April 17.
Henry T. Stevens, Black Swamp, Ga., April 20.
Henry F. Smith, Hastings, N. Y., April 24.
James Lillie, New-York, June 23.
Wm. G. Lamb, Steuben, Pa., June 4.
Charles Griffin, Carbondale, Pa., May 22.
Thomas Henson, New-York, May 25.
E. M. Nye, Stockbridge, Chautauque co., N. Y., May 7.
George P. Nice, Somerville, N. J., May 29.
John Seage, Carmel, N. Y., May 29.
M. C. Manning, Adams Village, N. Y., May 8.

CHURCHES CONSTITUTED.

Highland, Ill., Jan. 19.
Hendricks co., Ind., Feb. 1.
Spencer, Ohio, Feb. 1.
Des Moines, Iowa, Feb. 9.
Clinton co., Ind., Feb. 22.
Armagh, Ind. co., Pa., March 1.
Roesburg, Ind., March 1.
Providence, R. I., March 5.
Morton, Tazewell co., Ill., March 6.
Brandon, Mich., March 15.
Richard's Mills, Warrensburg, March 26.
Boston, Mass., (Baptist Bethel church,) April.
Mt. Carmel, Ill., March 1.
McLeansboro', Ill., March 1.
Macoupin co., Ill., March 6.
Quincy, Mich., March 22.
Lansing, Mich., March 26.
East Creek, Ohio, March 28.
Union, S. C., March 29.
Kickapoo, Ill., March 29.
Saundersville, Ky.
Livingston, N. J., June 17.
Steuben, Crawford co., Pa., June 4.
York, Pa.
Manayunk, Pa., May 22.

DEDICATIONS.

East Harrington, Me., Feb. 28.
Beverly Farms, Mass., March 23.
Natchez, Miss., April.
Newtown, Ct., April 23.
Niagara Square, Buffalo, N. Y., May 18.
Jefferson, N. Y., May 14.

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THE

CHRISTIAN REVIEW.

No. LXVI.—OCTOBER, 1851.

ART. I.—GROTE'S GREECE.

BY PROF. J. T. CHAMPLIN.

HISTORY OF GREECE. By George Grote, Esq. Vols. I.—VIII. London: John Murray. 1846—1850. HISTORY OF GREECE. By George Grote, Esq. Vols. I.—V. Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. 1851.

THE history of Greece has been so often and so ably written, that little could have been expected from a new work on the subject. Particularly, after the appearance of the candid and learned work of Dr. Thirlwall, all reasonable wants both of the statesman and the scholar appeared to be met. It was with some surprise, therefore, that right upon the heel of this important publication, the announcement was received, that an extended history on the same subject was soon to appear from the pen of Mr. Grote. The subject seemed exhausted. What could be gained by again recounting the history of a people which had already been so fully and faithfully narrated and handed down to posterity? Always an inconsiderable nation in respect to numbers and extent of territory, without any unity of action even in its best days, and early absorbed by a more powerful state, which forms the established connection between the ancient and the modern world, and which gave its institutions to modern society; placed, too, at a great remove from the modern centres of civilization, on the very borders of the dark and stationary East,—it seemed little likely to furnish new laurels to any writer, of however great ability. And yet, upon this very threadbare, fragmentary, remote and

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apparently fruitless subject, we are presented in the work before us with a history, surpassing in interest any other of the present age, and rivaling, if not surpassing, those of preceding times. Such a phenomenon is full of instruction, and a new and most convincing proof of the importance of time as a condition in writing history.

While a personal knowledge of events vastly exceeds in vividness that acquired by subsequent study; and while historical materials in general lose warmth and freshness, and the historian sympathy and aptitude for their treatment, by the lapse of time, in all other respects the ripening effects of time are most salutary to his work. It takes time for party feeling and prejudice to subside, and in most cases, not a few generations. Indeed, so undying is party spirit, and so potent in obscuring and perverting the truth, that a nation can hardly be said to be a fit subject for an impartial history till it has become extinct, and the decomposing and disintegrating effects of time have separated the precious from the vile. After so many centuries of existence, scarcely any portion of the history of any nation in Europe can be written, without touching upon questions which affect present parties, and which, therefore, will be treated differently by writers of different party biases. Thus, history is necessarily a progressive work, and generally one of very slow progress. The writing of the history of any considerable period or nation is so large and complicated a work, and attended with so many difficulties, that no single author can compass it all at once: but, one after another, will essay it in different parts, or from different points of view, each bringing out his portion of truth, and exposing his portion of error, till at length there arrives a time when a writer of sufficient genius and capacity may gather around him all these separate and partial histories, together with the original materials, and compose from them a history which shall be a complete and faithful picture of the period or nation to which it relates.

Such has been the process in the present instance. During the political life of Greece, several excellent works were written on different portions of her history; and although her literature, in common with all knowledge, was afterwards long obscured, on the revival of letters it was returned to with increased zest, and through the whole series of centuries since has been subjected to the sharpest and most exhaustive investigations. Standing at the fountain-head of knowledge, and containing the earliest records of continuous and professed history, and being, at the same time, permanently connected with the course of liberal education, Greek literature has probably

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been more minutely and comprehensively examined than that of any other nation. Led on by the Germans, (at a great remove,) the ambitious scholars of all civilized nations have devoted themselves with a generous rivalry to the investigation of this rich and noble language, scrutinizing, with a thousand different eyes, every fragment, even the most inconsiderable, and extracting from it every thing which bears, even the most remotely, upon the public or private life of the Greeks. Thus, more especially within the last twenty-five years, we have had treatise on treatise upon every phase of Greek life—on the topography of the country, the mythology, the religion, the government, the social organization, the private life, the public life, the amusements, and almost every subject connected with their individual and national existence. Any one who will take the pains to examine the notes of Mr. Grote, (a most marked and valuable part of his history,) will see how important such investigations are to the production of such a work.

But in the present instance, time has brought about another most important change, favorable to the production of a true history of Greece. After the extinction of the political existence of Greece, and the failure of her brilliant experiment of popular government, the whole current of affairs tended to monarchical institutions. Greece, first conquered by the king of Macedonia, at length, with most of the other nations which constitute modern Europe, fell into the hands of imperial Rome, who, though at length herself conquered, so far conquered her conqueror, as to impart to him her institutions and laws. Hence modern states were all cast in the mould which she furnished for them. The Mantuas throughout Europe all became little Romes; free governments were nowhere heard of, save among the fastnesses of inaccessible mountains, or in some unappropriated corner between the principal nations. Along with these institutions there grew up a corresponding sentiment, (assiduously cultivated by public and private instruction,) intensely monarchical, and scouting the very idea of popular liberty. Aristocratic masters and misses were taught from the cradle to scowl and shriek at the name of democrats and democracies; not only for their own souls' good, but for the salvation, by means of their example, of the less favored portion of the community. The same spirit pervaded also their literature. Not only was it embalmed in poetry and fiction, and elegant letters generally, but was especially intense in all historical writings. History, as written in Europe, and especially in England, till within a comparatively short period, is little else than a high-sounding, many-voiced chorus, chanting

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the praises of monarchical institutions. The choir historical, like that of the ancient tragedy, has generally been composed of a select class of venerable men surrounding the throne, or sufficiently near it to secure the steadiness of their political sympathies. Few popular voices have been permitted to mingle in the chant, or if they have presumed to break in upon the stately rhythm of the swelling chorus, have fared very much like Thersites in the old epic. But against all obstacles, social and political, natural and artificial, popular principles, especially since the establishment of the American Union, have made steady progress, till at length they have gained for themselves not only honorable recognition, but warm support, among the ablest writers in almost every nation in Europe. In a most important sense, therefore, the time has but just arrived for writing the true history of Greece. The social and political sympathies requisite for the task have but just matured. This, together with the other favoring causes above alluded to, may account in some measure for the extraordinary success of Mr. Grote. He enters upon the task not only with ampler materials before him than any of his predecessors, but what is quite as important, with a spirit and sympathies (the fruit of cherished liberal principles) peculiarly Grecian in their tone and character.

The position of Greece never appeared more attractive and important than in these volumes. The great difficulty in both treating and enjoying Grecian history, is the want of unity in the nation. This difficulty, though necessarily incurable, Mr. Grote, by a skillful management of his materials, has reduced to its minimum. Passing over to the dominion of fable, the perplexed, contradictory and extravagant narratives connected with the early existence of the nation, down to the year 776, B. C., which he merely relates as they stand in the old authors, without attempting to separate the true from the false, he next groups together, in a few chapters, whatever is known of the history of the different tribes and states to the reign of Pisistratus at Athens; from which time Athens or Sparta, or both, (either in concert or in conflict,) is foremost in all the great enterprises, while the other states are mere appendages to the one or the other. He studiously traces and sets forth, in relief, all the tendencies to centralization, and brings subordinate powers and movements into connection with their controlling impulse or principle. From this time forward, we have, by this skillful treatment, in a nation consisting of almost as many independent states as there were cities, if not an absolute unity, at least a tolerably well defined duality. In this way both the interest and distinctness of the picture are greatly enhanced. We feel

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that the nation is a positive and substantive reality, and not a mere aggregate of fragments. The history has a definite people for its subject, whose career we follow with interest. Under such treatment nothing seems more imposing than the history of Greece, whether we consider its relations to surrounding nations, its stirring enterprises and brilliant exhibitions of character, its many political and moral lessons, or its connection with the arts and sciences.

It is hardly possible to conceive of a more striking contrast than existed between Greece and the nations by which she was surrounded. Situated on the extreme eastern border of Europe, she was surrounded on the north and west by the savage Thracians and Illyrians; on the south by the mysterious and mystical Egyptians; and on the east by the barbarous and lordly Persians, besides other minor nations at different points, such as the Phœnicians, Carthaginians and Sicilians. With all these the Greeks came in more or less direct contact, either in their ordinary international communications, by occasional travels, or by the establishment of colonies; and to all of them they presented a marked contrast. There is scarcely anything more interesting in these volumes of Mr. Grote, than that magnificent survey, or *periplus*, as we might call it, which he gives in his third and fourth volumes of the out-lying nations with which Greece, in her onward march, came in contact. We here see this comparatively inconsiderable nation stretching out her arms across all the waters around, and establishing her colonies at the mouth of every river, and on every fertile island and coast; dotting all along, at every advantageous point, the whole shore of the Ægean, the Propontis, the Euxine, and the Mediterranean seas; pushing her trade, and in many cases, her influence and possessions, far into the interior, and everywhere exhibiting, in striking contrast with the stupidity and barbarism of the natives, Grecian intelligence, arts and refinement. And when at length, in the course of their progress, these colonies came into conflict with their neighbors, though vastly inferior in numbers to their enemies, they everywhere, even in the remotest and most isolated positions, showed the same superiority in the qualities of command and the arts of war, as were exhibited in the mother country, in the memorable contests with her great enemy, the king of Persia, at Thermopylæ, Marathon, Salamis and Platæa. It is true that Greece herself made progress during the course of her history, and never reached so high a type of character as is exhibited by the most intelligent Christian nations; but it is equally true, that from the earliest times she exhibited a marked superiority to every contiguous nation. A notable proof of this is

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found in that most wondrous of all human productions, the Homeric Epic, which cannot date much lower than a thousand years before Christ, and which still remains, and ever must to the end of time, the admiration of the world. Like her own Athene, Greece seems to have come full formed into the world. And though she may have afterwards assumed her helm, and ægis, and invincible spear, these were but the outward accoutrements of her person; in herself she was complete without them. The type of Grecian character also varied somewhat in the different tribes, (though, as Mr. Grote has shown, not so uniformly as has generally been supposed,) but nothing is more wonderful than the general integrity of this character in all places over their widespread and disjointed domain—whether in Sicily, in Thrace, in Asia Minor, or on the coast of Africa. Mr. Grote, so far as our knowledge extends, is the only historian who has done full justice to this uniformity of character, and above all, who has traced it clearly to its cause; or rather, who has fully brought out, in addition to the common bonds, of sameness of origin, language, and religion, the peculiar binding force among the Greeks, of common ancestors, to whom every member of the family or clan owed annual sacrifices and rites, and the common interest and privilege which even the remotest colony had in the great religious and festive games of the nation; so that, wherever they were, on whatever inhospitable coast or retired island, their hearts were at home, whither they returned as often as might be, for sacred and joyous re-union with their brethren. It was this, above all things, which kept up that marked uniformity of character among all of the Grecian name, that everywhere distinguished them from the nations with whom they mingled, and seemed to warrant the contrast implied in the epithet *barbarian*, everywhere applied by them to these nations.

No less imposing is the position of Greece, if we consider her many brilliant enterprises and exhibitions of character. It is significant of the restless and enterprising character of the Greeks, that their cosmology opens with accounts of the most tumultuous and terrific conflicts of gods and monsters, and their earliest and ever-cherished epic recounts the events of a real or supposed heroic contest between their great representative chieftains, and the potent and insolent Ilium. Indeed, the old legends of the country abound in such enterprises,—as the Argonautic expedition, the Calydonian Boar Hunt, the Sieges of Thebes, the adventures of Hercules, Theseus, &c. These exploits, it is true, belong to fable, and perhaps had no existence at all, out of the imagination; still their very conception is suggestive of the national genius and character, and in-

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dicates heroic hearts in those who produced them. But leaving the legendary history of Greece, we find enough that is brilliant and heroic in her real history. Greece, and particularly Athens, early came into collision with Persia, on account of the sympathy and support which she extended to the Asiatic Greeks in their conflicts with that colossal power in Asia Minor. The chief of these Greeks, as well as many of those in the islands of the Ægean sea, were Ionians, and hence naturally looked to Athens for sympathy and support. Nor did they look to her in vain. They found, in this chief city of the Ionic name, a lively interest in their welfare, and received from her efficient aid, which, though not sufficient at first to protect them against the overwhelming power of their assailant, yet inflicted severe losses upon the enemy, and, more than all, maddened him into a determination speedily to invade and humble the officious and intrusive city. This resolution was soon carried into action. The Ægean Sea was covered with Persian ships, and its waters disturbed by Persian oars, while the coast of Thrace echoed to the tramp of a corresponding land force, both ravaging as they advanced, and designed to unite and act in concert in the conquest of Athens, and, if possible, of all Greece. But off the fearful promontory of Athos the sea-force was overtaken by one of those terrific storms which prevail in that region, and which so wrecked and scattered their ships, that the whole force immediately turned back in disgrace to Persia. But nothing daunted, and only maddened by the failure, a new expedition is soon collected and put in motion. They embark upon six hundred triremes from the coast of Cilicia, and taking their course direct across the Ægean Sea, and chastising the hostile islands as they pass, they soon enter the Euripus, that ever ebbing and flowing channel between the island of Eubœa and the coast of Attica, where they subdue Eretria, and make captives of her citizens, and then land upon the soil of Attica, in the Bay of Marathon. They muster their force, of some two or three hundred thousand, upon the plain of Marathon, where they are met by about ten thousand Athenian soldiers hastily marched out from Athens, and completely routed and driven from Greece. So little daunted was this handful of Athenian soldiers in the presence of such hosts, and so spirited their charge, that they rushed upon them at a running pace and drove them from the field.

Thus ended, to the everlasting honor of Greece, and especially of Athens, her first great contest with Persia. But another, vastly more formidable, was soon to follow. Chagrined and exasperated to the highest pitch by so disgraceful a defeat, Darius immediately resolved upon another expedition into

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Greece on a much larger scale. For three years he kept every part of his vast kingdom in commotion by his levies, when he was suddenly overtaken by death, and the completion of his plans left to his successor. Xerxes, at first, seems to have been but little inclined to carry out the design of his father, but through the solicitation of interested parties, was finally induced, after the reconquest of Egypt, (which had revolted just before the death of Darius,) to resume the preparations for this great Grecian expedition, which he finally completed in 481 B. C., eleven years after the battle of Marathon. Twelve hundred and seven ships were filled with soldiers to act by sea, while a land-force scarcely numerable, but apparently consisting of a million or more regular soldiers, with any number of camp-followers, was to be conducted across the Hellespont and through Thrace by land. To furnish a passage for this vast throng from Asia to Europe, the Hellespont was bridged with a double bridge of boats, over which the hosts were driven under the lash for seven days and seven nights in succession. Once over, they marched slowly forward, devouring all before them, like clouds of locusts, drinking rivers dry, and producing a dearth in the largest cities by a single meal, until they finally reached the pass of Thermopylæ. Meantime the fleet, which, to avoid the dangers of doubling the promontory of Mount Athos, had been "conducted through a canal specially cut through the isthmus for the purpose," has reached Artemisium, in the immediate vicinity of the land-force. Here this mighty host is met on the land-side by Leonidas and his three hundred Spartans, who, with a heroism which stands unparalleled in history, arrested its progress for two days, and even when it was known that a division of the enemy was marching upon their rear through a by-path, refused to fly, and sold their lives as dearly as possible; while on the side of the sea, they were met by a small Grecian fleet, which, after two days of successful resistance, finally withdrew to the port of Athens, whither, also, the Persian hosts bent their course. But before they arrived there, Athens had been abandoned, and all her forces, together with such as could be collected from other Grecian states, had taken position in ships at the neighboring island of Salamis. Here a general action soon ensued, one of the most brilliant on record, in which the Persian fleet was most signally defeated, as her land-forces were soon afterwards at Platæa, and the immense host driven precipitately from the country.

Once delivered from the fear of Persia at home, Athens, who had taken the most prominent part throughout, soon set her fleet in motion, and so completely purified the Ægean from

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every vestige of Persian influence, that she was able to stipulate with Persia for the undisputed command of this sea, and the complete independence of the Asiatic and insular Greeks. But in standing thus conspicuously forward, so pre-eminent above the other Greeks in this great struggle, and assuming at its close the protectorate of a large part of the outlying Greeks, Athens provoked the avenging Nemesis of Spartan jealousy, that finally ripened into the long and wasting Peloponnesian war, which, though marked by many heroic actions, presents only the melancholy interest of a family quarrel of the most unnatural and inveterate kind. But equally in this as in the Persian wars, a striking succession of brilliant characters arose, especially at Athens,—the rough, but brave Miltiades, the just and accomplished Aristides, the shrewd, able and cunning Themistocles, the eloquent and statesmanlike Pericles, the stately and decorous Nicias, the bold and resolute Demosthenes, the talented, ambitious and reckless Alcibiades, the great-voiced and great-souled Thrasybulus, and a host of other names only second to these. These great deeds and names are so combined and set out by Mr. Grote, as to impart to his volumes a most grand and stirring interest.

But perhaps there is nothing in the history of Greece more striking than her connection with literature and art. Here, too, as in the previous cases, the chief glory belongs to Athens, though by no means all;—the islands of the Ægean contributed their full proportion, and even the stupid Thebans, as they were accounted, produced by far the most distinguished of the lyric poets. Unfortunately but few of the genuine works of Greek art have come down to us; yet enough to impress us with their extraordinary merit. Its spirit still lives enthroned upon the Acropolis in the immortal Parthenon, and in mutilated busts, or broken columns, and capitals, and pediments, buried beneath heaps of rubbish and dirt, or carefully treasured up in museums throughout Europe. But of the literary productions of Greece, we have received a much larger proportion; though even here only a small fraction of the whole. We have reason to wonder at the amplitude of these specimens, rather than at their meagreness. How surprising, that amid the general wreck of all things human—that amidst conflagrations, wars, and savage contests—that through ages, and among nations which had no conception of any other power than that of the sword, so many of these delicate productions of the mind have come down to us!

In poetry, we have, first of all, Homer, the father of poesy, taking his stand upon the confines of primeval times, singing of gods and heroes, which flit in the uncertain light of anti-

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quity, mirroring forth the simple and charming images of primitive ages, and pouring out his inexhaustible treasures of melodies through many thousands of lines, till the mind is surfeited with sweets. And the lyric poets—Sappho, Alcæus, and Pindar, of whom, however, we have any considerable remains of only the last; (and having these, we may well spare the others, exquisite as they were;) Pindar, the sublimest, the most prolific, and the sweetest of all lyric poets—the swan of Greece, soaring into the clouds—basking in the sunshine upon the rocks, and hovering around calm and retired lakes and pools, and singing even in death. And then there were the tragedians, Æschylus, Sophocles and Euripides, an illustrious trio which the world will never let die, each unsurpassed in his way, and all engaged upon the loftiest themes—grand soliloquizers upon the destiny of man: looking upon man as under the direction of Providence, or Fate, as they conceived of it, and as bound by moral laws; and gleaning from his history all the more striking and well-known instances of conflict between these laws, and lower claims, which they heighten by every art, developing by alternate dialogue and choral ode, by language and by music, the loftiest morals and the most impressive lessons of wisdom. And the great comedian, Aristophanes, the precise opposite of the last, looking upon precisely the opposite side of human nature, hunting up the foibles of men, and holding them up to ridicule; the accomplished wit, the very concentration of Attic salt, fearless as a lion and ruthless as a tiger, pouncing upon his prey like an eagle, and tearing him as murderously; cutting and flaying alive whomsoever he will, and yet with a blade as polished and as keen as ever entered the flesh.

In history, we have, before all, Herodotus, the oldest purely historical writer, standing at the fountain-head of history, and unsealing the urn with his own hand, weaving into his web of gold the silken threads of fable and romance—the Homer of history; and Thucydides, the profound critical historian, sifting out fact from fable, tracing up events to their causes, and following them out to their consequences; making history appear to be what it properly is—the life of a state, and almost enduing it with a prophetic voice by the lessons which it teaches; and Xenophon, the chaste, elegant, accomplished writer, taught in philosophy by Socrates, and in the knowledge of men and things, by extensive commerce with the world; equally at home in domestic and foreign history, in real and fictitious narrative—the "Attic Bee," extracting sweetness from everything, and depositing it in the most graceful and translucent receptacles.

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In oratory, there is, first, Lysias, a thorough-going, subtle lawyer, caring more for his client than his conscience, and more for his fee than either, preparing defences to be pronounced by others as a trade, belaboring the court with laws, decrees and precedents, and with now and then a burst of eloquence, clear, straight-forward, logical, but, withal, dry and somewhat lean; and Isocrates, an elaborate composer of orations—elegant, copious, eloquent; charming by the purity and fullness of his language, but stately rather than strong, and too elaborate for effect; and Æschines, the rival of the greatest man of his age, and second only to his rival—an accomplished politician and orator, able and dexterous, powerful in thought, and still more powerful in language, and only wanting that terrible heat and condensation of passion, which set on fire the logic of his adversary; and Demosthenes, whose name has rung through all time, and whose orations, to the number of forty or more, have descended to this remote age;—the renowned cold-water drinker of the old world, cool-headed and hot-hearted, forging arguments in his head, and projecting them through the fiery furnace of his heart, ranging in thought through the whole subject, and then cutting his way through it to the final conclusion, like a winged arrow;—argumentative without being dry—copious without redundancy—strong without ruggedness—the perfect statesman and orator.

In philosophy, we will name only the two chief writers—Plato and Aristotle, originally related to each other, as teacher and disciple; but afterwards separating more and more widely, till they become the heads of rival and opposing schools—the former of what may be called the ideal or theoretical school, and the latter of the real, or experimental school. The works of Plato are numerous, and on various subjects, but they all have to do with some form of speculative truth, as opposed to what may be established by sense or experiment. The actual world is less to him than the theory of its creation; he has no regard for what is simply plausible or convincing, but for truth; expediency he wholly discards, and is satisfied with nothing short of absolute justice; with the whole list of mere seemings or appearances, he declares an irreconcilable war, and inquires only for what is. But Aristotle, in his inquiries, entirely reverses the process. He has no eyes for the ideal, but is arrested and engrossed by the actual. He takes things as they appear, and inquires into the laws of their existence, or operation. In mental philosophy, he merely classifies and interprets the facts of consciousness, without proposing any general theory of mind for the purpose of

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showing that the information of consciousness may be relied upon. In natural history, he arranges and distributes into genera and species according to certain rules of correspondence. And in physical science, he questions, tests, and experiments, in order to discover properties and laws of action. Thus, while the former of these great masters ranges freely through the whole world of speculation which lies behind and beneath the actual world, the other ranges as extensively through the sensible world. The one, like a mathematician, demonstrates his propositions independently of modifying circumstances; the other, like a practical mechanic, squares and adjusts them to things as they are. Each is the complement of the other, and both are necessary to the exhibition of the whole truth.

Such is a general description of the great literary works which have come down to us from ancient Greece. And when it is recollected how extensive and important these works are: that no modern poet, of any merit, has left more poetry than Homer; that no modern orator has left more, or more valuable orations than Lysias or Demosthenes; that few modern philosophers have left works so varied and extended as Plato or Aristotle, and few historians have left histories more ample and on more important periods than Herodotus, Thucydides or Xenophon, we see something of the indebtedness of the world to Greece, as the inventress of the arts, the sciences, and elegant letters. It never should be forgotten, that it is to Greece that we owe the first invention, and, in all essential points, the complete development and perfection, of the materials and forms of thought, of poetry, and of composition generally;—no small indebtedness, it will be seen, if we consider how long it takes a nation, even under the guidance and assistance furnished by these models, to attain the same end.

Notwithstanding this history comes so late, and after so many able predecessors, Mr. Grote has done the most important service to the history of Greece. The book is by no means a mere compilation; but appears to be the result of a fresh examination of the original materials in connection with all that has been written by others on the subject, and an examination the most minute and searching. Nothing is more conspicuous throughout the book, than the sharpsightedness and penetration of its author in discovering facts which had escaped the notice of others, and drawing inferences which they had failed to make. This extraordinary insight into his subject, coupled with the amplest learning on all matters connected with it, has enabled Mr. Grote to produce quite a revolution in Grecian history.

In the first place, his treatment of the legendary history of

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Greece is somewhat new and important. Not that the skeptical treatment which Niebuhr applied to the legends of Rome has never been applied to those of Greece, but that it has never, to our knowledge, been applied so extensively and systematically. Mr. Grote considers that there is no decisive evidence of the truth of any of the narratives relative to Grecian affairs, previous to 776 B. C., the year of the first recorded Olympiad. Most of what relates to matters of an earlier date, he regards as the fruit of a natural, and, as it were, unconscious effort, prompted and sanctioned by the general feeling, to fill up the unknown antecedent period, and in so doing, to account, in accordance with the prevailing notions and prejudices, for the existing state of things. His view of these early legends is thus briefly stated:

"1. They are a special product of the imagination and feelings, radically distinct from history and philosophy. They cannot be broken down and decomposed into the one, nor allegorized into the other. There are indeed some particular, and even assignable mythes, which raise intrinsic presumption of an allegorizing tendency; and there are doubtless some others, though not specially assignable, which contain portions of matter of fact, or names of real persons, embodied in them. But such matter of fact cannot be verified by any intrinsic mark, nor are we entitled to presume its existence in any given case, unless some collateral evidence can be produced.

"2. We are not warranted in applying to the mythical world the rules either of historical credibility, or chronological sequence. Its personages are gods, heroes, and men, in constant juxta-position and reciprocal sympathy; men, too, of whom we know a large proportion to be fictitious, and of whom we can never ascertain how many have been real. No series of such personages can serve as materials for chronological calculations.

"3. The mythes were originally produced in an age which had no records, no philosophy, no criticism, no canon of belief, and scarcely any tincture of astronomy or geology; but which, on the other hand, was full of religious faith, distinguished for quick and susceptible imagination, seeing personal agents, where we look only for objects and connecting laws;—an age, moreover, eager for new narrative, accepting with the unconscious impressibility of children, (the question of truth or falsehood being never formally raised,) all which ran in harmony with its pre-existing feelings, and penetrable by inspired prophets and poets, in the same proportion that it was indifferent to positive evidence. To such hearers did the primitive story-teller address himself; it was the glory of his productive genius to provide suitable narrative expression for the faith and emotions which he shared in common with them, and the rich stock of Grecian mythes attests how admirably he performed his task."—Pp. 450, 451, Amer. Ed.

It will be seen, therefore, that Mr. Grote does not pronounce these legends all false, but simply contends that they are alike destitute of the distinctive marks of truth, and hence, that they have no more claims to be received as history, than plausible fiction. This is taking radical, and perhaps debateable ground;

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but there can be no doubt of the ability and ingenuity with which it is maintained. And whatever may be thought of the soundness of this general theory of the mythes, the disposition which is thus made of them by themselves, is an important device for the general interest of the history. They are thus disposed of at once without perplexing criticism, and the course of real history left unembarrassed by their ungracious intrusion at different points. And besides, there is a great convenience in having these mythes thus collected together in order. For whether true or not, they are vastly more wrought into Greek literature, and even into modern literature, than real historical facts are. It is important, too, that these legends should be presented, not in an allegorized or historicized form, but in their simple narrative form, as originally conceived; for it is in this form generally that they appear in literature. We venture to predict, therefore, that these introductory volumes on the legendary history of Greece, will be scarcely less consulted, and be found scarcely less useful, than those on the real history.

It is in this part of his history that Mr. Grote treats of the "Homeric question," so called. On this question, he takes, in some sense, middle ground. He fully concedes, on the one hand, the non-existence of writing at the time of the composition of the Homeric poems, (somewhere from 1000 to 800 B. C.), and consequently their preservation in an unwritten state for a considerable period, probably two centuries or more, and ascribes their origin rather to a class of bards in the island of Chios, called Homerids, than to any single author, though he contends strongly for the unity of the authorship of the Odyssey. On the other hand, he strenuously opposes the view of Wolf, William Müller and Lachmann, that the Homeric poems are merely a collection of separate and independent ballads, composed by different authors, on the same subject, to be sure, but without any reference to each other, and owing their first arrangement and integration to Pisistratus. To this view, in its literal form, he opposes the fact that Solon, before the time of Pisistratus, introduced an ordinance to ensure the recitation of the Homeric rhapsodies in the proper order, at the Panathenaic festival, which implied that they already existed in an established order, any departure from which was deemed an impropriety. And in general, against the idea of a subsequent compilation by any hand, he opposes the undoubted evidence of unity of authorship (or, at least, unity of purpose among several authors) in the Odyssey, and of a large part of the Iliad. Yet, with regard to the Iliad, he considers it somewhat disjointed and incongruous in its parts; or, in his own language, "it presents the appearance of a house built upon a plan com-

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paratively narrow, and subsequently enlarged by successive additions." The original conception, he regards as having been that of an Achillêis, which by subsequent enlargement became an Iliad. "The first book, together with the eighth, and the books from the eleventh to the twenty-second, inclusive, seem to form the primary organization of the poem, then properly an Achillêis; the twenty-third and twenty-fourth books are, perhaps, additions at the end of this primitive poem, which still leave it nothing more than an enlarged Achillêis. But the books from the second to the seventh, inclusive, together with the tenth, are of a wider and more comprehensive character, and convert the poem from an Achillêis into an Iliad." Not that these additions were made in later times, but while the epic spirit and genius were still alive, and probably by the same class of bards. This view of the question is variously illustrated and confirmed, especially from the legendary poetry of other nations, so that it is made to appear highly plausible, if not convincing. Indeed, it seems to be substantially the view towards which the best Greek scholars of the present age are tending. Still, many will continue to adhere to the idea of the absolute unity of the Iliad, on account of its greater intrinsic interest, as well as from its being an old and long-cherished notion. Indeed, a very good case may be made out for its unity, by considering, with K. O. Müller, (*History of Greek Literature,*) what is regarded as irrelevant matter in the first half as "preparatory" to what follows, or, "the attempts of the other heroes to compensate for the absence of Achilles." On the whole, we may say that this question is not finally settled yet, and from the dim and uncertain nature of the evidence, we hardly see how it ever can be.

Again, Mr. Grote has reversed numerous opinions on the subject of Grecian history. For instance, he has corrected by proper specialties and discriminations certain vague generalizations with regard to the different Greek races. He has shown that the Ionians were not all like the Athenians, nor the Dorians all like the Spartans. That the subordinate states of each race should very generally copy the civil and social institutions and manners of these leading cities, is nothing more than might have been expected, and is easily accounted for; but that every fragment of each race, under whatever circumstances, should have assumed the same type of character and government by mere force of race, as the fitting expression of their internal nature, is altogether incredible. Even Athens and Sparta, it cannot be doubted, owed their diverse institutions and character, as much to diverse circumstances and influences in their history, as to diversity of race. Indeed, the character

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of Athens changed very much in consequence of her political institutions, even during the historical age; and Spartan character, throughout, was but the plainest and baldest transcript of her institutions. We might expect, therefore, to find, at least in remote situations, as Mr. Grote actually does, Dorian democracies with Athenian restlessness and violence, and Ionian oligarchies with Spartan stability and tameness. Without Solon at Athens, and Lycurgus at Sparta, the history of the two cities, and consequently of the two races, would have been very diverse. And if Athens had been planted in the inland position of Sparta, on the Eurotas, and Sparta, in the maritime situation of Athens, on the Ilissus, the same lawgivers might have sprung up to each state, but their characters would have been reversed. Race, it is true, is a most important thread in tracing out the ramifications of history, but rather, as we conceive, because people of the same race naturally act in concert and copy each other from a common sympathy, than because a common force of nature determines them to the same course. The circumstances of climate, soil, situation, and other things external, have far more influence in determining the history of nations, than simple race; since race itself, so far as it indicates a particular type of character, is little more, we must believe, than the result of particular circumstances. Hence, race, as a clue to history, is of only secondary importance—valuable where the forming influence of circumstances cannot be traced, but of little value where they can be. We are glad to find the example of Mr. Grote against that passive acquiescence in the vague generalizations of race so common among historians; since we are persuaded, that while history has often been illuminated by them, it has quite as often been darkened and perverted.

Another point upon which Mr. Grote has materially corrected the common view, is in regard to the laws of Draco and Solon. Draco, whose laws were said in later times to have been written in blood, and which have always been used as the standing illustration of all that is harsh and cruel in legislation, is shown to have been no law-maker at all, but simply the first judge-archon who was required to put in writing, that they might be "made public," the ordinances, according to which decisions were generally made. It was only from the great amelioration which afterwards took place in penal legislation at Athens, that the Draconian laws were looked upon by Aristotle and others as particularly severe. There is no reason to believe that they were any severer than the laws universally acted upon at that time, and as far as they appear to have differed at all from the current penal code, differed on the side of

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humanity. But the view taken of the Solonian legislation is still more new and important. Solon, without doubt, had a regular commission as a lawgiver. He was appointed on occasion of a general disaffection among the people to bring about a general pacification by preparing a new constitution. His constitution was decidedly democratic in its tendencies, since it secured to all citizens the right of voting in the popular assembly on laws, elections and trials of magistrates, although it required that the elections in all cases should be made from among the higher classes. Solon was thus, undoubtedly, the founder of the democracy, and his constitution the fruitful root of the whole subsequent growth. But it has been common to regard him not only as the founder, but as the perfecter of Athenian democracy. This view has been promoted by a careless and indiscriminate use of his name by the later orators, in connection with nearly all the distinctive features of the full-grown democracy. The name of Solon was a revered name at Athens, very much like that of Washington in our own country. His genius, his patriotism, his democratic tendencies, all conspired to make it so. Hence his name seems to have become a sort of symbol of her democratic institutions. It should be considered, also, that in the absence of the art of printing, and in the great dearth of even written books and documents, a few generations were sufficient to obscure and confuse all knowledge of the nicer points of history. Under such circumstances, the most venerated name known to be connected with the popular cause, and standing at the head of the list, would naturally be seized upon as the representative of the whole; just as with us, under vastly more favorable circumstances for discrimination, the name of Washington stands associated in the minds of the mass, and even with those tolerably well read, with the whole series of victories and legislative acts connected with the establishment of our government. It was something in this way, as we conceive, that so many of the features of the later democracy of Athens were ascribed to Solon, which could not, as Mr. Grote has fully shown, have originated with him. This view is important, as bringing the history of Athens into analogy with that of other countries under like circumstances, and as harmonizing with other facts in her history. It is altogether improbable that the fully-developed and well-proportioned democracy of the time of Pericles, with all its specialties and responsibilities of function, with all its checks and balances and securities, should have originated with a single mind six hundred years before Christ; and besides, is utterly inconsistent with what is recorded in history

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of the changes introduced by Clisthenes, Aristides, Ephialtes and Pericles.

Equally new and interesting is the view which Mr. Grote takes of the political institution which existed for some time at Athens, called the Ostracism. This institution owed its existence to Clisthenes, and has been a standing topic for censure with the defamers of democracy. It took its name from the employment of a shell (or potsherd) in the vote of expulsion, and had its origin in aristocratic rather than in democratic violence. We should like to quote all that is said—and so well said—by Mr. Grote on this subject, but must satisfy ourselves with a small part of it.

"At the epoch of Kleisthenês, which, by a remarkable coincidence, is the same as that of the regifuge at Rome, constitutional morality, if it existed anywhere else, had certainly no place at Athens; and the first creation of it in any particular society must be esteemed an interesting historical fact. By the spirit of his reforms,—equal, popular, and comprehensive, far beyond the previous experience of Athenians,—he secured the hearty attachment of the body of citizens; but from the first generation of leading men, under the nascent democracy, and with such precedents as they had to look back upon, no self-imposed limits to ambition could be expected: and the problem required was to eliminate beforehand any one about to transgress these limits, so as to escape the necessity of putting him down afterwards, with all that bloodshed and reaction, in the midst of which the free working of the constitution would be suspended at least, if not irrecoverably extinguished. To acquire such influence as would render him dangerous under democratical forms, a man must stand in evidence before the public, so as to afford some reasonable means of judging of his character and purposes; and the security which Kleisthenês provided, was, to call in the positive judgment of the citizens respecting his future promise purely and simply, so that they might not remain too long neutral between two formidable political rivals—pursuant in a certain way to the Solonian proclamation against neutrality in a sedition, as I have already remarked in a former chapter. He incorporated in the constitution itself the principle of *privilegium*, (to employ the Roman phrase, which signifies, not a peculiar favor granted to any one, but a peculiar inconvenience imposed,) yet only under circumstances, solemn and well-defined, with full notice and discussion beforehand, and by the positive, secret vote of a large proportion of the citizens. 'No law shall be made against any single citizen, without the same being made against *all* Athenian citizens; unless it shall so seem good to six thousand citizens voting secretly.' Such was that general principle of the constitution, under which the ostracism was a particular case. Before the vote of ostracism could be taken, a case was to be made out in the Senate and the Public Assembly to justify it. In the sixth prytany of the year, these two bodies debated and determined whether the state of the republic was menacing enough to call for such an exceptional measure. If they decided in the affirmative, a day was named, the agora was railed round, with ten entrances left for the citizens of each tribe, and ten separate casks or vessels for depositing the suffrages, which consisted of a shell or a potsherd, with the name of the person written on it whom each citizen designed to banish. At the end of the day, the number of the votes were summed up, and if six thousand votes were found to have been given

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against any one person, that person was ostracised; if not, the ceremony ended in nothing. Ten days were allowed to him for settling his affairs, after which he was required to depart from Athens for ten years, but retained his property and suffered no other penalty." * *

"I should hardly have said so much about this memorable and peculiar institution of Kleisthenês, if the erroneous accusations against the Athenian democracy, of envy, injustice, and ill-treatment of their superior men, had not been greatly founded upon it, and if such criticisms had not passed from ancient times to modern, with little examination. In monarchical governments, a pretender to the throne, numbering a certain amount of supporters, is, as a matter of course, excluded from the country. The Duke of Bordeaux cannot now reside in France—nor could Napoleon after 1815—nor Charles Edward in England during the last century. No man treats this as any extravagant injustice, yet it is the parallel of ostracism, with a stronger case in favor of the latter, inasmuch as the change from one regal dynasty to another does not of necessity overthrow all the collateral institutions and securities of the country."—Vol. iv., pp. 155, 161.—(Amer. Edition.)

Mr. Grote has also rescued from obloquy another subject of eloquent denunciation with the traducers of democracy—such as Mr. Mitford—the ancient demagogue. The most conspicuous representative of this class of politicians at Athens, was Cleon, the leather-dresser. Uncivilized society is always intensely aristocratic, both in its form and spirit. A few persons, constituting a class by themselves, from their superior cunning, or supposed sanctity, get possession of all the property and power; while the great mass of the people are mere serfs, kept in the most abject condition. This was plainly the case in early times in ancient Greece, and it was only at Athens that this state of things ever ceased to exist. And even here, these superior families—"the noble and good," as they were denominated—by the prestige of their name and their advantageous position, long contrived to keep ahead of the common people, notwithstanding the perfect equality upon which they all stood after the full development of the democracy. When members of the laboring and mercantile classes first began to take a conspicuous part in the popular assemblies and courts, they were naturally decried as new men, of vulgar birth and calling, as Cicero was at Rome, notwithstanding his splendid genius. Hence it became popular to traduce and ridicule such characters. Thus it happened that Cleon, with other demagogues, so called, were assailed by all the wits, and especially by the aristocratic, demos-hating Aristophanes. At the same time Cleon had incurred the hatred of the historian, Thucydides, by proposing his banishment for neglect of duty as a commander of a military force on the coast of Thrace; so that he has come down to us with his character blackened, both by history and comedy. For the unfa-

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vorable judgment of the historian, we see a reason; and, also, for that of the comedian, if any were needed, for he also had a personal difficulty with him. But aside from this, it was a sufficient ground for the attacks of this great wit, that Cleon's position, as an upstart against the aristocracy, was such as to make him a proper butt for his ridicule. But what is remarkable, writers of the class of Mr. Mitford have received implicitly his character as portrayed by Aristophanes, and held it forth as the legitimate fruit of democracies. Why not do the same with regard to his character of Socrates? And why not, on the same principle, go to Hudibras for the character of the Puritans? The truth is, nothing is more likely to be misrepresented by contemporaries, especially contemporary wits and partisans, than the character of a new man of talent, springing up from obscurity, or, at least, outside of old political cliques, and coming forward as the representative of new ideas, to make successful war upon long-established, dominant factions and interests. Witness in England, the ridicule with which the promoters of the Reform Bill, the Irish Repeal movement, and the Corn Laws, were assailed; and even in our own country, one of the three confessedly most prominent of our present statesmen, at the commencement of a favorite movement, was currently represented in the caricatures of the day, as the disgusting entomon, who "set the ball in motion." But whatever the probabilities of misrepresentation may be in such a writer as Aristophanes, Mr. Grote has fully vindicated the character of Cleon, and exhibited it in honorable comparison with that of his aristocratic contemporary and rival, the staid and decorous Nicias. But Mr. Grote has best set forth the character and position of the demagogue in general, on referring to the speech of the popular orator, Athenagoras, at Syracuse, in condemnation of the motives of the oligarchical party in that city for proposing so extensive preparations to resist the approaching Athenian armament.

"The language of Athenagoras, indicating much party feeling, lets us somewhat into the real working of politics among the Syracusan democracy. Athenagoras, at Syracuse, was like Kleon, at Athens—the popular orator of the city. But he was by no means the most influential person, nor had he the principal direction of affairs. * * * His political rank is more analogous to that which we should call a leader of opposition—a function, of course, suspended under pressing danger, so that we hear of him no more. At Athens, as at Syracuse, the men who got to real power, and handled the force and treasures of the state, were chiefly of the rich families—often of oligarchical sentiments, acquiescing in the democracy as an uncomfortable necessity, and continually open to be solicited by friends or kinsmen, to conspire against it. Their proceedings were, doubtless, always liable to the scrutiny, and their persons to the animadversion, of

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the public assembly; hence arose the influence of the demagogue, such as Athenagoras and Kleon, the bad side of whose character is so constantly kept before the readers of Grecian history. By whatever disparaging epithets such characters may be surrounded, it is in reality the distinguishing feature of a free government under all its forms, whether constitutional monarchy or democracy. By the side of the real political actors, who hold principal office, and wield personal power, there are always abundant censors and critics—some better, others worse, in respect to honesty, candor, wisdom, or rhetoric—the most distinguished of whom acquires considerable importance, though holding a function essentially inferior to that of the authorized magistrate, or general."—Vol. vii., p. 256.—(Eng. Ed.)

There is one other point on which Mr. Grote has materially corrected the common opinion, which deserves to be mentioned—the character and position of the Sophists. The term Sophist properly means a wise man, and was originally used in this sense by the Greeks, as is shown by Mr. Grote, to designate the most eminent teachers of wisdom, without any disparaging idea. In its primitive sense, Solon, Pythagoras, Isocrates, and even Socrates, were called Sophists. But from the time of Plato the term acquired the contemptuous meaning which it still retains, and began to be appropriated especially to that class of public teachers of rhetoric and reasoning whom he introduced into his dialogues as antagonists to Socrates, i. e., to the paid teachers of the popular arts of public life in the age of Socrates. The progressive development of democratical institutions at Athens had gradually augmented the number of these teachers, till now, under the full-grown democracy, they had reached their maximum in number and influence. Their object as teachers was wholly practical—to fit ambitious young men for public life at Athens, so that they might appear with credit to themselves and advantage to their country, in the public assemblies and the courts of justice. Their instruction, therefore, did not embrace any basis of theory, which, to a great political and philosophical theorizer, like Plato, appeared but a shallow wisdom. Their art he considered an unreasoning art, and hence often wrong, or right only by chance, so that it was not only shallow, but in many cases even hurtful. Thus they acquired the reputation of teaching a vain and pernicious philosophy, which has been ascribed to them by most writers on Grecian history and philosophy ever since. But it appears clear from what is adduced by Mr. Grote, that neither their views nor practice differed materially from those of most of the philosophical teachers of their own or the preceding age; though we cannot fully assent to the view, that Socrates had no material difference with them except in regard to their practice of taking pay for their instruction. Admitting that Plato cannot be trusted as exhibiting the true relations of

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Socrates to them, even Xenophon, whom Mr. Grote acknowledges to represent the character of his master correctly, as far as he goes, in several instances seems to us to imply the existence of a more radical difference on the part of Socrates with the common class of philosophers of his time, which must have been the class of Sophists referred to; as, for instance, where he speaks of what he said "by way of chastising those who thought they knew all things," and other like expressions. All that Mr. Grote has written on this subject is highly instructive; but we have space for only a single extract:

"It has been common with recent German historians of philosophy to translate from Plato, and dress up a fiend, called 'Die Sophistik,' (Sophistic,) whom they assert to have poisoned and demoralized, by corrupt teaching, the Athenian moral character, so that it became degenerate at the end of the Peloponnesian war, compared with what it had been in the time of Miltiades and Aristides.

"Now, in the first place, if the abstraction, 'Die Sophistik,' is to have any definite meaning, we ought to have proof that the persons called Sophists had some doctrines, principles, or method, both common to them all, and distinguishing them from others. But such a supposition is untrue; there were no such common doctrines, or principles, or method, belonging to them; even the name by which they are known did not belong to them, any more than to Socrates and others; they had nothing in common, except their profession as paid teachers, qualifying young men 'to think, speak, and act,' (these are the words of Isokrates, and better words it would not be easy to find,) with credit to themselves, as citizens. Moreover, such community of profession did not at that time imply near so much analogy of character as it does now, when the path of teaching has been beaten into a broad and visible high road, with measured distances, and stated intervals. Protagoras and Gorgias found predecessors, indeed, but no binding precedents to copy; so that each struck out, more or less, a road of his own."

On the whole, Mr. Grote has thrown much new light upon the character of the Sophists, and on Greek philosophy generally, as far as it was developed within the period to which his history thus far extends. We cannot, however, entirely agree with him in his estimate of the relative importance of the skeptical, or negative side of the Grecian philosophy. Doubtless, it may have been of great service in cultivating sharpness of mind and dialectical skill, but it never has promoted, nor will it ever promote greatly, the establishment of truth. Admirable as is the view which he gives of the character and philosophy of Socrates in general, we cannot but think that he prizes too highly his "negative elenchus," as he calls it, which to some extent in him, and still more in his disciple, Plato, often gives to the dialogue—their common form of philosophical discussion—the appearance of an expert pugilistic feat, aiming rather at victory than the truth. This try-

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ing one's skill, to see what he can do in undermining the truth, is like trying virtue by artificial tests, in order to see if it is proof against temptation; it is all uncalled for, and on the wrong side. The most conspicuous example of this kind of philosophizing in our country, is found in Ralph Waldo Emerson, with what fruit all know. We should not have felt called upon to make these remarks upon this point, had not Mr. Grote, on various questions, seemed to lean somewhat too strongly to the skeptical side, so as to appear to favor views destructive of the highest interests.

There is one other general feature in the history of Mr. Grote, which we must not fail to commend before leaving the book—the extraordinary freshness and richness of the style. Aside from a natural affluence of language, and good taste in its use, we attribute this principally to two things—a freshness and fullness of preparation for the work, and the habit of viewing ancient in the light of modern history.

No one can write with any great interest on a subject, who has not examined it thoroughly for himself. Second-hand knowledge is always vague, and no knowledge, of course, is vaguer still. Briskness and liveliness of style depend chiefly upon those clear, vivacious, and specific views, which are obtained only by a thorough personal knowledge of a subject. When Sir Walter Scott was about to write his Rokeby, he visited the scene to be described, in order to fill his mind with those little characteristic features and objects which were to give life and animation to it. And so in history, especially in ancient history. Complex in nature, and pertaining to an age remote from the present, and widely diverse in manners and spirit, nothing short of a most thorough and appreciating study of everything connected with the subject, will enable the writer to impart to his style those specialties, and characteristic touches, which are so essential to vivacity and power. One cannot help feeling, in reading Mr. Grote, that the greater vividness and richness of his history over those of his predecessors, is owing chiefly to a corresponding vividness of view and richness of material in his own mind. But this vividness of view has, at the same time, been rendered more intense in his own mind, and more appreciable to others, by being illuminated at so many points by the light of modern history. Ancient history has too often been treated as something isolated, and altogether peculiar in its nature. But the stream of modern history may be traced directly back to its junction with the ancient, or rather, they are both but one stream, separated into two parts somewhat arbitrarily, and presenting in the two sections no material differences. We might expect,

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ART. II.—EXAMINATION OF DOCTOR WOODS'S ARGUMENT FOR INFANT BAPTISM FROM ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

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IN the Works of Dr. Woods,* Vol. III., the CXVIth Lecture, entitled INFANT BAPTISM PROVED FROM ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, contains the following remarkable paragraph: "The testimony of Ecclesiastical History on this subject is just such as we should expect, on the supposition that infant baptism was, from the beginning, universally regarded as a Christian institution. The earliest Christian fathers had little or no occasion to enter on a particular discussion of the subject, or even to make any express mention of it. Accordingly we find in the writers, who next succeeded the Apostles, only allusions to infant baptism. These allusions, however, are of such a nature, that they cannot well be accounted for, without supposing that Infant Baptism was *the uniform practice.* But the fathers, who wrote in the following ages, were more and more particular and explicit in their testimony."

This paragraph has the air of learned investigation. It seems marked with cautiousness, and appears like the well-measured tread of a considerate and trustworthy guide. It seems, also, stamped with candor, such as well befits a subject acknowledged by able investigators to be at least somewhat obscure. It evidently expresses, moreover, the honest convictions of its author. Its direct, unfaltering and positive tone, give it an air of authority.

This historical argument, claiming an unbroken chain of evidence, through the very men "who next succeeded the apostles," and who, it may be added, according to universal belief, were acquainted with apostles and instructed by them, is designed to link infant baptism with the apostles themselves. In point of fact, this historical argument has contributed more than the Scripture argument to the defence of infant baptism; and to not a few, though as to all other subjects they choose to stand on the sure basis of inspiration,

* The Works of Leonard Woods, D.D, lately Professor of Christian Theology in the Theological Seminary, Andover. In Five Volumes. Boston: 1850.

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the historical view which has been presented of this subject has appeared utterly incompatible with the conclusion that the apostles knew nothing of infant baptism, and thus confirmation has been given to arguments called Scriptural, but too remote and doubful for satisfaction.

The positions laid down in this paragraph I purpose now to examine. To place my readers in a favorable state for accompanying me in this examination, I must premise that the early Christian writers contemplated in this paragraph are divided into two classes: the first, comprising those who immediately succeeded the apostles, and who are denominated Apostolical Fathers, because they are reputed to have been acquainted with apostles, and to have been instructed by them. This class contains the following names: Barnabas, Clement (of Rome), Hermas, Ignatius, Polycarp. The space of time covered by the writings of the Apostolical Fathers is regarded by Hefele, in his valuable edition of their works,* as extending to about the year A. D. 150. Next to these, or in the second class, stand the writers who are commonly called the Christian Fathers, commencing with Justin Martyr. The writers belonging to this class, whom my purpose requires me to mention, are Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian and Origen. Farther down than the last-named, it is wholly unnecessary, as the sequel will show, for me to proceed.

This distinction, universally made, between the Apostolical Fathers and the succeeding Christian Fathers, is recognised by Dr. Woods in the paragraph before us; since he mentions "the writers who next succeeded the apostles" and "the fathers who wrote in the following ages." Respecting the former of these two classes he says, "We find in the writers, who next succeeded the apostles, only allusions to infant baptism. These allusions, however, are of such a nature as to afford satisfactory evidence that it was *the uniform practice*." Now, the question which I propose to examine is simply and directly this: Do those specified writings contain allusions to infant baptism of such a nature as to prove that it was the uniform practice?

It is a question of fact, and requires me to search the writings which are ascribed to these men. For this purpose, I shall employ the very convenient edition of their works by Hefele, following, for convenience' sake, the order in which he has arranged them.

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* Patrum Apostolicorum Opera. Ed. Carolus Jos. Hefele.

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APOSTOLICAL FATHERS.

I. The first in order is the so-called Epistle of Barnabas. This contains a few notices of baptism. In the eleventh section, the author takes up the inquiry whether the water [*i. e.*, baptism] and the cross had been carefully foreshown in the Old Testament. "Concerning the water," he remarks, "it was written respecting Israel how they would not receive the baptism which leads to remission of sins, but would make [something different] for themselves." He proceeds to quote the first three verses of the first Psalm, and then adds, in applying the passage to his purpose, "Perceive ye how at one and the same time he marked out [*i. e.*, showed or described] the water and the cross? For this it is which he says—Blessed are they who, having trusted to the cross, have gone down into the water; because [they shall receive] the reward in its time." Again, quoting a passage from the Old Testament, in which, according to the quotation, mention is made of a river with beautiful trees growing up out of it, of which whoever should eat would live forever, he proceeds—"This he says, That we descend into the water laden with sins and corruption, and ascend bearing fruit, having in the heart the fear [towards God], and in the Spirit the hope towards Jesus;" or, as Archbishop Wake translates, "having in our hearts the fear and hope which is in Jesus by the Spirit."

This epistle contains no other notices of baptism; and these evidently relate to instances of professed believers being baptized on their personal reception of the gospel. No allusion to infant baptism can be found in this epistle.

II. The next in order are the two epistles of Clement. The first of these, to the Corinthians, contains no allusion to baptism, unless a conjectural reading, suggested by Dr. Mill, in the seventh section, be correct, and be rightly interpreted by him. If, however, his conjecture and explanation be correct, it was evidently, from the connection, the baptism of professed believers that was present to the author's mind. The editor, whom I am now following, gives a different reading, and, in all probability, the true one; in which no allusion to baptism need be recognised.

While this epistle contains no recognition of baptism, it is interesting to notice a remarkable passage in the twenty-first section, which gives instruction to the Corinthians respecting their children: "Let your children receive Christian instruction [τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ παιδείας,], let them learn of what avail with God is humility, what pure love can effect with God, how the

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fear of him is good and great, and saves all those who lead a holy life with a pure mind." In this connection, which would so naturally suggest the thought of infant baptism, if such were "*the uniform practice*," not the slightest allusion to it occurs. No one, in reading this section, would once think of the children as having been baptized, or as at all externally related to the church, otherwise than is the case in any well ordered Christian family, the children of which are, of course, trained according to the Christian religion. The passage is remarkably similar to that in Eph. vi. 4.—Train up your children in the nurture [παιδεία] and admonition of the Lord.

The second epistle of Clement, so called, is regarded, by competent judges, as more properly a fragment of a homily of a considerably later date. At whatever time it originated, and whoever was its author, it comes into notice here because it has held a place among the writings ascribed to the apostolic fathers. It contains allusions to baptism, all which relate to one point, namely, the unpardonable nature of sins committed after baptism. They are the following. In the sixth section—"How shall we, if we do not preserve our baptism pure and undefiled, enter into the palace of God?" In the seventh section—"What think ye? What shall he suffer who corrupts the contest of incorruption? (i. e., who violates his Christian engagements, the image of a contest for a crown being employed.) For, not having kept their seal (i. e. baptism), he (God) says, Their worm shall not die, and their fire shall not be quenched." In the eighth section—"Wherefore, he saith, Keep the flesh pure and the seal (baptism) undefiled, that ye may receive eternal life." The connection throughout, in which these references to baptism occur, indicates a personal recognition, in baptism, of the duty and purpose to lead a righteous life, and by no means the baptism of infants.

III. The Epistles of Ignatius. These are seven: namely, to the churches in Ephesus, Magnesia, Trallae, Rome, Philadelphia, Smyrna, and to Polycarp. In these epistles we find the following references to baptism. To the Ephesians, section eighteenth, the writer says, respecting Jesus, "who was born and was baptized that by his suffering he might purify the water." In the epistle to the church in Smyrna, section first, he speaks of Jesus as having been baptized that he might fulfill all righteousness; and in section eighth, he says, "it is not lawful to baptize in the absence of the bishop." In the epistle to Polycarp, section sixth, addressing Polycarp's church, he says, "Please him for whom you are soldiers, from whom also ye receive your wages. Let no one of you be a deserter. Let your baptism remain as weapons, faith as a helmet, love as a

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spear, patience as your panoply." In these, which are all the instances furnished by these letters of reference to baptism, no allusion obviously is made to infant baptism.

It is worth while to notice, that in the epistles to the church in Magnesia, sections eighth and tenth, and in that to the church in Philadelphia, section sixth, the writer introduces earnest warnings against the efforts with which some Judaizing teachers sought to corrupt the Christian faith. In such connections, as also in similar ones of the New Testament, had infant baptism been a current Christian practice, the mention of it, as holding a place similar to that of the Jewish circumcision, would have been so natural, that the entire absence of the most remote allusion to it, casts deep suspicion on the historical existence of the practice at that early date.

To the epistles of Ignatius is appended an account of his martyrdom. This contains no allusion to infant baptism.

IV. The epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians. This contains no allusion to baptism at all. Nor does any occur in the epistle appended to this, giving an account of Polycarp's martyrdom.

V. The Shepherd of Hermas, a work divided into three books: the first consisting of four Visions; the second, of twelve Commandments; the third, of ten Similitudes.

Several references to baptism occur in this work, without a solitary allusion to infant baptism. In Book I., Vision III., section III., as the church is likened to a tower, the question is proposed, "Wherefore was the tower built on the waters?" In reply it is said, "Hear for what reason the tower was built on the waters. Because your life has been made safe, and will be made so by means of water;" a recognition, no doubt, of the commonly believed necessity of baptism to salvation and to union with the church. In accordance with this belief of the necessity of baptism to entrance into the kingdom of God, is the figment (minutely expanded in Book III., Similitude IX., section XVI.) that even the righteous men who had died during the Old Testament dispensation could not be admitted into the kingdom of God, unless the apostles and teachers who made known the Son of God had, after their decease, preached to them the gospel and baptized them in Hades. "For," says this sapient writer, "before a man receives the name of the Son of God, he is appointed to death; but when he receives that seal, he is liberated from death and assigned to life. That seal is the water, into which men descend doomed (bound *obligati*) to death; but they ascend assigned to life."

Baptism is also in this work spoken of as the commencement of a holy life. In Book I., Vision III., section VII., as ex-

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planatory of an allegorical representation, the question is proposed and answered,—"But the rest, that fell near the waters, and could not be rolled into the waters, who are they? They are those who have heard the word, desiring to be baptized in the name of the Lord; but when the sacredness of the truth comes up to their memory, they draw back and walk again according to their wicked desires."

Baptism is mentioned, also, in Book II., Commandment IV., section III., as procuring remission of sins.

I have now completed the examination of the writings which have been ascribed to the Apostolical Fathers. The result is, that they contain absolutely no recognitions of, or allusions to, at baptism; but invariably in instances which are at all indicative of the recipients of baptism, such language is employed as excludes the idea of its having been administered to infants. What the great Schleiermacher, that learned and profound theological investigator, said of the New Testament in reference to infant baptism, namely, that those who wish to find infant baptism in it *must first put it into* that book,* is also true of the Apostolical Fathers; it must first be put into their writings before it can be found there. The darkness of Egypt was not more destitute of a cheering beam of light than is the historical period embraced by the Apostolical Fathers destitute of evidence that infant baptism then existed.

SUCCEEDING CHRISTIAN FATHERS.

I.—Justin Martyr.

Dr. Woods proceeds: "But the fathers, who wrote in the following ages, were more and more particular and explicit in their testimony." Let us also examine this statement. The writers here introduced commence with Justin Martyr.

Justin's First Apology for the Christians, presented to the Roman government probably A.D. 138, contains a sentence in which mention is made of certain Christians, sixty and seventy years old, who had been disciples, or had been made disciples [ἐμαθητεύθησαν] from their early youth, or childhood [ἐκ παίδων]. This is the sentence on which dependence is placed as showing the existence of infant baptism in the time of Justin. Dr. Woods says, "It is, I think, altogether probable and beyond any reasonable doubt, that Justin meant in this place to speak of those

* Alle Spuren von Kindertaufe, die man in neuen Testament hat finden wollen, erst müssen hineingetragen werden. Der Christliche Glaube, von Dr. Friedrich Schleiermacher, Zweiter Band. s. 383.

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who were made disciples, or introduced into the school of Christ by *baptism*, when they were infants."

Does ἐκ παίδων here mean *from infancy?* And does ἐμαθητεύθησαν involve the idea of baptism in the cases referred to? These questions, at least the first, must be affirmatively answered, in order that the passage may testify to the existence of infant baptism. An affirmative answer cannot be sustained. The truth is, the passage ought never to have been pressed into the service. The candor of modern scholars forbids them to regard it as testimony for infant baptism. As I will not even appear to speak at random, I insert here the views which two learned German writers have published. The first is C. Semisch, author of a critical Monograph on the Life and Works of Justin, and withal a Lutheran clergyman. I quote from his second volume, pp. 334, 335. "Whenever Justin refers to baptism, *adults* appear as the objects to whom the sacred rite is administered. Of an *infant baptism* he knows nothing. The traces of it, which some persons believe they have detected in his writings, are groundless fancies, artificially produced. In the words πολλοί τινες καὶ πολλαί, ἑξηκοντοῦται καὶ ἑβδομηκοντοῦται, ὅτι ἐκ παίδων ἐμαθητεύθησαν τῷ Χριστῷ ἄφθοροι διαμένουσι (Apol. I. 15.)—'Many men and many women, sixty and seventy years old, who, from children, have been disciples of Christ, preserve their continence.' Nothing more is said, than that many individuals of both sexes became disciples of Christ in early life. The idea of μαθητεύεσθαι does not necessarily include that of being baptized; it merely brings before our minds a catechumenate. And even admitting that the baptismal rite was included in μαθητεύεσθαι, this by no means is decisive of a reference to infant baptism. Ἐκ παίδων contrasted with ἑξηκοντοῦται and ἑβδομηκοντοῦται may well denote the entrance on the period of youth." In a note, Semisch also quotes from Starck, "as a parallel, Lucian's language about the philosopher Demonax, 'that he loved philosophy ἐκ παίδων.'" To this I might add the language of Basil, in his Exhortation to Baptism, as quoted by Matthies, "Thou yet delayest, though thou hast been instructed in the word [the gospel] ἐκ νηπίου." In a similar manner the apostle Paul writes to Timothy, 2 Tim. iii., 15. From a child—ἀπὸ βρέφους—thou hast known the Holy Scriptures.

The other writer is C. Steph. Matthies, author of a prize essay, entitled *Baptismatis Expositio*, a work of great literary merit. On page 187, he thus says—"In the first two centuries no memorials [monumenta] are found, by which it can be evidently established that infants then received baptism: it is rather probable that as far as to the end of the second century only those who had been instructed in the elements of Chris-

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tian doctrine were admitted to baptism. But certain words of Justin Martyr, which are very often adduced in favor of the antiquity of infant baptism, seem to oppose this opinion. Justin says, that very many of each sex, sixty and seventy years old, who had been taught the doctrine of Christ from their childhood [a pueritia] remain continent. Though the formula μαθητευθαι τινι undeniably signifies *to be a disciple of such a one*, yet this signification by no means contains the idea that that disciple has been already baptized; for one can be called a disciple, who, though he has not yet received baptism, is eagerly learning the doctrine of Christ, and is therefore taught the gospel. It is this which Justin seems to have had in mind. For he himself, in another place, giving an account of baptism, relates that only those who believe the things they are taught, so as to be persuaded that they can live in a Christian manner, are brought to baptism. It is thus evident, that in Justin's opinion baptism is to be given after believing in Christ. Nothing else, therefore, is contained in that saying of Justin's, than that many, instructed in the gospel from an early age [ab ineunte ætate] remain continent."

I might now pass to the next writer introduced by Dr. Woods. But as the historical question of baptism has no little interest, I wish here to extract from Justin Martyr the passage alluded to by Matthies. It so directly bears on the subject that it materially contributes to a proper understanding of the sentence which we have been considering, and which has been made a basis for so disproportionate a structure. It is the LXIst chapter, or section, of the same Apology, in which Justin commences his account of Christian practices and worship. I give the chapter entire, without stopping to notice any doctrinal misconceptions of its author. "In what manner we devote ourselves to God, having been made new by Christ, we will explain, lest by omitting this we should seem to give a dishonest account. As many as are persuaded and believe that those things are true which are taught and said by us, and engage to live accordingly, are instructed to pray and ask, with fasting, from God, the forgiveness of the sins they had before committed, we also praying and fasting with them. Then they are led by us [to a place] where is water, and receive the new birth, [are born again] after the same manner of new birth in which we ourselves have been born again. For, in the name of the Father of all and Lord God, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Spirit, they then receive the bath [have the bathing done to themselves]. For Christ said, Except ye be born again, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of Heaven. But that it is impossible for those who have been once born to enter

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into their mothers' wombs, is evident to all. And by Isaiah the prophet, as we have before written, it is said in what manner those who have sinned and repent shall escape from their sins. It is thus spoken—Wash ye, become clean, take away iniquity from your souls, &c. [Is. i. 16–20]. And in reference to this matter we have learned from the apostles this account. Since, being ignorant of our first birth, we were born by a necessity from the connubial intercourse* of our parents, and were in corrupt customs and evil education, in order that we may not remain children of necessity and ignorance, but of choice and knowledge, and may obtain in the water remission of the sins we have formerly committed, the name of the Father of all and Lord God is called over the person who desires to be born again and who repents of his sins, he that leads to the laver the person to be bathed pronouncing over him this name only. For no one is able to mention a name for the ineffable God: should any one dare to say there is [a name], he would be guilty of utter madness. Moreover, this bath is called *illumination*, as those who learn these things are illuminated in their understanding. And the enlightened person is bathed in the name of Jesus Christ who was crucified in the time of Pontius Pilate, and in the name of the Holy Spirit, who, through the prophets, before proclaimed all the things pertaining to Jesus."

On a portion of this extract I am happy in the opportunity of presenting the views of Semisch in his work already mentioned, vol. ii., p. 305. "This passage distinguishes, undeniably, a twofold birth—a birth after the flesh, which results from the union of a child's parents—and a birth after the Spirit, of which baptism is the instrument. The first birth, in reference to the child born, is a matter of pure necessity; we are born physically, without our knowledge or co-operation: the other birth, on the contrary, depends on our individual, self-conscious freedom; we shall be born of the Spirit only if we wish it." Of this spiritual, intelligent, voluntary birth, baptism, according to Justin's representation, is the instrument. Is this consistent with the idea of baptism administered to unconscious infants?

In the other parts of this extract, it is interesting to observe the successive steps presented by Justin. First in order is, being made new by Christ; next, cordially believing the instructions of the Christian teachers, and avowing the purpose to live accordingly; next, directions to prayer, and fasting for the remission of sins; and then baptism, this last being re-

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* Euphemism, borrowed from Semisch.

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garded as the means of the new birth, that is, evidently, of the persons' becoming members of the Christian family; the regeneration, strictly speaking, or spiritual conception, implied in the earlier part of the process, reaching its ultimate point, or becoming consummated, in being born into the family, so as to be recognized as children of God and brethren of Christians.

In subsequent chapters, LXV.–LXVII., Justin continues his account, and describes the reception of the newly baptized person among the brethren, the administering of the Lord's Supper, and the accompanying worship. But through all these chapters, professedly devoted to an account of the Christian observances, not the slightest hint occurs respecting any persons' being baptized, but such as had received the gospel, and professed the purpose of living agreeably to it. Could this have been the case, if infant baptism had been *the uniform practice?* Should it be said that Justin's design did not require him to mention infant baptism, it must be considered that he professed to give such an account, that the emperor and senate, and people of Rome, might not be ignorant of any of the Christians' proceedings; and infant baptism, if it had been the uniform practice from the time of the apostles, must have been so frequent an observance by the year 138, that it could not have been forgotten, or been passed over, by an intelligent Christian apologist, who wished that nothing might be concealed either from the rulers or from the people. It must also have been so frequent an observance, that the voluntary entrance of a person into the Christian company, and active participation of the Lord's Supper and of worship, could not have been described as taking place in so direct connection with baptism. In case of infant baptism, a long interval must have intervened between the two transactions. In addition, it is well known that among the grounds of the hostile feeling which the populace at that period so extensively and bitterly cherished againt the Christians, was the absurd accusation, that, in their assemblies, they were in the habit, among other enormities, of feasting on the bodies of infants. Any solemn, special ceremony in reference to their children, required by their religion, we may venture to say, could not have been omitted in a description of Christian worship and observances, while this foul charge of Thyestean banquets was so perpetually reiterated.

Looking now at the writings of Justin simply as historical monuments, that is, as memorials of opinions and practices prevalent in his day among the Christians, I am unable to see how a conclusion, different from that which Semisch has so candidly expressed, can be sustained: namely, "of an infant baptism Justin knows nothing."

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II.—IRENÆUS.

Irenæus comes next in order, born, according to the best authorities, not, as the Lecture states, "near the close of the first century," but about the year 140;* some say between 120 and 140. His copious writings contain the following sentence, which I here convey with more fullness than appears in the Lecture, and precisely according to the Latin—"He [Christ] came to save all by himself; all, I say, who by him are born again unto God [renascuntur in Deum], infants and little ones, and children, and youths, and elder persons."

On this passage, Dr. Woods thus writes: "Wall† and Schroeckh, and other writers of the first ability, consider the word *renasci* [*born again*], in the writings of Irenæus and Justin, as signifying *baptism*. . . . The passage above cited is with good reason supposed to contain proof . . . that infant baptism was the *prevailing practice*."

The question connected with this passage is one of literary criticism; namely, Does the expression *born again unto God*, as "Wall and Schroeckh and other writers of the first ability" suppose, here "signify *baptism?*" Declining to take, on this question, the position of a disputant, or of a judge, I prefer to let my readers know the exact state of the case as to the judgment of eminent scholars. Opinions are divided in regard to this expression. "Writers of the first ability" also feel constrained, against the influences of their religious training and ecclesiastical relations, after laborious examination of the works of Irenæus, and comparison of this passage with his current of thought and his system respecting the recovery of men by Jesus Christ, to conclude that it does not recognize infant baptism. It will be most satisfactory to have a few specimens, showing

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* Möhler's Patrologie, I., p. 330. Böhringer's Die Kirche Christi, I., p. 206.

† Wall's History of Infant Baptism has long been the storehouse of historical arguments for English and American advocates of infant baptism; and has probably been found a convenient substitute for an independent study of the extant works of the Fathers. The following note, which I translate from the work of Matthies, (p. 189,) already referred to, may therefore possess some interest. "Both Wall and Bingham, in opposition to the testimonies of history, [invitis historiæ testimoniis,] trace back the custom of baptizing infants to the apostolic age, being of the opinion that even Clement of Rome—since he thinks that no one, though only even a day old, is pure from stain—and Hermas, because he holds baptism necessary to a person's salvation, indicate that infants were baptized. Yet you can prove, with not less force, that even the sacred Scripture regards infant baptism as necessary, and prescribes it, though in not even a word does it say that an infant was baptized."

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the diverse views which have been given, and the tendency of opinions.

Neander, in his History of the Christian Religion and Church, vol. I., p. 311 (Torrey's translation), speaks thus: "Baptism was administered at first only to adults, as men were accustomed to conceive baptism and faith as strictly connected. We have all reason for not deriving infant baptism from apostolic institution; and the recognition of it which followed somewhat later as an apostolical tradition, serves to confirm this hypothesis.* Irenæus is the first church teacher in whom we find any allusion to infant baptism; and in his mode of expressing himself on the subject, he leads us at the same time to recognize its connection with the essence of the Christian consciousness; he testifies of the profound Christian idea, out of which infant baptism arose, and which procured for it at length universal recognition. Irenæus is wishing to show that Christ did not interrupt the progressive development of that human nature which was to be sanctified by him, but sanctified it in accordance with its natural course of development, and in all its several stages. "He came to redeem all by himself; all who, through him, are regenerated to God; infants, little children, boys, young men and old. Hence he passed through every age, and for the infants he became an infant, sanctifying the infants; among the little children he became a little child, sanctifying those who belong to this age, and at the same time presenting to them an example of piety, of well-doing and of obedience; among the young men he became a young man, that he might set them an example and sanctify them to the Lord." It is here especially important to observe, that infants, (infantes) are expressly distinguished from children (parvulis) whom Christ could *also* benefit by his example; and that they are represented as capable of receiving from Christ, who had appeared in their age, nothing more than an objective sanctification. This sanctification becomes theirs, in so far as they are regenerated by Christ to God. Regeneration and baptism are in Irenæus intimately connected; and it is difficult to conceive how the term regeneration can be employed in reference

* It is worthy of notice, that while some writers reiterate with positiveness the traditionary assumption of the original existence of infant baptism, as a Christian rite, such scholars as Neander, Schleiermacher, Semisch, Matthies, &c., speak with the utmost freeness of the introduction of infant baptism at a date subsequent to that of the apostles. They speak according to the true light of history; such is their learning, and such their literary candor, that it costs them no more effort than it would to speak of any well-known fact, of which they had become personally assured.

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to this age, to denote any thing else than baptism. Infant baptism, then, appears here as the medium through which the principle of sanctification, imparted by Christ to human nature from its earliest development, became appropriated to children."

Matthies (Expositio Baptismatis, p. 189), says, "The matter turns on this—whether *to be born again* signifies *baptism*. It can by no means be doubted that Irenæus is accustomed to call *baptism* a *new birth unto God*. Still, this writer does not teach that in his age infants were always baptized; rather, this only is contained in that passage, namely, that infants, as well as little ones and lads (parvuli et pueri) may be saved, *since they may be born again by Christ*, that is, in baptism. Though, therefore, Irenæus thinks that infants are partakers of the new birth, and consequently of baptism, (since baptism effects the new birth,) it is yet left in doubt whether infants were always baptized or not. From the remark of Irenæus, it can probably be inferred that towards the end of the second century—about the year 180—infants were sometimes baptized."

On the other side of this question appears Baumgarten-Crusius, one of the most distinguished names in German theological literature, who says, in his Dogmengeschichte, p. 1209, "The celebrated passage in Irenæus (ii. 22, 4) is not to be used in favor of infant baptism. For the expression *renasci per eum* (Christum) *in Deum*, evidently signifies here the participation of all in his divine and holy nature, in which he has come into the place of all. Compare 3, 18, per omnem venit ætatem, &c.

Hagenbach, in his History of Doctrines, translated by C. W. Buch, vol. I. p. 193, expresses the following opinion: "The passages from Scripture which are thought to intimate that infant baptism had come into use in the primitive church, are doubtful and prove nothing, viz., Mark, x. 14; Matthew, xviii. 4, 6; Acts, ii. 38, 39, 41; Acts, x. 48; 1 Cor., i. 16; Col., ii. 11, 12. Nor does the earliest passage occurring in the writings of the Fathers, Irenæus, adv. hær. ii. 22, 4, afford any decisive proof. It only expresses the beautiful idea that Jesus was Redeemer *in* every stage of life, and *for* every stage of life; but it does not say that he redeemed children by the *water of baptism*, unless the term *renasci* be interpreted by the most arbitrary petitio principii to refer to baptism."

In a similar strain we have, as is fully stated in the Christian Review, vol. III. p. 213, the conclusions of Winer, Starck, Rossler, Münscher, Von Cöln, all declining to borrow any support for infant baptism from this passage.

I have thus far avoided all mention of the result to which

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my learned friend, Rev. Irah Chase, D. D., was led by a laborious examination of the works of Irenæus, because I wished to derive testimony from learned men whose religious predilections would rather incline them to discover in the passage an argument for infant baptism. Dr. Chase has rendered valuable service to theological literature, by his endeavors to ascertain the real meaning of the passage under consideration. In pursuance of his purpose he read and re-read every page of all the extant works of Irenæus, as well as of that containing this passage, and formed an independent opinion of its meaning. This opinion he afterwards discovered, from time to time, to accord with results to which learned German investigators had been led. From his satisfactory article on this passage, published in the Bibliotheca Sacra and Theological Review, published at Andover, vol. VI., pp. 646, 656, I extract the following statement: "According to Irenæus, Christ, in becoming incarnate, and thus assuming his mediatorial work, brought the human family into a new relation, under himself, and placed them in a condition in which they can be saved. In this sense, he is the Saviour of all. He restored them, or summed them up anew, in himself. He became, so to speak, a second Adam, the regenerator of mankind. Through him they are regenerated unto God; *per eum renascuntur in Deum.*

"The thought occurs frequently, and it is variously modified by the various connections in which it is introduced.

"In the passage which has often been brought forward as recognizing the baptism of infants, Irenæus is maintaining that Christ appeared as he really was, and passed through the various stages of human life, sanctifying, it is added, sanctifying every age by the likeness that it had to himself; *for he came to save all by himself; all, I say, since by him they are regenerated unto God*—infants and little ones, and children, and youths, and elder persons. Therefore he came through the several ages, and for infants was made an infant, sanctifying infants; among little ones, a little one, sanctifying those of that age; and, at the same time, being to them an example of piety, uprightness and obedience; among the youth, a youth, becoming an example to the youths, and sanctifying them to the Lord; thus also an elderly person, among elderly persons, that he might be a perfect master among all, not only in respect to the presentation of truth, but also in respect to age, sanctifying at the same time also the elderly persons, and becoming to them an example. Then, too, he passed through even unto death, that he might be the first born from the dead, himself holding the primacy in all things, the prince of life, superior to all, and preceding all. B. II., c. 22, § 4.

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"What Irenæus thought of baptism must be gathered from the passages in which he is speaking of the subject. But that he is speaking of it in this passage, there is no sufficient evidence. For a mere resemblance in one or two words to certain terms sometimes used in connection with baptism, falls very far short of proving the point assumed. The context is against it, for the context directs our attention to *Christ*, and what he himself personally came to do for the human family. It is by *Him*, and not by baptism, that they are here said to be renewed, born anew, or regenerated. And parallel passages are against it, for they abundantly confirm the sense which I have given, as being the true sense of the passage before us."

III.—TERTULLIAN.

Dr. Woods next produces Tertullian as testifying to the existence of infant baptism in his day, that is, near the end of the second century, or in round numbers, A. D. 200. Here he has an unexceptionable witness. No one can doubt—see Tertullian's treatise De Baptismo, § 18—that the practice then existed. At Tertullian's period, we emerge, so far as historical evidence of infant baptism is concerned, from darkness into light. But when Dr. Woods says, p. 398, that the language of Tertullian proves infant baptism to have been the general practice, he transcends his authority. Tertullian's testimony is a clear proof that the practice existed in North Africa, but not that it existed in Asia Minor; nor is it a clear proof that it was universal even in North Africa. He dissuaded from the practice. And the fact that so learned and so frank a man as Tertullian, at an age so near to the apostolic, objected against it, induces a strong suspicion that he knew it was not an original practice of Christianity. But precisely how to argue about the fact that the first unquestionable witness of infant baptism is also an opposer of it, is so much a matter of mere probability, and one respecting which a man's private views and prepossessions will so much influence him, that I prefer not thus to beat the air. I rather invite attention to a remark or two of Neander's, whose investigations and ability to estimate historical circumstances entitle his opinion on such a subject to great weight.

In his History of the Christian Religion and Church, vol. i., p. 312, he says, "Immediately after Irenæus, in the last years of the second century, Tertullian appears as a zealous opponent of infant baptism: a proof that the practice had not as yet come to be regarded as an apostolical institution; for otherwise

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he would hardly have ventured to express himself so strongly against it." So in his work entitled the Spirit of Tertullian, p. 207, he says, "For these reasons Tertullian declared against infant baptism, which at that time was *certainly not a generally prevailing practice;* was not yet regarded as an apostolical institution. On the contrary, as the assertions of Tertullian render in the highest degree probable, *it had just begun to spread*, and was therefore regarded by many *as an innovation.*

So likewise Matthies says, p. 191, "Tertullian, who, as every body knows, labored with the utmost zeal to preserve every church institute, as being of apostolic origin, yet vehemently opposes the practice of baptizing infants; whence, it is evident, that infant baptism had come into use, certainly in the Carthaginian Church, and that it was regarded as an institute which did not proceed from Christ nor the apostles." Again, p. 193: "Since Tertullian was a very strenuous advocate of ecclesiastical tradition and most unfriendly to changes, with the exception of Montanism, it is obvious that the custom of infant baptism was not yet, at that time, prevalent in all the churches."

In coincidence with these views are the remarks of Krabbe, in his essay on the Apostolical Constitutions, appended to Dr. Chase's edition of the Constitutions, p. 420—"Exactly at the time of the origin of our Constitutions, it was when infant baptism and the baptism of persons grown up existed together. Till the fifth century this continues, and the baptism of the grown-up is the more prevalent; but *then* pædo-baptism predominates, and completely displaces the baptism of adults. It is well known how very zealously Tertullian opposed infant baptism; and although the council at Carthage, A. D. 253, with Cyprian at their head, declared themselves in its favor, yet only in the African Church from that time it came gradually to prevail. In the Oriental Church, on the contrary, the earlier usage remained till the fifth century."

IV.—Origen.

The testimony of Origen, who was born A. D. 185, and died A. D. 253, is next presented. This, too, as proving simply the historical fact in his day, is wholly unexceptionable. No one can doubt that infant baptism existed in Origen's time. The three passages, either of which sufficiently proves this, are the following: "It may be asked why, since baptism is given to the church for the remission of sins, baptism is given, according to the observance of the church, even to infants; for the

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grace of baptism would seem superfluous if there were nothing in infants requiring remission and indulgence." In Leviticum, Hom. VIII.

"Infants are baptized for the remission of sins. . . . And because, through the sacrament of baptism, native corruption is removed, therefore infants also are baptized." In Lucam, Hom. XIV.

"For this [that is, for removing native corruption] the church has received a tradition from the Apostles to give baptism even to infants." Comm. in Ep. ad Rom., Lib. V., cap. 9.

Origen's testimony is thought to be of special value, because he says that the church received a tradition [not "an *order*," as the Lecture represents] from the apostles to the effect that infants should be baptized. Now, however weighty at first sight this remark of Origen's may appear, claiming for infant baptism an apostolic tradition, it is divested of all its force by Neander's observation respecting it, in his History of the Christian Religion, vol. i., p. 314. "Origen, in whose system infant baptism could readily find its place, declares it to be an apostolical tradition; an expression, by the way, which cannot be regarded as of much weight in this age, when the inclination was so strong to trace every institution which was considered of special importance to the apostles;* and when so many walls of separation, hindering the freedom of prospect, had already been set up between this and the apostolic age." Matthies, Exp. Bapt., p. 194, makes a similar remark on this declaration of Origen. It would, indeed, be singular, if there had been a tradition which could be clearly traced to the apostles,

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* As an illustration of this, though at a later period, Cyprian, about the year 250, speaking of the custom, when a bishop was to be set over a people, of the bishops in the province assembling at the place in order to fill the vacancy in the presence of the people, represents the observance as derived from apostolical tradition. See Neander's History, vol. i., pp. 199, 200. But who believes that an Apostle ever authorized such an arrangement? It should not be forgotten, that, previously to the time of Origen, the idea of apostolic tradition was fondly cherished by the bishops of the Church of Rome, especially as securing a sanction for views and practices prevailing at Rome. See Neander, vol. i., p. 214. Even so early a writer as Irenæus ingenuously acknowledges "that tradition often originates in, and is propagated by, simplicity and ignorance." See Neander, vol. i., p. 215. In view of these tendencies, and of the uncritical character of the early centuries, it is not easy to maintain one's gravity at reading the following remark of Wall in his History of Infant Baptism, quoted by Dr. Woods: "Since Origen was born, A. D. 185, that is, eighty-five years after the apostles, his grandfather, or at least his great-grandfather must have lived in the apostles' time. And as he could not be ignorant whether he was himself baptized in infancy, so he had no further than his own family to go to for inquiry, how it was practised in the times of the apostles."

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or which was extensively, from the very first, believed to be thus traceable, that Tertullian should not have known it, a man so learned, so frank, and so fearless in saying what he thought, and what he knew. And would there have been an entire silence respecting such a tradition in every Christian writer from Clement of Rome down to Origen? That such an opinion had gained currency in Origen's day is easily conceivable; and that it was the growth of disputes respecting baptism is also very credible, for, as Neander observes, vol. i., p. 314, note: "In Origen's time, too, difficulties were still frequently urged against infant baptism, similar to those thrown out by Tertullian."

Beyond this point of time, the examination need not be extended. No one who is at all acquainted with ancient Christian writers, or with credible history, from the time of Tertullian, can reasonably doubt the existence of infant baptism, at least as occasionally practised in that writer's time. Dr. Woods proceeds to mention Cyprian, Optatus, Gregory Nazianzen, Chrysostom, Augustin, thus bringing the evidence down to the fifth century. All these are unexceptionable witnesses to the fact, and so are other contemporaneous writers. Historical light in reference to the subject begins to shine from Tertullian's pages; all the writers preceding his time, even that important writer, Clement of Alexandria, having nothing to impart on the subject: for certainly the passage in Irenæus is of such a nature that a similar passage on any subject of philosophy, or of civil history, would not for a moment be regarded as sufficiently clear to occupy a prominent position, if a position at all, among testimonies. From the time of Tertullian, in the natural order of events, the stream of historical evidence widens, so that, should we take a retrograde course, pædo-baptism can be historically traced from the present day to the time of Tertullian. But there the chain ends; from that point, say A. D. 200, to the times of the apostles, all the intelligible testimonies and allusions recognize only the baptism of persons who avowed in baptism a personal reception of the Christian religion. Should we take the natural course of history, making the Gospels our first documents, and proceeding in the order of time, we obtain the following result. The inspired records contain no trace of infant baptism; the succeeding Christian writers, down to the time of Tertullian, are barren of any trace or intimation of infant baptism; from the time of Tertullian, onward in the course of history, the notices of infant baptism increase. In other words, the further down we come from the time of the apostles, the more numerous are the historical traces of infant baptism; while, going

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back from the present time towards that of the apostles, the nearer we approach their time, the less numerous are such traces, until at last they absolutely disappear from the page of history, and only traces of a wholly different character meet our notice.

I rise from this examination with increased and satisfied confidence, that the voice of God in history, properly heard and reported, is not at variance with his voice in revelation. My convictions become also deepened by the lessons of ecclesiastical history, that the ordinances of religion need to be observed in close conformity to the will of their author. If their original purpose be misapprehended, they become means and occasions of the grossest superstition; if that purpose be correctly understood, and the ordinances observed in their original simplicity, with strict conformity to their founder's will, they have a singular efficacy in preserving or restoring purity of principle and practice. At the same time, he who is deeply imbued with the spirit of Christianity, while he acknowledges his Lord's authority in the ordinances, does not feel bound, like a slave, to any outward form as having in itself some peculiar holiness, or power to communicate or increase holiness. Ritual observances ordained by heaven, he yet subordinates, and makes tributary to that true holiness of heart which is the ultimate object of all God's discipline and culture. From the outward he directs his thoughts and desires, like an affectionate child, to that Spirit whose inworking alone can fit him for his humble station in the kingdom of God on earth, and here mould him for his destined activity and glory in the kingdom of God on high.

ART. III.—BENEFICENCE THE NOBLEST AIM.

THE question, in what way the highest dignity and happiness may be attained, was often pondered by the philosophers of antiquity. Some ascribed this result to wealth and its enjoyments; some to a voluntary poverty; some to military renown; some to wisdom; some to abstraction from the world, a calm superiority to its vicissitudes, and a stoical indifference to its disorders and miseries. Uninstructed by Divine Revelation, they adopted the most contradictory theories, and entered upon paths diverging widely from each other, but all failing alike to reach the true point.

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It is interesting to contrast these speculations of heathen thinkers with the views of the Hebrew sage, whose mind, lifted with a sagacity not less profound than their own, was illumined by light from Heaven. No man ever lived who was better qualified to solve the question before us. In addition to Divine teaching, he was furnished with the most extensive and varied experience. Not a path of human pursuit had he left untrodden, not an object of human desire unattained. He had proved to the utmost whatever of this world can allure the passions, awaken hope, or call forth endeavor. The whole circle of material and sensible things had laid at his feet its richest and most ample contributions. With a mighty and victorious step, he had climbed the dazzling heights of ambition, and looked down from their loftiest pinnacle on wide and prosperous realms, rejoicing under his sway, and glorying in his renown. He had drunk long and deeply at the stream of pleasure; giving himself up to every delight which sense can crave, or art supply; while the wealth of all climes—the gathered spoils of earth and sea—ministered to his luxury and his magnificence. He had been the votary of knowledge—of knowledge, sought for itself alone—as an end, not as a means. Concentrating all his powers on its acquisition, he had explored the mysteries of nature, developed the principles of morals, traced out the laws of the universe, and traversed every field of intellectual research—until, by the depth and compass of his attainments, he had won for himself the appellation of "the wisest of men." But after these various experiments into the character and issue of all sublunary pursuits, what was the conclusion at which he arrived? "I know that there is no good in them, but for a man *to do good in his life;*"* a conclusion with which all Scripture and all history accord.

It is the object of the present article to sustain and illustrate the position, that BENEFICENCE IS THE TRUE AND NOBLEST END OF LIFE.

I. Beneficence employs the human faculties in conformity with the design of their bestowment. Intellect is a celestial gift. No one creates it for himself. However it may be developed and strengthened by subsequent culture, its origin is divine. It is a ray of light from the infinite Fountain of Light—a spark of heavenly fire, kindled by the Supreme Intelligence. Upon all, to whom this sacred trust has been committed, there rests an imperative obligation to employ it in accordance with the will of the Giver, and for the highest good of

* 1 Eccle. iii. 12.

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mankind. It is a gem of inestimable price, conferred on its possessor, not that it should be used as jewels are said to have been used by necromancers of old—in unholy incantations—in conjuring up foul spirits from the abyss, and sending them forth on their missions of evil through the world—but that, dedicated to humanity, it might serve to evolve truth, to vindicate the right, to succor the oppressed, to restore the lost, and to flash the beams of hope and joy on the pathway of the benighted. This is its grand, its blessed vocation. Amid all its displays of beauty and power—in the very centre of its most brilliant corruscations—should blaze out the inscription, "SACRED TO GOD AND MAN." He who devotes his mental energies to objects other than these; who expends them in ways that conduce not to the honor of his Maker and the benefit of his race; and still more, he who wields them in behalf of profligacy and crime—profanes the hallowed boon with which Heaven has enriched him, and squanders its priceless treasures in the service of impiety and pollution.

What a melancholy waste of mind does the history of many of the mightiest sons of genius and talent exhibit! When we contemplate the career of Hume, Gibbon, Voltaire, Byron, with all the numberless examples of gifted wickedness which range under the same class; when we reflect upon the splendid powers with which they were endowed—powers that made them pre-eminent in their several spheres, and enabled them to traverse, with giant step, the whole domain of thought; and then consider that all these vast resources were prostituted to the support of a pernicious infidelity, or a reckless libertinism—how intense is the sorrow which comes over us! We might, without a sigh, behold all the diamonds of India's streams, or the gold of a thousand mines, cast into the ocean's unrestoring depths; but the loss of intellectual wealth, what heart must not bewail! How fearfully have these master spirits perverted the noble endowments entrusted to their keeping! They have used the intellect of angels to do the work of fiends. High-priests of licentiousness, they have taken their heaven-born gifts, and laid them, all polluted and bedraggled on the altars of a ribald Atheism. What have they achieved for humanity? What anguish have they assuaged, what outcast reclaimed, what depravity withstood, what virtue encouraged and fostered? Their trophies are imbruted minds and poisoned hearts; their triumphs, the spread of rapine, murder and suicide; their laurels, the deadly nightshade. Who reveres their memory? Who lingers, with solemn tread and holy thoughts, around the spot where their ashes sleep, bedewing it with tears of grateful veneration? How deep is the

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degradation into which they have plunged themselves! They hold, in the annals of time, the place occupied by Satan in the scroll of eternity—that of "archangels ruined." In their progress through the intellectual heavens, they shone indeed with a fierce and wondrous light; but it was only the terrible splendor of the comet, awakening fear, and presaging desolation.

Far different is it with those who, obedient to the command of God, and the claims of their high stewardship, have offered their all of mind and heart at the shrine of human welfare. In their characters and lives we perceive an unblenching adherence to the great ends for which talent is given. Turning aside from all other walks, however attractive and glittering, they marked out for themselves the one path of *usefulness*, as the scope of their toils, and the goal of their existence. Resplendent yet benign, like the sun, they went forth on their serene way, pouring around them a radiance pure and clear; dispersing the clouds of error and the darkness of ignorance; waking the slumbering nations to healthful activity; illuminating, warming, vivifying the whole circuit of their influence; and even, when passed to their rest, leaving the horizon all glowing with the light of their teachings, and the lustre of their deeds.

With what rapture may the philanthropist and the Christian survey the course of these gifted benefactors of their race! Look at Newton, with the strength of his almost superhuman mind, tearing philosophy from its unnatural league with skepticism; purging it from the stains of that impure alliance; recasting its form; perfecting its principles; pushing its discoveries to the farthest tracts of space; and then bringing all into subordination to revealed Truth—to the authority of Jehovah, and the well-being of man. Look at Milton,—loftiest of the children of song,—striking his lyre to strains that sound like the echo of heavenly harpers; and mingling with the rich notes of praise to God and the Lamb, appeals for liberty of conscience, and burning execrations against political and spiritual despotism, that have been the dread of tyrants, and the watchword of freedom, through all succeeding time. Look at Washington, baptizing in piety and benevolence his unrivalled military talents; sanctifying them by prayer; and then laying them, thus rendered holy, on the altar of a holy cause—his country's redemption, and the enfranchisement of a world. Look at Wilberforce, with a depth and fervor of religious principle equalled only by the commanding sway of his intellect, putting forth all the resources of his profound statesmanship for the removal of that fellest scourge of modern times—the traffic in human flesh; and rousing up a spirit of reform that

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shall sleep no more, till it is banished from the earth. Look at Chalmers, stretching his herculean grasp of thought over the wide field of evangelical truth, and gathering from it arguments of irresistible force, to convince the unbeliever, to shake a sinful land, and draw its perishing masses to the Fountain of Mercy and of Life. Look at Carey, furnished with stores of learning that placed him in the first rank of Oriental scholars, and yet employing them all to unseal the Divine Word to the darkened nations, and pour on the deep night of paganism the beams of celestial day. In short, look at the whole army of the philanthropic and pious who, in their several departments of exertion, have toiled, with single heart and aim, to enlighten and bless their race. How unfading are the wreaths which encircle their brows! How pure and stainless is their fame! With what sacred reverence are their names enshrined in the bosoms of the wise and good! How clearly do they prove that the true dignity of man consists in benefiting his fellow-man! Contrast, with such a career, that of the miscalled great who have been the patrons of wickedness: The one is a broad and peaceful river, rolling on in calm majesty, and diffusing, wherever it flows, health, verdure, and joy; the other a turbid and headlong torrent, bearing on its surface the wrecks of virtue and hope; spreading ruin in its progress; and hastening to plunge itself, and all that lies within its sweep, into the gulf of perdition. Who can hesitate to choose between the sterile and worthless grandeur of perverted talent, and the benign lustre of the mind whose energies are directed in agreement with its high destiny, and the laws of its Creator?

II. Beneficence harmonizes with the material world around us. The whole frame of nature bears the impress of beneficent design. Utility is its supreme and universal law. Throughout all its extent, in all its diversified forms and operations, the great truth is everywhere displayed, that nothing exists for itself alone. Every part has its appointed purpose; a purpose relating to other portions of the great whole; and each invariably fulfills the end assigned. The sun pours down his beams on the dependent earth, supplying it with light and heat, imparting to it life and fertility, and fitting it to be the abode of animated beings. Under his genial influence, the grateful earth teems with rich harvests, to satisfy the wants of her unnumbered offspring. The sky unlocks its cisterns, and empties them on the thirsty land, making it glad and fruitful. The saturated land fills the rivers; the rivers flow on to swell the sea; and then, in mists and exhalations, land, rivers, and sea, send back their tribute to replenish the reservoirs above. Thus we perceive, in the physical creation, an established

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order of mutual dependence and reciprocal benefits. In the entire structure of organized matter, there is nothing useless, nothing redundant, nothing out of place; nothing, in short, which does not contribute to the efficiency and perfection of the system of which it is a part. The remote star, which seems but a speck to our vision; the tiny cloud, that scarcely shades Heaven's azure; the rill, that leaps from the green hill-side; the flower, that blushes on its mossy bed; the dew-drop, that glitters for a moment, and is then exhaled—are none of them created in vain; they have all their appropriate office, to manifest the skill of their Author, and to adorn and cheer the world which He has made. And does not this general subserviency to useful ends demonstrate that man also was formed for the same employment? Where all else fills its allotted sphere, shall man alone be found wanting? Shall he alone, wrapping himself up in sordid isolation, or wasting his energies in unlawful courses, refuse to be the instrument of good to others? Shall he, the most favored, the most highly endowed, be the only idle and worthless thing in the universe? Is it not rather his true destiny and his true honor, to imitate the beneficence of Nature, and scatter blessings around him with large and liberal hand? They, who thus act, not only discharge the trust assigned them by their Divine Governor and Disposer, but move in harmonious concert with the mechanism of creation. All bright and lovely things become their brethren and coadjutors. They may claim alliance with those glorious orbs, whose kindly influences rule this "diurnal sphere;" with the seasons in their grateful change; with the fresh, green earth—the rolling deep—the gushing fountains—the jocund showers—the balmy breezes—the beauty and the fragrance which meet them on every side—and the thousand voices of gladness that make the air one song of ecstasy. All these are their partners and associates in the work of alleviating sorrow, and diffusing happiness. How exalted such a mission! How attractive such companionship!

III. Beneficence brings man into close affinity with superior intelligences. The record of unerring truth has taught us, that other portions of the universe to which we belong, are inhabited by beings of a far higher order, whose natures are purely spiritual, and whose faculties are inexpressibly vast. These beings are represented as possessing intellectual energies, of whose magnitude and intensity we can now form no adequate conception. Their very essence is, in fact, a concentration of mental and moral power. Free from the incumbrance of gross material bodies, they can expatiate, without obstruction, over the wide territories of truth, penetrate its deepest abysses,

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and soar to its loftiest heights. Unexhausted by labor, impeded by no difficulties, they make the universe alone the limit of their researches; and, as eternal ages have passed over them, each has successively added to the extent of their knowledge, and the greatness of their endowments. How elevated, then, must be their acquisitions! How mighty their capacities!

And yet these lofty spirits regard it as their chief honor to obey their Maker, and do good to his creatures. To be useful is their grand and absorbing purpose. With them nothing is reserved for idle display, selfish gratification, or fruitless glory. All is held sacred to the one object of advancing the happiness of the rational and moral creation. With joyful alacrity, they fly from orb to orb, throughout the immensity of Jehovah's empire, to execute the behests of His wisdom and goodness. They deem it no degradation to serve—no loss of dignity to seek the well-being of others. Nor is it alone among the bright occupants of their own sphere, that their benevolent activity is displayed. They minister, with special delight, to the weak and fallen children of men. While they have no toleration for our corruptions, they have great sympathy for our woes; and, therefore, they scorn not to descend from their starry home, to visit us on errands of mercy, to be to us the messengers of grace, to shield us from peril, to comfort us in affliction, to move in our service with feet that have trod the immortal plains, and to shed blessings on our daily paths from hands that have been lifted amid the choirs of eternity. If, then, it be the great aim of angels to do good, it assuredly should be ours. What is not beneath them, must be glory to us. Can man enter upon a more proper line of exertion than that in which seraphs, basking in the light of the Celestial Throne, find their full and appropriate calling? In such a province of labor he has the principalities and powers of heaven for his companions. He feels and acts in unison with them. He devotes himself to the same work. He imbibes their sentiments; participates in their desires; becomes more and more assimilated to them; until, at length, the mortal melts into the immortal, and he rises to join their society, and to share their beatitude.

IV. In doing good consists man's nearest resemblance to his Maker and Redeemer. The adorable Being, by whom we and all things were created, is a pure Intelligence. He alone hath perfect knowledge. None can measure His wisdom, or fathom the depth of His understanding. Invested with every divine perfection, and arrayed in all the splendor of Infinite Majesty, He sways the sceptre of absolute and unlimited dominion. But among all the attributes which compose His

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character, and shed over it their united lustre, the richest and most resplendent is His goodness. This is the central jewel in His crown; this His highest and truest glory, that the loftiest of all beings should be the most condescending, the mightiest, the most merciful.

In the exercise of this benevolence, He has strewed immensity with worlds, and peopled them with conscious existence; adapting, in every case, the nature and capacities of His creatures to the scene of their habitation; and providing, from the fullness of His bounty, for all the necessities of their being. From Him have sprung all the life, and intellect, and happiness that pervade the universe, and by Him they are upheld. He is "the Father of lights;" the primal source of all felicity. From His heart of love gushes that river of gladness which floods the regions of immortality, and from which every raptured spirit drinks its fill of blessedness. And in this world, every joy which men possess emanates from Him. His power has garnished our dwelling-place with mingled loveliness and grandeur. His word kindled the fires of the firmament, and causes them to shine down upon us in beauty and glory. His smile lights up the landscape, and clothes the earth with its carpet of verdure. His skill paints the flower, gives to the morning sky its roseate hues, and to the evening clouds their golden coloring. It is His voice that breathes in the music of Nature; that wakens in our hearts the melodies of love, and the echoes of delight. Every throb of hope, every thrill of rapture, every gush of affection which we feel, is called forth by the touch of His invisible hand. In short, whatever gladdens life—whatever gilds the gloom of this vale of tears—is the product of His munificence.

Thus is He constantly doing good in all worlds, and to all creatures; putting forth His boundless resources to diffuse light, purity and bliss in every province of His government, and through every rank of His intelligent subjects. What a sublimity is imparted to beneficence, when we contemplate it as the prominent characteristic of the Infinite and Uncreated One! As our greatest honor consists in the nearest approach to Deity; so it is in His goodness that we can most resemble Him. His wisdom, His majesty, His almightiness we cannot imitate. But in our endeavors to reform and bless mankind, we may, in some measure, approximate to the source of all mercy and compassion. And can any distinction equal that of being allied to Divinity, of following His example, co-operating in His plans for the elevation of our race, and making that our leading object, which is His crowning perfection? What heart is not fired with a sacred ambition to enter upon such a career?

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But the goodness of God, so conspicuous in Creation and in Providence, is yet more illustriously displayed in the developments of His Grace. In giving His only begotton Son to deliver His people from the guilt and ruin of the apostacy, and open the gate of life to a perishing world, He has furnished the most signal manifestation of the riches of His benevolence. This wondrous scheme was wholly the fruit of His free and sovereign mercy. Mercy presided, when the Covenant of Redemption was formed. Mercy drew the bond, and sealed it with her blood. And He—the Everlasting Word—from whose humiliation and death the purpose of Infinite Love was to receive its accomplishment,—shared fully every feeling in which it originated, and ratified all its provisions. Being "the brightness of the Father's glory," and the express image of His Person; and appearing in flesh as Deity embodied,—He brought with Him, into this scene of His sufferings, the living Essence of the Divine Compassion. What sympathy for mankind was displayed in all His teachings and actions! What miracle did He perform, of which their good was not the object? What pity for the afflicted, what condescension to the ignorant, what tenderness to the penitent, what sorrow for the obdurate, did He not feel and exhibit! Love—love to man—was the master passion, which animated and impelled Him. Love prompted His deeds. Love spoke in His words. Love shone in His smiles. Love breathed in His sighs. Love melted in His tears. He moved upon earth, an incarnation of Love to the wretched and the outcast. Love led him to Gethsemane, and under the awful burden of human guilt, which it would not suffer him to throw off, wrung from Him the bloody sweat of agony. Love bore Him to the Cross, and there, beneath the shrouded skies, and amid the throes of astonished Nature, offered Him up, a spotless Victim, for the sins of men. Love met Him as He came forth from the Sepulchre, and, ascending with Him to the sphere of His exaltation, sits for ever at His side, to carry out the results of his atonement, in the complete salvation of the redeemed.

And in this intense, self-sacrificing devotion to human welfare, is not Christ our model? Can there be a stronger proof, that our hearts should glow with a kindred zeal, and our lives be consecrated to the same object? If "God so loved the world, that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him might not perish, but have everlasting life;" and if the Son so participated in this love, that He joyfully "gave Himself a ransom for many"—must it not be the paramount obligation of all whom he has purchased with His blood, to employ their utmost instrumentality in extending the triumphs

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of his grace? Rescued at so costly a price, shall not gratitude constrain them to seek the recovery of others? Themselves saved by matchless beneficence, shall not beneficence be their most fitting and imperative vocation? Surely, surely, they can propose to themselves no juster, no grander aim, than to walk in the steps of their God and Saviour, spreading the gospel which he taught, and laboring to bring to His arms the world for which he died.

V. A beneficent life is the only one whose results are truly valuable. In the movements of human activity, when directed to selfish or corrupt ends, there is nothing which a just mind can view with pleasure. There may be the exhibition of vast energy; but it is energy wielded with no benign intent, and productive of no salutary effects. The sordid votary of wealth may give himself, with concentrated vigor, to its accumulation. He may evince amazing sagacity in scenting out the sources of gain, infallible skill and forecast in forming his plans, and unconquerable perseverance in their execution. He may show a spirit of enterprise, that, shrinking from no toil, blenching at no difficulties, and rising elastic from defeat, seizes every occasion, and rushes into every opening, with instant decision, and a vigilance well nigh omnipresent. And success, ample as avarice can desire, may crown his exertions. But when the ultimate point has been reached, and millions have flowed into his coffers, what of real good has he achieved? The treasure, which he has so painfully amassed, feeds not the hungry, nor clothes the naked. It shelters no orphan, causes no widow's heart to sing for joy; extends no means of mercy to the ruined wanderers of earth. With respect to any service which it renders to the community at large, it might as well lie buried in the dark bowels of the mine, from which his rapacity has dug it. Nor does it bring peace to his own bosom. It soothes no pang; shields him from no calamity. It cannot buy off sickness, nor bereavement, nor death. On the contrary, it loads him with care, surrounds him with anxiety, gives him unquiet days and sleepless nights; and, withdrawing him from all free and generous sympathies, makes him an alien from his kind. Shut up in his own narrow selfishness, he sits and watches his cankering gold, like some imprisoned ghost, dwelling in sepulchral vaults, and brooding over mouldered heaps of dead men's bones.

Thus, also, the man of letters may display astonishing talent in the pursuits of learning. He may travel, with resistless stride, over the broad fields of knowledge; measuring all their heights; plunging into all their recesses; and bearing off in triumph all their spoils. But if these trophies be not sanctified

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by religion; if he employ them to gild vice, or to pander to licentiousness—what is their worth? How worse than useless—how noxious is he in the sight of Heaven and earth? With all the towering pride of his intellect and acquirements, he is but a deadly serpent, revelling in a paradise of beauty; plundering its rich and lovely and glorious things, only to convert them into poison, and pour it forth on society; thus tainting the vital air, and blighting, with his pestiferous breath, all that is precious and holy.

Or if we ascend to a higher and wider platform, where the workings of man's energy affect the weal of empires and generations, we shall behold the same truth yet more vividly exemplified. The politician who, with a view to personal ambition, or the aggrandizement of a party, lends his influence to uphold corruption, to strengthen abuses, or to stay the march of universal Freedom—may exhibit transcendent abilities; but there exists not beneath the cope of Heaven a being more pernicious and detestable. More murderous than the assassin, who aims only at the life of an individual,—*he* would stab to the heart those everlasting principles of Right, on which the lives and happiness of whole masses depend. Deaf to the wail of oppressed millions—heeding not the voice of mingled entreaty and menace which Want and Despair send up from their multitudinous children—he pursues his relentless course, intent only on retaining the Many in vassalage to the Few, and confining to a privileged class the common heritage of all.

In like manner, the conqueror may sweep with irresistible force along his pathway of blood, trampling down thrones and sceptres, and crushing whole nations under his iron feet. But what is there of real worth or glory in the qualities which he exhibits? His strength is only that of the tiger; his courage mere animal ferocity; and the impulse which urges him on, an insane lust of dominion. And what, after all his achievements, are the fruits which remain? Wasted cities—depopulated countries—the bleaching bones of the slain—the broken hearts of the living. Little indeed does the world owe to warriors. It has honored and enriched them. It has encircled their brows with laurels. It has perpetuated their forms in marble, and their deeds in song. But, with few exceptions, they have been its scourges, not its benefactors. Hero-worship is, in most cases, only Demon-worship. Robert Raikes, in originating the system of Sunday Schools, has done more to advance civilization, liberty and happiness, than all the demigods that fill the red calender of War.

Power, severed from benevolence, is but an engine of havoc. It is only when wedded to this Daughter of the skies, that it

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becomes an agent of blessing—the lion led by the dove—the protector of the injured, the uplifter of the fallen, the dispenser of mercy, large and free, to the utmost limits of the globe. And, blessed be God, such examples of its exercise are not wholly wanting to our world. Contemplate the patriot laboring to redeem and elevate his country; the philosopher, studying to unlock to his age fresh fountains of knowledge; the reformer, toiling to wipe from "the marred escutcheon" of our nature some huge and prevailing impiety; the herald of Divine Truth, seeking to awaken to the momentous concerns of eternity, the torpid multitudes of Christian lands; or the missionary, going forth to barbarous climes, to illumine the shadows of Heathenism with the light of the Cross,—and you see the true Heroes of the world—men, whose deeds have a lasting fragrance, because they are beneficent. What glorious philanthropy, as well as moral sublimity, is displayed in their efforts and conflicts! They may be subjected to the most unrelenting hostility. The ignorant may misjudge, and the profligate revile them. All the barriers of prejudice, selfishness, and depravity, may rise up to stay their progress. And often, amidst the doubts and hesitation of friends, and the opposition of enemies, they may be forced to exclaim,

> "Truths wouldst thou teach to save a sinking land?
> All fear, none aid you, and few understand."

But they swerve not from their purpose. Confident of its worth, and relying on more than mortal succor, they press forward to its accomplishment, with a zeal that never falters, and a resolution which nothing can overcome. And when, at length, their object is gained, as gained it will be by all who thus struggle, it is no barren or unprofitable triumph. The human race has conquered with them. Man, through their instrumentality, has advanced on his career of wisdom, virtue, and felicity. How blessed are such victories! They bring good without evil, joy without sorrow, life without death. Over them earth exults, and Heaven rejoices.

VI. In beneficence alone is true happiness to be found. Happiness is an essential element of our being. This is the bright, alluring good, for which men strive, in all their varied schemes and countless pursuits. But, alas, blinded by sense and sin, they seek it in paths where it grows not, and from which it can never be gathered. They taste of all the streams that flow through this world of vanity; but the sparkling draught, which they fondly deemed the nectar of the skies, turns to bitterness on their lips. Deceived, yet trusting, they still follow the fair but mocking shadow which, like the fabled

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Fountain of Youth, flies ever before them; leading them on from disappointment to disappointment, until they are lost in the remote wilderness of Doubt, or the morasses of Despair. And yet the prize, for which they wander so far, and which they search after in such devious courses, lies all the while shining at their feet. It is to be found in the free, unreserved surrender of the heart and life to the glory of God, and the welfare of his creatures. To love Him supremely, and our neighbor as ourselves, is the fundamental law of that moral government which he has established over us. And in perfect harmony with this law, He has so constituted our nature, that we can be happy only as our wills are conformed to His, and our affections and conduct subjected to His control. Hence it results that misery is inseparably connected with selfishness, happiness with benevolence. And he, who would sunder this union, must contend at once against the unchangeable decree of Jehovah, and the essential elements of his own organization.

Nowhere, but in holy enterprises for the good of others, can the mind find its legitimate scope, and its satisfying portion. The man who devotes himself to such a service, is cheered with the blissful consciousness of acting in obedience to his Author and Redeemer; of possessing His approbation, and of living worthily. He rejoices in originating plans of usefulness; in watching their development; and in tracing them, as they become broader and deeper, and swell to their consummation. Through all his toils and sacrifices, he has ever a double joy:—the joy of benevolent feeling, and the joy of accomplished good. Thus the burden of pious labor which Christ imposes—like the wing that bears upward the eagle by which itself is borne—lifts us, as we lift it, into the calm atmosphere of Peace. And thus is beneficence its own reward; a seed blessed in the sowing, and blessed in the reaping; a stream, whose waters, while they enrich the shores along which they pass, and roll, freighted with gladness, to distant climes, make all around their well-spring green and fragrant. Here is the true balm for sorrow; the sovereign elixir for which so many thirst, but of which so few drink. Here the heart, corroded by care, worn with anxiety, or crushed by affliction, may forget its own ills in surveying a suffering world, and striving for its deliverance. Here the longing soul may find content, the disappointed satisfaction, the hopeless hope, and the weary rest. O, thou that sittest in solitary anguish, mourning over the wreck of thy perished joys, and crying in the bitterness of desolation, "Behold, all ye that pass by, and see if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow;" come hither—ascend the mount of vision—and look forth on the scene of guilt and ruin

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that stretches, dark and far, before thee. See Want stalking around—Intemperance rioting—Tyranny forging its fetters—War decimating the nations—and over all, Sin, the universal Scourge, waving its destroying hand, rendering the earth a desert, and hourly casting its myriads into the lake of fire. What is thy grief to the horrors here unfolded? Rouse thee from thy dejection. Give thy heart to God—thy energies to man. Do good and be happy.

The general truth, which has now been stated, is fully verified by individual experience. The annals of the world will show, that they who have lived for others, have been happy; while they, who have lived for themselves, have been the victims of inquietude, disgust, and remorse. No matter how depressed may have been the outward lot of the one class, or how exalted that of the other. The first have had an inward peace —the latter an inward woe—of which the unthinking many are alike regardless. If ever a mortal could seem fortunate, it was that most renowned of the heroes of antiquity, Alexander of Macedon. Possessed of unrivalled physical and mental advantages—lord of a mighty and glorious land—he went forth, with all the chivalry of Greece, on his career of conquest. Provinces, kingdoms submitted to his sway. Crowns were shivered, and thrones crumbled, at his touch of power. With the stride of a victor, and the speed of a whirlwind, he ravaged the whole compass of the civilized earth; and never knew defeat. But was he happy? What see you on his brow, as he sits in his festive hall, with subject princes around him, and venal beauty by his side?

> "Ah! me, the laurelled wreath that murder rears,
> Blood-nursed, and watered by the widow's tears."

Does it press lightly? Must not the memory of how it was won make it a wreath of scorpions? See, the hero weeps. He mourns "Darius, wise and good," with all the flower of Persia, sent by his own ambition to untimely graves. A change comes over his spirit. He weeps again; but from a different cause. Dissatisfied with his victories, and sick of their emptiness, he weeps for more worlds to conquer! And then, to still the goadings of his soul, and drown the demon within him, he rushes into intoxication, and lies a corpse amid his revels. He lived a beast of prey, and died "as the brute dieth."

Let us now place by the side of this demi-god of war, that moral hero of our own times, the sainted Boardman; and contrast them with each other—the Missionary of the Cross with

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the Missionary of the Sword. Contemplate the future invader of Idolatry, as he passes through his preparatory training. In the walks of that youthful college which his name has hallowed, he seems a sad and silent man. But it is not grief that bows his head, and causes his words to flow heavily. It is the working of inward thought; the gathering of his strength for the coming conflict. By solitary communion with his Bible and his God, he is giving polish and edge to the weapons of his warfare. And now with his mind disciplined by study, and clad in celestial panoply, he prepares to leave country and home for the distant scene of his exploits. Friends cling around him. But he gladly parts from them all—not that he loves them less, but that he loves Christ and the heathen more. And now he is on the deep. The roaring gales and sounding billows are music to his ears; for they waft him on his way. Now the field of battle is reached. Wide and appalling, it spreads out before his view, filled with the dark hosts of Superstition and Paganism. With patient toil, he breaks through the barriers of a barbarous language. Bearing aloft the banner of Calvary, he is in the midst of the foe, striving with all his consecrated powers, to subdue them to the Gospel. Long and painful is the contest. Does his courage sink? Does he look back, in faintness and regret, on the Christian land and kindred he has left? O no, no! With prayer on his lips, and hope lighting up his heart, his face beams, like that of an angel, amid the strife. At length, the hour of success arrives; but the conquering hero is almost spent. Worn and dying, yet full of seraphic peace, he reclines by that mountain stream, sacred ever since, with a band of willing converts to Christ ranged before him. His hand is too feeble to place on them the badge of fealty to his King. Another must lay them in the baptismal wave. His fading eye watches the deed. It is done. And then, with one glad shout of victory, his spirit mounts to its home on high; there to hear the Master for whom he fought and triumphed, proclaim, "Well done, good and faithful servant, enter into the joy of thy Lord." Who, in view of such examples as these, will not say that beneficence alone is happiness? And who, having made this acknowledgment, will not choose it as the high aim of his life?

VII. A beneficent course of life is the only one in which solid and lasting honor can be acquired. The love of distinction is as deeply seated in our nature as that of enjoyment. We instinctively value the esteem of our fellows, and cherish a desire to leave behind us a name that shall live in the memories and on the tongues of men, when we shall have passed into the silence of the sepulchre. And this is, in itself, a most

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commendable feeling. It is a relic of that lofty character bestowed on man at his creation, but which, in his apostacy, has been so sadly marred and degraded. It is the restless struggling of the chained eagle to burst its bonds, and soar into the upper air. It is the ethereal soul within us, looking out through the bars of its prison-house, and panting to find for itself a higher sphere, and a wider range. The evil to be deplored in this longing for eminence, consists in its misdirection. In common with every other property of our minds, it has been perverted to base ends, and made to expend itself in the pursuit of honors that are not only barren of all good, but fraught with absolute mischief to the human race. It is not in such fields that true glory lies. The proudest structures which unholy ambition can rear for itself, glitter with but a hollow and evanescent lustre. The glosses of error, and the mists of delusion may give them, for a while, an imaginary value, and invest them with a halo of unreal brightness. But they disgrace, rather than adorn. They have no intrinsic dignity, no deathless ingredient, no permanent basis. The slow corrosion of time will rot and undermine them; the growing beams of that era of Light and Truth, which is dawning on the world, will reveal their deformity; and the thunders of the Judgment will blast them into nothingness.

How mean and polluted do all these distinctions appear, when compared with the moral grandeur of the man who, glowing with the spirit of divine philanthropy, dedicates himself to her holy cause! The fairest trophies, and the sublimest triumphs, which earth has ever witnessed, have been won by sanctified benevolence, in scenes where Love has wrought, and Patience endured, and Constancy bled for the Truth, and Hope smiled amidst darkness, and Faith lifted the soul from the gloom of time to the splendors of immortality. And this will continue to be more and more the case, as Christianity extends her reign amongst men, conforming all feelings and opinions to her own heavenly standard. The memory of him, who has poured light and joy on his generation, shall out-live and outshine all the pomp of unhallowed renown; and while wealth, and talent, and military prowess, exerted to injure, and not to benefit, can only sink their possessors in oblivion, or doom them to infamy,—his epitaph shall be written in human hearts, and on the history of human progress, to be read and venerated through all time. On earth his name shall be blessed; and in Heaven it shall stand, graven in living characters, on the pillars of triumph erected to God and the Lamb.

Who could hesitate to choose between the fame of St. Paul and that of Napoleon—the one mightiest of mortals in the

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achievements of the Gospel; the other mightiest in the arena of battle, where rapine and slaughter and the wail of trampled humanity attend the steps of the warrior? The glory of Napoleon, like some dread meteor, rose rapidly up the sky; shooting far around a flood of fierce and baleful light, and appalling the nations with its portentous glare; until, shorn by defeat, and dimmed with blood, it sunk, dark and lone, in the ocean wave. But the star of the apostle's glory has for eighteen centuries been ascending towards its zenith; its orb growing larger and brighter, its beams more brilliant, and its track more serene and cloudless. Ages will yet elapse, ere it reach its destined elevation; and then, "fixed, like the sun of Joshua, it will hang, high up in mid-heaven," the wonder and the joy of mankind, till earth and skies are no more. And while it has thus become more beautiful and lustrous to the vision of men, it has already shone forth, in the firmament of the celestial world, a blazing luminary, revolving around the throne of the Omnipotent, and reflecting His perfections with ever increasing fullness.

How transcendent, then, is the glory of beneficence! How bright the crown which she confers! Her records are more durable than columns or pyramids. Her laurels, though bloodless, are ever green and fair, fanned by the breath of Love, and watered by the tears of Gratitude. She holds out to thee a prize for which an angel might wrestle—a diadem all sparkling with jewels, gathered from the vile and the lost of earth. Listen to her summons. Enter upon the high and shining way to which she invites thee. Be not satisfied to live, and vegetate, and pass into the grave, without having deserved well of thy species. Make thyself of worth. Carve thy name deep in the annals of a recovered world. Thou canst not want for space or opportunity in which to give play to every noble impulse. There are vices to be extirpated; miseries to be relieved; wrongs to be redressed; chains to be riven; darkness to be dispelled; sinners to be saved; Humanity to be reclaimed to God and happiness. Choose thy field; and there build thy monument, broad and high, of blessings conferred, and souls delivered. And when the heroes and conquerors, the scoffers and atheists, that have scourged and corrupted the human race—shall be forgotten, or consigned to the ignominy of all abhorred and rejected things,—thy memorial shall remain, and surviving the wreck of the material universe, live for ever in the region of perfect and imperishable glory.

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Art. IV.—OBJECTIONS TO THIS LIFE AS THE ONLY PERIOD OF PROBATION, CONSIDERED.

John Foster, in his celebrated letter, relies wholly upon the moral argument against the eternity of future punishment. Admitting "the language of Scripture to be formidably strong" in asserting the everlasting misery of the wicked, he yet feels it impossible to reconcile the doctrine with the known character of God, and therefore attempts, though with hesitation, to set aside the obvious meaning of that language. But he does not question the reality of future punishment. The Scriptures clearly forbid him to do this, and he is ready to say, "There is a force in their expressions at which we well may tremble. On *no* allowable interpretation do they signify less than a very protracted duration and formidable severity."

Here is the doctrine of purgatory undeveloped; of a fiery probation after death, penal, dreadful, but salutary. Foster did not believe that moral beings could ever become happy without being good. He had no idea of a paradise for the unregenerate. But he hoped, in behalf of the wicked, a trial hereafter, severer in discipline and better in its results than the present.

His moral argument rests in a great measure upon the supposition that this life is unsuitable to be the only period of man's probation for eternity. This assumption, upon which so many besides Foster have planted themselves, as upon an immovable basis of argument, against the doctrine of the eternal punishment of any in the world to come, we propose to examine, with a desire of ascertaining its real character.

The shortness of life, it is said, makes it unsuitable to be the only period of probation for man. A life which is to fix the state of man for eternity should not be limited to a few years. The disparity between a score or fourscore years, and interminable ages, is too great. It is amazing; and, provided the shorter period is to decide the condition of any one for the longer, it is unreasonable.

Now, in order to try this objection, we must make it more specific, and inquire in precisely what respect the shortness of life disqualifies it to be a period of probation for eternity.

Does it not afford time enough for men to prepare for everlasting blessedness? The change, by which a person is fitted

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for Heaven, does not require years or months. It may take place very suddenly. We have known children, of very tender years, devoutly and intelligently pious. We have observed men, of ripe age and understanding, engaged one week eagerly in the pursuit of worldly good, and the next bowing among the people of God, and declaring that "old things had passed away, and all things had become new." We have been acquainted with some who went, within the space of a few days, from the ranks of such as bitterly oppose and blaspheme the name of Christ, to the company of his friends and worshippers. Setting aside, then, the case of those who die in infancy as persons whom we may safely trust with God, and keeping in view such examples as have been mentioned, together with those of the penitent thief, and the jailer and his family, we must assert that the present life affords ample time for the exercise of repentance and faith in Christ. No one will be able to ask for a renewal of his probation in the future world, on the ground of not having had sufficient time in this to prepare for happiness by turning to God.

Or, would greater numbers choose the service of Christ, and thus provide for their eternal welfare, if a longer period of probation were granted? We think not. We believe human life is made so short and uncertain for *this very reason*, among others, that men may be saved. Extend the period of trial, and you would multiply the number of the lost. Let men look forward with reasonable expectations to a life of five hundred years, and they would postpone the work of repentance till their hearts had become impervious as a rock to the truth, till all the tenderness and susceptibility of a youthful spirit had disappeared before the cold, calculating thoughts of an earthly mind. By a law of the soul, our tastes and characters become assimilated to those objects which we love and seek after; and, accordingly, men, devoted for one or two centuries exclusively to worldly things, would be, at the end, to a very deplorable extent, incapable of feeling the force of considerations drawn from an invisible and spiritual state. Of this the multitudes who lived before the flood may serve as an illustration. However wicked men may have been since the deluge, there has probably been no time when so few worshippers of God could be found on the face of the earth as composed the little family of Noah; no time when the race has been so utterly estranged from Heaven, and boldly defiant of its wrath, as it was just before "the fountains of the great deep were broken up," and the waters rose till they covered the tops of the mountains. Even now, most persons who are Christians become such in early life, not because eternity seems nearer to

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the young than to the old, but because their sinful habits and earthly attachments are less fixed and strong; because wrong desires and pursuits have not become so much a second nature to them, as to the man of fourscore. Now, if a life of sixty years devoted to the world, engrosses or hardens the soul to such a degree that it can rarely be moved to prepare for Heaven, what must be the effect of a life prolonged to three hundred years! The few who might repent after having reached so advanced an age, would bear no comparison with the multitudes who, in hope and prospect of it, would plunge into the world, delay repentance, and be carried unprepared to the grave. There is reason to believe that any considerable increase of the average length of human life, would not only augment the evil now in the world, but also the number of those who would finally perish. Consequently, the Supreme Being could not, on principles of benevolence, do this. Nay more, the length of human life and probation is, beyond a reasonable doubt, mercifully adjusted to the nature of man, so that the greatest number may be saved. Very likely this holds true of individuals also, and each one of our race has the best possible opportunity, so far as time comes into the account, of laying up a treasure in heaven.

But is not this present life objectionable, as the only period of man's probation, merely because it is so small a part of existence? Man is to live for ever, and this life is inconceivably short compared with eternity. Is there not something abhorrent to reason, in linking the latter to the former in a casual relation? in making the infinite depend upon the finite? To this we answer: Every where we find the greatest effects connected with the most insignificant causes. The little acorn transmits its own nature to the great and fruitful oak, thus in its death producing life a thousandfold more enduring than itself. A single spark may set on fire a great city. A solitary word may unsheath ten thousand swords, and cause rivers of blood to flow. Crimes may be perpetrated in a moment, which years of imprisonment cannot expiate. One case of deliberate falsehood often destroys a man's reputation for integrity, and claim to the confidence of others, for all time. It reveals his character, which may be done sometimes as well in an hour as in an age. He has been tried by his fellow-men, and has forfeited their confidence; it may be by a single decisive act, or it may be by a long course of evil conduct. Whenever a man has chosen his way, and brought out a marked and determinate character, he can put in no plea for a longer trial.

Moreover, if the choice is between good and evil, and if

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there be time enough given to make that choice deliberately and intelligently, one would imagine that the more perpetual and solid the advantages on the one hand and the evils on the other, the less hesitation could there be as to the election, and the less time would be wished or needed for making it. Were a man about to cross the Atlantic, offered his choice between two vessels, one of which, to his certain knowledge, would make the voyage in safety, while the other was very likely to be badly navigated and lost, he might hesitate on the ground of some preference for the latter as more elegant and adapted to his tastes; but if his choice must fall between two, one of which he was fully assured would land him safely in Europe, and the other as certainly be wrecked and sink with all on board to the bottom of the ocean, hesitation would be impossible; his decision must be instant and perfect. The more permanent and substantial the advantages connected with one course, and the calamities with the other, the more prompt and easy must be the election between them. By the same rule, it ought not to take a reasonable person many weeks to decide between eternal joy and eternal woe.

Besides, this very brevity of life, as contrasted with immortality, works, as we have seen, for the good rather than the injury of man. It leads a greater number to piety and happiness than a longer period would do. To prolong it must make our condition more hopeless and miserable. We cannot, therefore, on account of the disproportion between time and eternity, a disproportion which would not be sensibly diminished, were our period of trial extended to millions of ages, suppose a benevolent Being to protract it beyond the present limits. God is too wise and merciful to inflict a permanent injury upon our race for the sake of an abstraction; for the sake of establishing to our minds some numerical relation between the years of trial and of retribution. If it is right for Him to hold moral beings responsible for their conduct, and to assign them a period of probation, then it is right and good in Him to fix the limits of their time of trial in harmony with the claims of compassion.

To conclude this part of our examination: the brevity of life must be made an objection to it as a period of probation for eternity, if at all, either because it does not afford time sufficient to prepare for eternal happiness, or because greater numbers would make the needful preparation were the period longer, or because there is some essential impropriety and wrong in having so great a disparity between the cause and effect, the period in which character is formed, and the period in which it exists. But if the remarks already made are just,

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the present life cannot be deemed unsuitable for the only period of man's probation on any of these grounds.

There is, therefore, no moral reason why we should not receive the obvious meaning of God's word respecting this matter; no moral reason arising from the shortness of time. Provided it is suitable in other respects, the period of trial is long enough, though limited to our earthly existence. If we are to be tried at all, we have occasion to render devout thanks to God for making the trial so brief, and urging us to so speedy a decision.

Again: it is said, the imperfection of knowledge attainable in this life makes it unsuitable to be the only state of probation for man.

The weight of this objection must depend entirely upon the amount of knowledge which it is possible and best for us to have in a state of trial. Whatever we need to be apprized of, as beings under probation, may be included in a knowledge of what God would have us do, or refrain from, and of the consequences attached respectively to obedience or disobedience.

Is, then, the former kind of information accessible to men in this life? Do they know the will of God respecting their conduct? Or have they the means of ascertaining it? No person, it is presumed, will deny the possibility of learning the will of their Maker, to those who dwell in Christian lands. This knowledge is within their reach. They have only to seek in order to find,—only to open their eyes in order to see. Men who have not been taught a tithe of what is generally known of religion in Christian lands, have entered the way of life in multitudes. Thousands of simple, wild Karens, whom the little children of America might teach the character and laws of God more perfectly, who just know the name of Christ and the first truths of his gospel, give delightful evidence of having passed from death unto life. And where the Bible has long been known and the church of Christ established, the young and illiterate are found quite as often in the possession of true piety as the old and learned. Evidently, therefore, men in Christian countries are sufficiently informed of their Maker's will,—of the way of life and peace. There is no reason to suppose more knowledge in this respect would lead greater numbers to virtue; indeed, persons do not avail themselves of all, or of more than a very minor portion of what is accessible to them.

But the heathen, men destitute of the Bible, left to the light of nature and of conscience, what shall be said of them? This, at the outset, that they are not expected or required to act according to a knowledge superior to that which is put

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within their reach. They are not to be judged by the law of Christianity or Judaism, but by one which they may know and understand. The law of God is written in their hearts, and their consciences either accuse or excuse them, as they obey or disobey this inner law. If, in particular cases, they are penitent for sin, and turn in filial trust to that Eternal Power who is manifested to them by his works; if they possess a spirit which will lead them to acknowledge their indebtedness to Christ for salvation so soon as He is made known to them: this is enough,—they will be freely forgiven and justified. And surely, pagans are not ignorant of their obligation to have such a spirit in exercise. They have the means of knowing more respecting God's will and their duty, aside from a knowledge of Jesus as Redeemer and Mediator, than many really know who give evidence of piety. Happy for such as do not sin wilfully, and in defiance of what they are assured by a voice within, is the Divine law!

But it may be objected further, would not many who now perish in pagan lands repent and be saved, if they were made acquainted with the gospel? Have not multitudes died enemies to God, who would have been transformed and prepared for Heaven by the melting and moving story of the cross? Consequently, would not their probation have been a more favorable, merciful one, with the Bible in their hands? And must they not, in mercy, if not in justice, enjoy such a state of trial hereafter?

Now, to all this we must say, that Jehovah is present in the world by his Providence, and we have no certain grounds in reason to assume that any who have died impenitent would have accepted the offers of pardon through Christ. Not all who have the gospel receive it, and God may have known, by his heart-searching wisdom, that those to whom the name of Jesus has not been proclaimed, would not have believed any the sooner if it had been. It is certain, by Divine testimony, that heathen nations have not desired to retain God in their knowledge, and do not make use of the light given them: we are not, therefore, sure they would be obedient to a plainer message.

Yet there is one class of passages in the New Testament which may be thought to destroy the force of this remark: "Woe unto thee, Chorazin!" says the Saviour, "Woe unto thee, Bethsaida! for if the mighty works which were done in you had been done in Tyre and Sidon, they would have repented long ago in sackcloth and ashes."

This language, as well as that of one or two parallel passages somewhat less explicit, has been supposed to teach, either that had the gospel been given to Tyre and Sidon, God would also

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have given his special grace, and caused their inhabitants to receive it in a saving manner; or, that such pagans as dwelt in those cities, aided by that Divine influence which is given to all men, would have exercised genuine repentance, provided the knowledge of Christ had been theirs, and confirmed to them by miracles. But most interpreters* have found in these words only an emphatic declaration of the Saviour, that the people of Chorazin and Bethsaida, favored by his instruction, and called to believe in view of his wonderful works, gave evidence of greater guilt and hardness of heart than was ever manifested by Tyre and Sidon, though notorious for vileness and criminality. As if Christ had said to the inhabitants of those places who had witnessed with incredulity or anger his great miracles: "a more fearful doom awaits you for disbelief and continuance in sin, than the worst of pagans have deserved; for you have sinned against clearer light, sustained by more convincing evidence, than was ever given to them, and have displayed a depth of depravity which they did not possess." But whatever may be the exact import of these passages, it must be doubtful whether they affirm that any of our race have really perished for want of knowledge; that any who did not repent with the light they enjoyed, would have repented under the influence of more. It is still possible that the providence of God is so perfect and beneficent, as to send the gospel to nations so soon as they will receive it to their own good, and even to all such individuals as will not reject it. And yet this remark does not militate against the propriety, duty, necessity, of preaching Christ to the heathen, for unquestionably multitudes are to be saved by this means; though such as refused obedience to the knowledge and law in their possession, might have done no better in full view of the cross. The assertion, therefore, that men have died in great numbers impenitent, who would have become the faithful servants of Jehovah, under the enlightening precepts of the Bible, is not conclusively sustained. We are at liberty to doubt its truth, and shall be very likely to do this, if we believe in a Divine Providence to be recognized in the history of nations and of individuals. The objection, therefore, to this life, as man's only probation, on the ground of his having access to less knowledge than would be for his good, respecting God's will and the way of life, rests on no certain or solid foundation. It cannot be shown that any are necessarily ignorant of such religious instruction upon these points, as would be decisive in changing their characters. It may be conjectured, but this

* See Rosenmüller, Olshausen, Ripley, Poole, &c.

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will weigh little against a doctrine well sustained by the testimony of Scripture.

But let us turn our attention to the second kind of religious knowledge, that which pertains to the results of our probation. John Foster infers, that, if the effects of sin were to be eternal, a merciful Creator would have caused them to pass more plainly before our minds and utter their voice of warning, because our trial would be more just and fortunate if we could foresee more distinctly those consequences. Now, a sure and full knowledge of *all* the future is obviously impossible in the case of any finite being. A mind of limited capacities cannot take in an interminable succession of events, and survey them as a connected whole. It is to be occupied for ever in acquiring a perfect knowledge of them one by one, a process and employment not to be anticipated by a single mighty effort. But were such an effort conceivable, still no amount of instruction, though given by the Most High, and demonstrated to the human understanding, could put man in possession of what is to be experienced by him in ages to come. Truth, conveyed by words, addresses the intellect; but much of that which is to constitute the spiritual world hereafter, pertains to the sensibilities of the soul, and can be known only as it is felt. No prophecy, though given to the mind in appropriate language—the best of all instruments for such a purpose—can secure it more than a foretaste of untried joys or sorrows.

You may faithfully describe an emotion of pleasure to one who has never felt the same, yet he will comprehend it but in part. You may represent, in true and adequate language, any particular kind of bodily or mental pain, to a man who has never experienced it or something similar, and while he will seem to understand your words, they will convey to him a very imperfect and vague idea of the reality. A man must himself drink of the waters of affliction, in order to know their bitterness. So of everything which belongs to the feelings or sensibilities of our nature. It is therefore impossible for one to have a sure and full knowledge of all the future. Nor is this necessary to a state of trial. This will appear if we narrowly examine the nature of man, and the moral government under which he is now placed.

To begin with the latter. No one will deny that we behold the workings of a system of probation in the present life. It may be on a small scale, and in many particular instances imperfect, but, on the whole, it is a just and beneficial system. The youth is on trial before the community for its favor and confidence in manhood. He cannot foresee the special and multiplied advantages which a well-deserved reputation for in-

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tegrity may bring him in the course of life, nor, on the other hand, the calamities which may result from a merited character for dishonesty. He might say, in apology for evil conduct, that some honest persons are poor and neglected, while some knaves are honored and prosperous; consequently, that he was not responsible for his wicked actions, because of not having adequate and certain knowledge respecting the temporal benefits of uprightness, and the temporal disadvantages of wrong-doing; but he would still know that truthfulness and virtue were right, and could alone deserve the confidence of others, and that in a majority of cases these would secure it.

And this surely is enough to make his trial a fair one; enough to turn his judgment and conscience in favor of the right, and to convince us that the fault of choosing the way of vice or crime lies in his own heart. For this life, therefore, a system of probation is established, and each one is to decide upon his course, and fix his habits, with only a general, imperfect, and probable knowledge of what is to follow his decision; and it is sometimes even thought, that, in order to a perfect trial, the subject of it should have no foresight or information of the external consequences attached to his actions, being only informed of what is right and wrong.

George Washington had proved himself a competent, noble, upright man, before he received the highest honors in the gift of his countrymen, and before he could have distinctly anticipated them. It was not necessary for him to be notified of these captivating results, in order to a fair trial of his character in early life. It was quite enough that he knew virtue to be right, safe, and preferable in its consequences to vice. He must choose his course and fix his habits for life without foreknowing the precise results of such choice and habits. Nor do we generally complain of such a probation as unjust, because the earthly consequences are in a great measure concealed. We are not sure that we should have any proper ground for complaint, if they were less uniform and ascertainable than they now are. Why, then, should we object to the present life as a period of trial with reference to a future and endless existence, merely on the ground of a deficiency of knowledge in regard to that existence? The principle is the same in both cases. The way of right and duty is plain in each of these probations, and there is, to say the least, a very strong probability that those who are upright will be rewarded, and that such as are wicked will be punished. Men, it cannot be hazardous to affirm, may have as satisfactory evidence that the characters formed by them here will affect their individual condition hereafter, as that these characters will modify their happiness and respectability in the present life. And it is to

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be observed, that while virtue may expose a person to trouble and danger in this world of sin, no one feels the least apprehension that it will injure him, directly or indirectly, in the world to come.

Taking, then, the probation to which men are subjected with respect to their condition and influence in this life, as an illustration of a state of trial conducted on principles of equity and goodness, we find our present existence to afford us all the knowledge requisite to its being the period of man's probation for eternity. We are as well informed what must be our characters and conduct, in order to secure our best good hereafter, as we are what they must be to ensure our highest temporal welfare. We are as perfectly satisfied that our well-being in another world will be made certain by piety and devotion to God, as we are that esteem and influence in this life will follow a course of undeviating integrity and social virtue. And the greater the interests at stake, the less hesitation could one be expected to feel in choosing the way which must certainly end in blessedness. Two young men are forming their characters in the eyes of the community: one is to live ten years, the other fifty, and the earthly results of their probation are to be proportionally different. Do we complain because the one who is to live fifty years has no more knowledge of duties or penalties than the one who is to live ten? Both know what is right and wrong, what in all probability will lead to their best good, and this is enough to make their trial a fair and perfect one. Now make this probability certainty; let them feel perfectly assured that one of the ways open before them will conduct to the highest and absolute good; and were it even only doubtful to what the other must lead, there would be no real ground for hesitation in the choice; but if they had very strong reason for suspecting that this other would conduct them to ruin, the possibility of indecision would appear to be removed. Yet such is the case respecting this life as a state of trial. All men have a degree of knowledge amounting to assurance, that if they "fear God, and keep his commandments," they will be safe in the world to come; and it is not difficult for them to be rationally convinced that any other course will end in calamity.

Besides, from what is known of human nature, we may well doubt whether a greater amount of knowledge respecting the consequences of virtue and vice would move greater numbers to practice the former, and avoid the latter. That goodness which is the product of a desire to attain happiness and avoid misery, is of doubtful character. A man cannot be bribed or terrified into the exercise of holy affections. If he ever comes to love purity, it will be for its own sake. If he

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ever feels a proper affinity of soul for truth and the God of truth, it will be for the properties and attributes discerned in them, and not for the attainment of personal good. A knowledge of the results dependent upon our conduct in the present life is principally useful in awakening us from stupidity, and directing our attention to God and holiness and sin, in exciting thought, anxiety, self-examination. It does not renew the soul, or enable a man by an act of volition to transform and purify his own moral nature. But it may cause him to meditate upon the character and law of God; it may lead him to scrutinize his own heart, and learn his need of a Deliverer, and thus indirectly work his salvation. To produce this effect, the knowledge attainable here is amply sufficient. Enough is revealed to us by the light of reason and of God's word to fill with alarm all who do not shut their eyes to this light. Enough is revealed to arouse into serious reflection and deep solicitude in regard to their moral state, those who are not voluntarily indifferent. Enough is revealed to convince every reasonable man that there is immense danger in dying an enemy to God, and therefore, to excite him to a solemn examination of religion. What more is necessary or desirable? Those who close fast and firmly their eyes, can no more see the sun than the stars. "Those who hear not Moses and the prophets, would not be persuaded, though one rose from the dead." Men who are resolved to hazard the fearful probability of eternal death, would doubtless remain the same in the certain prospect of it. And this is true of pagans as well as of nominal Christians—of men without the Bible, as well as of men having the Bible. Such of both classes as are willing to look steadily at the future, at their prospects after death, may learn enough respecting the world unseen and eternal, to banish indifference from their minds, and awaken them to the grand duty of preparing for it.

We conclude, therefore, that so far as knowledge must be taken into the account, this life is suitable to be the only state of probation for man. No valid reason can be offered for believing, that more information respecting the way to please God or the consequences of displeasing Him, would lead greater numbers of our race to holiness and heaven.

It is to be hoped, no person depreciates the amount of religious knowledge possessed by mankind, or within their reach, from a desire to find some excuse for continuing in sin through the present life. It is also to be hoped, that none who plead in favor of a future probation for the heathen, because they know not the gospel, are unconsciously moved by the wish to make room for such a state of trial for themselves, who now have and reject the gospel. There is reason to fear that many,

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under the influence of such selfish motives, delude their own minds, and make destruction sure; that many work themselves into the belief of conjectures, at variance with the word of Jehovah, and ruinous to the souls of men.

Once more:—the dependence of men in this life upon aid from above, in order to become holy, makes it unsuitable to be the only state of probation for them. Men are so predisposed to evil from birth, and are encompassed by so many seductive influences, that special Divine help is necessary to make their transformation to the likeness and image of God possible. It is not likely that a trial under such circumstances will be final.

In answer to this objection, it may be observed in the first place, that aid from above is always afforded to such as truly seek it. One who never mocked at the impotence of man, has said, "Ask, and ye shall receive." The hope excited by this promise has never been disappointed by any neglect on the part of God. No man has earnestly sought grace from Heaven, to be renewed in the temper of his heart, without having been heard and answered. "God is more willing to give the Holy Spirit to them that ask Him, than earthly parents are to give good gifts to their children." But, if any are disinclined to solicit aid from above, and prefer to remain in guilt and misery rather than to be set free by the help of another, it would seem unjust in them to reproach the Most High, who is offering all needful aid, for holding them without excuse if they continue in sin. If they do not wish to be assisted out of their evil and dangerous position, it is manifest they are not altogether serious and earnest in desiring to exchange it for an innocent and safe one.

It may be remarked again, that an extension of his period of trial into another world, could not be expected to relieve man from the necessity of seeking foreign aid in order to become holy. There is no reason for imagining that death has power to work any moral change in the soul. There is no foundation on which to build even a hope that it may endow the spirit with any new properties, or capacities, or tastes, so that it will be able to renovate itself and bring a clean thing out of an unclean. If, indeed, sin were resident in the body alone, it would be laid aside at death. But out of the heart are the issues of life. "The leprosy lies deep within." It has infected the soul, the lord and life of our bodily organization. Consequently we need some other purifier than the agonies of dissolution. In spite of the pain of separation from the body and the mysteries of a dying hour, the spirit will depart to its future home, in possession of all its tastes and habits and moral affinities, as developed in this life, and a purgatory of fire will not burn them out. No voice from God or nature has

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aught us by an intimation even, that the shock of transition from this to another state of being, will destroy or weaken the time-nurtured, the strengthened and matured sinful habits of the soul. If men need help from God in order to become holy, it is not because of any peculiarity of sin in this world, making it more malignant and invulnerable than elsewhere, but because of its essential and inalienable properties. It originates and resides in a wrong state of the heart, in affections hostile to good objects and allied to evil, and Divine power is requisite in all cases to reverse this moral bias of the heart, and introduce a love for God. It is not rash to assert, that there are satisfactory reasons for believing this life more favorable to a radical change in the soul than a subsequent one. All other things being equal, analogy would lead us to expect, that the longer individuals give way to unholy desires, permitting them to grow and mature in the spirit, the more difficult must a true reformation or transformation become, and the more foreign aid must be necessary in effecting it. Accordingly, if men are dependent upon Divine grace for renewal here, they will be, upon the supposition of a probation after death, equally or more so there. Provided, as some believe, man performs the initial act and fulfills certain conditions by which he secures the needed help from God, then we say, because his habits of sin are less confirmed and inveterate in this life than they may be expected to become hereafter, it would not be merciful in God to prolong his trial into another world, and thus tempt him to postpone repentance till a period when he will have less inclination for it; it would not, for the same reason that it is unsafe for a sinner to be assured beforehand of a long life and probation here. He would need just as much assistance from God, and would be more unwilling and unlikely to ask it.

But if men are yet more dependent upon the Most High than this view supposes, so that his Spirit must produce in them the desires and faith, in the exercise of which they are freely justified and restored to fellowship with Heaven, still they have no reason to anticipate a change in this respect after death, nor that Jehovah will be any more likely to begin and complete the work of their regeneration in another world than in the present. This life is just as suitable for their only state of probation as another, if they are always to be thus dependent upon the grace of God. Indeed, we have reason to fear that the hearts of those who die in sin, will, under the light of eternity and the laws of a more spiritual existence, stiffen into an inflexible obstinacy and defiance of God, and become like "the angels who kept not their first estate;" of whom we know but little, consisting only of a few scriptural statements, intimating

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their malignant character, and appointment to an irreversible penal doom. From the hints offered us in the Bible respecting God's enemies in the unseen world, we may conjecture with some reason that the present state is as favorable a probation as could be allotted to sinners. And of this we may be sure, that the ground of our needing Divine grace in order to become holy, lies not in the peculiarities of our earthly existence, but in the *nature of sin itself*, as a wrong state of the heart and bias of the feelings; so that all sinful beings, wherever and under whatever circumstances they may be placed, must have Divine assistance in becoming "new creatures." Any objection, therefore, which depends for its force upon the necessity of aid from above, in order to holiness on the part of man, must bear against the idea of human accountability and probation at all times and anywhere, just as strongly as it does against the doctrine of a probation limited to the present life. Never in all the ages of eternity, nowhere in all the universe of God, can sinful creatures become holy without aid from the Father of spirits. If this dependence relieves them from accountability, and renders a probation, otherwise just and proper, inconsistent with Divine benevolence, then is the voice of God in our consciences and in the Bible—let us speak without offence or irreverence—a lie. It falsely asserts and justifies our responsibility. This none of our readers will believe, and therefore none of them can deny, that the present life is suited to be man's state of probation for eternity, on the ground of his dependence upon aid from above in order to his becoming holy.

If, then, this life is long enough for a period of trial with reference to eternity—better than a longer one—and if ample knowledge respecting God's will, and the future consequences of piety or sin, is attainable here—and if we are no more dependent for Divine assistance to become good, than sinful beings ever and everywhere must be from the nature of the case—if these things are true, we are aware of no real or plausible objection against the doctrine that we are in a state of probation, closing with all men at the hour of death.

We suppose, of course, this doctrine to be taught in the Bible, and so plainly taught as to command the belief of all who do not see great moral objections to it. But the limits of this article will not permit us to bring forward the Biblical proof for the position that the present life is man's period of trial for eternity. An examination of those expressions to be found in the word of God, and which appeared even to Foster so "formidably strong," must be deferred to some future occasion; in the full conviction, however, that no one will entertain any doubt of their being plain and decisive.

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Art. V.—ANNEXATION OF LOUISIANA.

BY J. M. PECK, ROCK SPRING, ILLINOIS.

1. *The History of Louisiana from its Earliest Period.* By François-Xavier Martin. Two Volumes. New-Orleans, 1827–1829.
2. *Sketches, Historical and Descriptive, of Louisiana.* By Major Amos Stoddard. Philadelphia: M. Carey, 1812.
3. *The History of Louisiana, particularly of the Cession of that Colony to the United States of America; with an Introductory Essay on the Constitution and Government of the United States.* By Barbe Marbois, Peer of France, &c., &c. Translated from the French. By an American Citizen. Philadelphia: Carey & Lea, 1830.
4. *History of the Discovery and Settlement of the Valley of the Mississippi, by the three great European powers, Spain, France and Great Britain, and the subsequent Occupation, Settlement and Extension of Civil Government by the United States, until the year* 1846. By John W. Monette, M. D. In two volumes. New-York, 1846. Harper and Brothers.
5. *Annals of the West.* By James H. Perkin and J. M. Peck. Revised Edition. St. Louis, Mo., 1846. J. R. Albach. Pp. 808.
6. *Louisiana; its Colonial History and Romance.* By Charles Gayarre. Pp. 546. 8vo. Harper and Brothers, New-York, 1851.

We commence a review of the Cession of Louisiana with this proposition—that the Ruler of the universe has established, protected and prospered this nation, for the especial purpose of making it a signal instrument in the political and moral regeneration of the world. To all devout, reflecting minds, the evidence from the history of our country is plain, that God has had the most gracious designs in view, and that his Providence, rather than the wisdom and foresight of men, has made this great nation what it is. Man permits the veil which natural objects and inferior agencies interpose, to conceal from his view the agency of the Infinite Mind. He observes the course of events, the revolutions of nations, the transfer of countries and people from one power to another, and the complicated series of human actions, without looking to Him, who

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sits in high authority over the universe, and directs all its affairs by infinite wisdom and boundless goodness. Could the history of the nations of the earth be read with a more spiritual intelligence, that history would afford a most instructive comment on the principles of the divine government. We should then see that God aims steadily, and without mistake, to "make an end of sin," and to establish the peaceful kingdom of Christ in all the earth. And especially the eye of God appears to have been fixed on this Continent as the field where subordinate agencies might be raised up, and great achievements made, to accomplish his most glorious purposes. This will appear by considering for a moment the period in which this continent was discovered and settled.

Had this continent been known to the eastern nations, in the period of the four great monarchies that followed each other in successive order, in the conquest of the world as then known, instead of the feeble and scattered tribes originally found here, and destined to waste away before the "pale faces," it might have been peopled by a sturdy race of idolators, with the customs of the old world, a race who would have established over this beautiful land institutions grossly corrupt and terribly despotic. The Mississippi might have been an object of worship like the Ganges, and our prairies been whitened with the bones of pilgrims to a bloody Juggernâth. Or, had this continent been settled in the dark ages of European history, its whole population might have been borne down with a withering superstition and a feudal depotism; destitute alike of intellectual and moral culture, and wholly unfit for a state of political and religious freedom. What if the wild and luckless enterprise of De Soto, instead of the death of the leader, and destruction of the party, had proved a real "Conquest of Florida," (as North America was then called,) and the adventurers of Spain had overrun this land, as Cortez and Pizarro did Mexico and Peru, and the Castilian and Moor, with the papal religion, and its accompaniments of despotism and servility, had been planted here as it was there?—How very different would have been the destiny of this country! Or, suppose the French, who passed up the St. Lawrence and northern lakes, in the seventeenth century, and planted missions and trading posts along the "Great river," and its tributaries towards its close, had commenced the settlements of Jamestown and Plymouth, would our country then have been what it now is? Would it have been what it is, had France been successful in the designs contemplated by its cordon of posts along the lakes, the *Ouabache* and the *Belle Riviere*, so admirably contrived to retain the

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power of this central valley, and which, in the disastrous defeat of Braddock, gave such fair promise of realization? Would it have been the same had Spain held fast her power and possessions on the Mississippi, and maintained the vigor and enterprise of the period, when Pope Alexander VI., for purposes of discovery and settlement, divided the earth between Portugal and Spain by a meridian running three hundred and seventy miles west of the Azores?

Though the American continent was discovered near the close of the fifteenth century, British colonization was not commenced until the beginning of the seventeenth. Meanwhile a series of revolutions in politics and religion had transpired both in England and on the Continent. A new order of men had been raised up, and political and religious liberty had gained great achievements, when colonies of the English race, with exalted faith and indomitable love of liberty, took possession of the Atlantic slope of North America; and even they were guided by Providence rather than choice.

The manner of the growth of these colonies is no less indicative of a presiding and directing Providence. At first it was slow and gradual, and under such circumstances as were well calculated to prepare the people for the revolution of 1776, and the largest freedom in religion. Religious domination in several of the colonies was carried to an extent just sufficient to create alarm, to excite investigation, to provoke controversy, and lead to the practical development of the true principles of religious freedom. The great increase of population in the colonies, and the continuous border wars with the Aborigines, with the hardships and privations incident to a new country, were needful preparations for rapid progress at a later day. In two hundred years after the commencement of the oldest colonies, the population scarcely exceeded four millions. The census of 1850 exceeds twenty-three millions. This is an increase of nearly six-fold. The rapid growth of this nation was not accelerated, until a broad and deep foundation had been laid for future prosperity and safety.

But in the enlargement of territory, not less than in other features of our history, is the agency of Providence seen. To illustrate and establish this fact, we appropriate this article to some remarks on the ANNEXATION OF LOUISIANA.

The country of Louisiana, as claimed by the French from discovery and possession, included the whole Central Valley from the Alleghany to New-Mexico and the Rocky Mountains. The grant of the country to Antoine Crozat, made by Louis XIV. in 1712, defined the boundaries as follows:—

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By New Mexico on the west; by the English lands of Carolina on the east, including all the establishments, ports, rivers, havens, and principally the port and haven of the Isle of Dauphin, heretofore called Massacre; the river St. Louis, heretofore called Mississippi, from the edge of the sea as far as the Illinois [country,] together with the river St. Phillips, heretofore called the Missouri; the river St. Jerome, heretofore called the Ouabachie, [Ohio,] with all the lakes and rivers mediately or immediately flowing into any part of the river St. Louis, or Mississippi.*

The treaty of Utrecht, (1713,) defined the northern boundary to be the forty-ninth degree of north latitude. Under the Western Company, which succeeded the grant to Crozat, the whole of the Illinois country was included in the jurisdiction of Louisiana.

The great impulse to the colonization of the country on the Mississippi, was the gold and silver mines imagined to exist there, and to equal, if not exceed in riches, those of Mexico and Peru. Wonderful reports were circulated in France, and hundreds of adventurers sought in vain for fortunes in this land. Its early settlement was expensive and disastrous. The first expedition was in 1699, under D'Ibberville, a Canadian naval officer, who sailed from Rochefort, and established a landing at Biloxi, near Mobile. He made several voyages to France for colonists and necessaries, and died in St. Domingo, in 1707, of the yellow fever, while fitting out an expedition against the English settlement in Carolina.†

Two kinds of colonists came from France under Ibberville and subsequent leaders. The first were unaccustomed to manual labor, but they possessed enterprise, and expected to gather fortunes in gold and silver, and furs, and peltry, by trafficking with the Indians. The second, and by far the most numerous class, were poor, idle and vicious. Many of both sexes were taken from the streets, the prisons, and the galleys, and expected to be supported by the bounty of their leaders. The first attempts at settlements were expensive and unsuccessful. In thirteen years from the commencement by Ibberville, about two thousand five hundred colonists were sent from France; and yet, in 1713, there were in all the settlements only four hundred whites and twenty negro slaves, with three hundred head of cattle. This was exclusive of the missions and trading posts in the Illinois country, established and sustained by way of Canada.

In his grant, Crozat was constituted proprietor of all the mines he should discover in the country; with the reservation to the crown of one-fifth of all bullion of gold and silver, and one-tenth of the produce of all other mines. He had previ-

* Martin's Louisiana, vol. i., pp. 178–179. Stoddard's Skotches, pp. 133–135.
† Martin, vol. i., p. 168.

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ously amassed an immense fortune by trade in the Indies, and now relied on the proceeds of trade with the Spanish colonists and the Aborigines. His expectations, however, were not realized. The Spanish authorities, who were hostile to French colonists in the country, refused to participate in his commerce in the Gulf of Mexico, and seized and confiscated his goods, and imprisoned his agents who attempted to introduce them, overland, into New Mexico. After a persevering, but fruitless effort of five years, attended with heavy loss, Crozat surrendered his charter to the crown, in 1717. By this period, exploring parties had penetrated the countries along Red River, the Arkansas, Missouri, and the Upper Mississippi.

The same year the "*Company of the West*" was chartered for working the mines; and the privileges of commerce as granted to Crozat, with the additional privilege of disposing of the lands, were granted. With this company was connected the famous bank of John Law; and its credit rested on the anticipated products of the gold and silver mines, and the sale of lands. The next year it was made a royal bank, based on the stock of a bankrupt government, and its shares rose to twenty times their par value. Major Stoddard says:

> The company created three hundred thousand shares, at five hundred livres each; fifty thousand shares at five hundred and fifty livres each; three hundred thousand shares at five thousand livres each, all of which were sold in the market, and before the completion of the sale, they arose to an enormous height. The amount of the stock thus created, without taking the rise into calculation, amounted to sixteen hundred, seventy-seven millions, five hundred thousand livres, or three hundred and ten millions, six hundred, forty-eight thouaand, one hundred and forty-eight dollars! Such, indeed, was the frenzy of speculation, that the whole nation, clergy and laity, peers and plebeians, princes and statesmen, mechanics, and even ladies, employed their wealth in purchasing these shares. P. 60.

This "Mississippi bubble" burst in 1720, and left the deluded speculators penniless. But it had no little influence in sending out colonists, who, after being disappointed as to finding gold and silver, turned their attention to agriculture and the Indian trade, and thus prepared the way for the future prosperity of the colony. Under the auspices of the Company of the West, New-Orleans was formed in 1718; the cultivation of tobacco was introduced, Fort Chartres, in Illinois, built, the lead mines of Missouri discovered and worked, and settlements formed at various points along the Mississippi river.

Under the charter of the Company of the West, the branch company of St. Philippe was organized in Illinois, and directed by the enterprise of Philip Francois Renault. This association was formed for the purpose of prosecuting the mining

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business in Upper Louisiana. Renault left France in 1719, with two hundred mechanics, miners and laborers, and provided with all things necessary to prosecute the objects of the company. He bought five hundred slaves in St. Domingo, for working the mines, and brought them to Illinois, in 1720. Having established himself and his colony a few miles above Kaskaskia, which he called St. Philips, he sent out exploring parties in every direction. Gold and silver were the objects sought, but never found. Lead and copper were discovered west of the Mississippi; and Renault and his companions, finding their search for the precious metals unavailing, turned their attention to smelting lead.

The Company of the West having failed in their objects, in 1731 surrendered their rights and privileges to the crown, and mining, trade and agriculture were left to be prosecuted by individual enterprise. At this period we have not the means of ascertaining the population of the country of Louisiana with the accuracy desirable; but from the best sources within our power, we estimate the white population at six thousand, and the negro slaves at two thousand five hundred.

African slavery was established by law in this province in the charter of Crozat, who had the privilege of introducing "one ship-load of slaves annually" from Africa; but it does not appear that he availed himself of the privilege. In 1719, two ships were sent to Africa, and returned with five hundred slaves, and by 1728, several voyages had been made, and about two thousand slaves brought into the lower colony. This gave an impulse to agriculture; and tobacco and indigo, for exportation, and provisions, for home consumption, were raised. The edict of Louis XIII., of France, and (re-enacted by Louis XV., 1724,) contained the laws and regulations concerning slavery in Louisiana.*

Until 1711, Louisiana, a mere wilderness, was under the jurisdiction of the commandant-general of New France, or Canada, two thousand miles distant; but in that year the government was separated, and the province of Louisiana placed under a commandant-general of its own. This officer was the immediate representative of the crown. The seat of the colonial government was first fixed at Mobile, but in 1723 it was removed to New-Orleans. At an early period the administration was placed in the hands of M. Jean Baptiste de Bienville, who, on many accounts, deserves the title of Father of Louisiana. He encouraged agriculture, provided for the explora-

* *Le Code Noir ou Recueil de Reglemens*, p. 281. The reader will find this code translated, in Dillon's Historical Notes of Indiana, pp 45–58.

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ion of the interior, and opened trade with the Indian nations. His administration was conducted with energy and skill. During the autumn of 1727, he was succeeded by M. Perrier, and shortly after returned to France. He was re-appointed commandant-general, and returned to New-Orleans in 1733. He was unsuccessful in two expeditions against the Chickasaw Indians, and being advanced in life, he went back to France in 1741, and was succeeded by the Marquis de Vaudreuil.

In accordance with our object, it becomes necessary to take a glance at the ecclesiastical condition of the province. In every enterprise, whether of discovery, exploration, commerce, trade or war, by the Spanish and French, one or more priests were attached to the expedition; and mission stations at the villages of savage tribes often became trading posts and colonial settlements. In order to enjoy the protection of government, all new settlements were required to be in the form of villages, or towns; and lots, of a size convenient for a door-yard, garden, and stable-yard, were provided for each family. To each village were granted two tracts of land at convenient distances, for "*common fields*" and "*commons.*" In the first was inclosed each man's plat for cultivation, which was possessed in fee simple, but within a common inclosure. A "common" was a tract of land granted to the town for wood and pasturage, in which each owner of a village lot had a *common* but not an individual right. The chapel and the priest were indispensable to each village.

Missionaries of the Jesuit and other orders were often stationed in these villages, which at first were Indian towns. During the hunting season they followed the natives in the chase. Whatever we may think of the doctrines they taught, the superstitious practices enjoined, or of their mode of converting Indians, as being the reverse of the mode indicated in the Great Commission, it is certain they were a heroic, devoted, self-sacrificing class of men.

Judge Martin states:

> The company, with the view of providing for the spiritual wants of the upper part of the province, in which clergymen were most wanted, entered into arrangements with the order of Jesuits, by which curates and missionaries were obtained. Persons professing any other religion than the Catholic, were not treated with equal charity; and the spirit of intolerance dictated an edict, in the month of March, [1724,] by which the exercise of any other religion was prohibited in Louisiana; and the Jews were directed to be expelled from it, as enemies of the Christian name. Vol. I., p. 258.
>
> The provision lately made for clergymen having proved insufficient for the wants of the colony, and the bishop of Quebec, within whose diocese it was, finding it inconvenient to send the necessary number of curates and missionaries to the upper districts, the company entered into a new treaty

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with the Jesuits, on the 20th of February, 1726. By this, that of 1724 was annulled. Father Beaubois, the Superior of the missionaries, was allowed eighteen hundred livres for his services, and a gratification of three thousand livres was divided between his associates, for their past services.* The Jesuits engaged to keep, constantly, at least fourteen priests of their order in the colony, viz: a curate and missionary at Kaskaskias; a missionary in the village of the Brochigomas; a chaplain and missionary at the fort on the Wabash, [Ohio, near Metropolis;] a missionary at the Arkansas; a chaplain and missionary at fort St. Peter, among the Yazous; another missionary there, whose duty it was to endeavor to penetrate into the country of the Chickasaws, to propagate the Catholic religion, and promote union between these Indians and the French; two missionaries at the Alibamous, one of whom was to preach the gospel to the Choctaws. These locations were not to be altered without the governor's consent.

Father Petit, the Superior of the Jesuits in the province, was permitted to reside in New-Orleans, but not to perform any ecclesiastical functions there, without the license of the Superior of the Capuchins. The company engage to furnish him a chapel, vestry-rooms, and a house and lot for his accommodation, that of a missionary, and the temporary use of such priests of his order as might arrive in New-Orleans. Ib. pp. 261—263.

Similar arrangements were made with the Capuchins, and all the lower province was placed under charge of this order. Father Bruno, their Superior in Louisiana, received the appointment of vicar-general from the bishop at Quebec. A convent was built for this order in New-Orleans. The Superior, assisted by two monks, served as curate in that city.—Other curates were stationed at Mobile, Biloxi, the German coast, Nachitoches, and the Balize.

The convent of Ursuline nuns, in Rouen, sent out a corps of nuns to establish a convent, and provide for the education of girls, and the care of a hospital.

It was about 1740 that the government of France revived the project entertained at first, of uniting Canada and Louisiana, in the hope that this union would cut off from the English colonies all access to the country west of the Alleghany Mountains, though at that period the future importance of this great valley was not foreseen.

On the views of France, M. Barbé Marbois thus writes:

The memoirs written on this subject have been preserved; their authors sagaciously prognosticate the high destinies of the two colonies thus united. They meet objections, and combat them all, with one exception. No one of them foresees that these provinces, as they increase in population, and as a consequence even of their prosperity, must aspire to and finally attain independence. They notice the discontent with which the plan of the union of Canada and Louisiana must inspire England; but nothing foretells to them that the provinces of English America will rise up and free

* The value of a livre in Louisiana, at that period, was fixed at one-fourth of a Mexican dollar. Hence, it was equal in value to twenty-five cents United States currency.

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themselves from the dominion of their mother country; and that the colonies conquered from France will be one day the only ones that Great Britain will retain on that continent. P. 121.

After the peace of 1748, the French ministry took a deep interest in the settlement of Louisiana, and in carrying out their favorite policy of securing the country along the northern lakes, and the Ohio and its tributaries, from British traders and settlers. England was no less jealous of the encroachments of France, and took measures to counteract them. Though this nation claimed, from the first, the whole country, from the Atlantic Ocean to the South Sea, for thus her grants to Connecticut, Virginia, and other colonies read, yet the principal ground of claim was the treaties of purchase from the "Five Nations," or Iroquois; and this confederacy set up their title on the ground of conquest from other tribes. Both nations made pretences at amicable negotiations in Europe, while hostilities existed on the Ohio as early as 1754. The northwest was really the theatre of war, and the possession of the country west of the Alleghanies the wager of battle. In this violent struggle, the French seemed to have the advantage. The defeat of Braddock looked like a final victory to the French; but the issue depended on maritime supremacy: and the naval armaments of Great Britain were more numerous, better manned, and always ready for sea before the vessels of France. Only a part of the destined succors in men and money, of the latter, arrived at Quebec. After deeds of high valor, and a battle in which the two generals-in-chief, Montcalm and Wolfe, fell, the English completed the conquest of Canada.

The peace of 1763 settled the dispute between France and England, by the cession to the latter of all that part of Louisiana that lay east of the Mississippi and north of Bayou Ibberville, and lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain, along with Canada. The actual transfer was made, and the country of Illinois taken possession of by the British authorities, in 1765.

By a secret treaty, ratified on the 3d of November, 1762, the king of France agreed to cede and deliver to the king of Spain all the rest of Louisiana. This included the island of Orleans, and all the territory west of the Mississippi, and its tributaries. The valley of the Mississippi was now divided between the two great European powers, Great Britain and Spain.

Of this last change, the French population in the upper province remained in ignorance for some time.

On the 21st of April, 1764, M. D'Abadie, commandant-general at New-Orleans, received orders from Louis XV. to make it known to the colony. So sudden and profound was his grief at the reception of such instructions, as to cause his

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death! He died universally regretted by the colonists. M. Aubri, his successor, announced the cession to Spain, which was received in the lower province with the utmost consternation. The colonists publicly manifested great aversion to the Spanish government. In the Illinois country, on the change of government, the population were about three thousand of all classes, excluding Indians. Nearly one-third of the more wealthy and enterprising class, not knowing the transfer of Western Louisiana to Spain, retired, some to the lower province, but a larger number to St. Louis, and St. Genevieve, which had just been established.

The Court of Madrid sent to New-Orleans, as commandant-general, Don Antonio D'Ulloa, a man of prudence and discretion, but he could not openly exercise his authority. The colonists sent deputies to the Court of Versailles, for permission of the king to remain subjects of France; but the cession was declared to be irrevocable.

Don Alexander O'Reilly was appointed successor to D'Ulloa, in 1769. We again borrow from the graphic pen of Marbois:

> The Spanish general, O'Reilly, replaced Don Antonio D'Ulloa. He brought to New-Orleans three thousand soldiers, which he supposed would be a sufficient number to put an end to all resistance. The colonists attempted to prevent their landing, which was only effected through the French magistrates. O'Reilly, an enemy of conciliatory measures, a warrior of reputation in his profession, thought that a colony might be governed more despotically than a conquered country.
>
> The barbarian indulged in acts of violence and ferocity, which he mistook for prudence and firmness. He seemed not to know that subjects do not renounce, at the will of treaties, an ancient allegiance to which they have long been accustomed; that it is allowable for friends and relatives to regret those from whom they are separating, and that the indications of their grief ought to be viewed with indulgence. Scaffolds were erected at New-Orleans. Six citizens paid by their heads the courage with which they had manifested their attachment to France.* The Court of Madrid secretly disapproved of these acts of outrage; but, fearing to endanger the authority of its governors, it abstained from condemning O'Reilly, and even from disowning him by an authentic act. P. 137.

Aversion to Spain was gradually removed, but affection never took its place. The greatest part of the population were of French descent. There were a few Spaniards and some English. The colony flourished less for a time after the transfer to Spain, but was better governed. Frequently the subordinate officers appointed were of French descent, which were the more acceptable to the people.

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* These were, M. de la Fresnière, attorney-general of the colony, and Messrs. De Noan, Caresse, Villeret, Marquiz, and Millet, all of them officers, who were shot by the order of O'Reilly.

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The American revolution resulted in the acknowledgment of the independence of the United States; and the conquest of the Illinois country by Col. G. R. Clark, prepared the way for the western boundary of the new Republic to join that of Spain on the Mississippi. But here an incident occurred that marks an overruling Providence in the destiny of our country. We copy from Burnet's "Notes on the North-Western Territory:"

When the American and British Commissioners were negotiating the terms of a treaty of peace, at Paris, in 1782, Great Britain insisted on making the Ohio River a boundary of the United States. The American commissioners resisted the proposition, principally on the ground that the territory on the north-west of the Ohio had been conquered by Col. Clark, in 1778, and was then in the occupancy of the United States. The pertinacity with which the claim was insisted on, induced Dr. Franklin to suggest to his colleagues, Messrs. Adams and Jay, whether it would not be better to yield that point than fail in the main object; it being understood that the French government was favorable to the claim. Mr. Adams very promptly answered "NO;" and declared that sooner than yield the western territory, he would withdraw from the negotiation, return home, and exhort his countrymen to continue the war as long as they could keep a soldier in the field. Mr. Jay was equally determined, and Dr. Franklin concurred. It was well known that the Count de Vergennes had produced some influence on the mind of Dr. Franklin, in favor of the claim. But when the united decision of the American commissioners on that point was officially declared, that boundary was given up. P. 351.

Soon after the revolutionary war, the free navigation of the Mississippi became an object of deep and absorbing interest to all the inhabitants of the western valley. In 1780, Spain expressed her determination to claim the control of the great western river. A commercial treaty with Spain being in process of negotiation by Mr. Jay, the American Minister at Madrid, in 1781, Congress, at the instance of the Virginia delegates, instructed Mr. Jay not to insist on the use of the Mississippi by the Americans, if a treaty could not be made without giving it up. During 1782, the court at Madrid not only labored to induce the United States to give up all claims to the navigation of the great river, for a term of years, but was not disposed to yield the claims of the United States after the time should expire. Spain even attempted to claim the country east of the Mississippi, and did hold possession, for a time, of the left bank of the river, below the mouth of the Ohio.

Three years after the ratification of the treaty of 1783, Spain occupied both banks of the Mississippi, below the Ohio; and no less than four Spanish posts confirmed the military occupation of the eastern bank; and the governor and intendant of Louisiana were required to enforce the laws of Spain, in the collection of heavy duties on all imports by way of the river from the Ohio region. These duties were arbitrary, and often extremely heavy and unjust; but an excise officer, supported by a military force, was stationed

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at every commandant's head-quarters on the river, to enforce the collection of the revenue. Every boat descending the river was compelled to make land, and submit to the revenue exactions, with only such relaxations and modifications as the commandant saw fit to admit. All violation of these arbitrary regulations and restrictions thus imposed were met with seizure and imprisonment, and often by confiscation of the whole cargo to the use and benefit of the officers of the crown, who valued their offices in proportion to the profit derived from them.

This system of exaction upon the trade of the western people became exceedingly oppressive under the arbitrary power of the excise-men; many acts of oppression and unjust exactions would of course take place from time to time, and the western boatmen had not been well schooled in submission to arbitrary rule. Many disdaining to submit to the arrogant demands of the Spanish officials, were frequently exposed to their official resentment, which occasionally ended, not with a mere temporary delay and embarrassment, but sometimes brought upon the offender the penalty of the confiscation of property, and a vexatious imprisonment. Repeated occurrences of this kind soon spread great indignation among the trading portion of the western people, and made them impatient for that revenge, which might be inflicted by a military invasion of Louisiana and the capture of New-Orleans, which would give them the control of the whole commerce of the river.

As early as 1785, the federal government, through John Jay their commissioner, opened a negotiation with the Spanish minister, Don Guardoqui, relative to the embarrassments to the prosperity of the western people; but the Spanish minister, in behalf of his government, persisted in his refusal to concede any of the points in controversy, and, after a fruitless negotiation of twelve months, Mr. Jay had almost consented to waive the right of the western people to the free navigation of the Mississippi *for twenty years*, provided *Spain would concede* their claims at the expiration of that period.*

The rumor soon obtained currency through the Mississippi valley, that the government of the United States was about to sacrifice the rights of the people in the West to the navigation of the Mississippi to conciliate the good will of Spain. This rumor produced the highest degree of excitement in every western settlement, and not only endangered the safety of Louisiana, but caused great anxiety in all the old states. It is not strange that these feelings of indignation among the western people should have resulted in the determination of a military invasion of Louisiana. This state of things existed when Don Estevan Miro, who succeeded Galvez, was appointed commandant-general of the province. Seeing the unfortunate tendency of the policy of his predecessor towards the people of the western territory of the United States, he resolved on a more liberal course during his administration. Obtaining the approbation of Don Guardoqui, the resident minister of Spain at the government of the United States, he proposed to relax the import and transit duties on the river trade from the west-

* Monette, vol. i., pp. 497, 498.

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ern settlements. He granted the privileges of free trade to certain persons. Among these were special privileges granted to Colonel James Wilkinson, between the years 1787 and 1790, of free trade in tobacco, flour, and other western productions, besides the privilege of introducing several hundreds of American families into Louisiana and West Florida. Guardoqui, the minister, and Don Manuel Navarro, the intendant at New-Orleans, soon opposed the liberal policy of governor Miro, doubtless imagining they did not receive their full share of the "spoils" realized from voluntary tribute for Spanish "free-trade." The minister became silent, and Navarro retired to Spain; and Governor Miro, by authority from the king, was invested with full power both as governor and intendant.

The mild and conciliatory policy of Miro towards the western people, reconciled them to the Spanish authorities, and especially to the governor; but they still regarded submission to this species of vassalage as an admission of the rights of Spain over those of the United States, and the grants as special favors that might be withheld at any moment. They regarded trade with New-Orleans, and the navigation of the Mississippi, as "*common and indefeasible rights.*"

In the mean time the Spanish minister, Guardoqui, had his secret agents and correspondents among the western people. To these he declared unequivocally, that unless the people, and especially those of Kentucky, would declare independence of the United States, and establish for themselves a government, Spain would never allow them the free navigation of the river and the trade of New-Orleans. On these terms alone he was authorized and willing to open the navigation of the Mississippi for the exportation of their productions on terms of mutual advantage.*

Under these circumstances, apparently neglected by their own government, and with this temptation held out by Spain, it is surprising that so few of the western people were seduced even in their feelings to secede from the confederation. The virtue and patriotism of the West had a sore trial, and remained firm. The Baron de Carondelet succeeded Don Miro as commandant-general, on the first of January, 1792, and he did not despair of procuring a secession of the western from the eastern states. He entered with ardor and perseverance on a systematic plan of operations to effect the object. Judge Martin supposes the people of the West, and of Kentucky particularly, were divided into five parties. †

* Butler's History of Kentucky, p. 177, &c.
† History of Louisiana, vol. ii., p. 101.

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The first was for separation from the Union, and the formation of an independent republic, thereby securing an advantageous treaty with Spain. The second was willing to become annexed to Spain, and submit to Spanish laws and jurisprudence. A third party desired war with Spain and the capture of New-Orleans. A fourth party would prevail on Congress to make a show of preparation for war, and drive the Court of Madrid to yield the trade of New-Orleans and the navigation of the Mississippi. The fifth was for soliciting France to obtain a retrocession of Louisiana, and extend her protection over Kentucky. We think Judge Martin mistaken in some of these conclusions. That there was a party who indulged notions of secession and an independent republic, cannot be doubted; but, if individuals desired to become annexed to Spain, they were so few as not to deserve the name of a party. Of the hundreds of families who settled in Louisiana during the Spanish occupancy, we have been personally acquainted with many, and never found one which, in their expatriation, did not act on the presentiment that the country would soon come under the jurisdiction of the United States.* Those who desired a retrocession to France, supposed the trade and navigation of the river could readily be obtained from that government.

During these commotions, M. Genet arrived in Philadelphia as the accredited minister of the new republic of France. This man had secret instructions to induce the people of the United States to make common cause with the party of the guillotine, and he formed the plan and commenced the work of raising troops for France. Knowing the excitement in the West in relation to the navigation of the Mississippi, he sent four persons westward, in November, 1793, to raise troops and issue commissions in the name of the French republic, to conquer Louisiana. They were so far successful as to seduce the patriotic General G. R. Clark to become a major-general in the armies of France, and commander-in-chief of the revolutionary forces on the Mississippi. By the energy and prudence of Washington, and the patriotic governors of Kentucky and the North-western Territory, this measure was defeated, and Genet's mission was brought to a conclusion in disgrace.

The next movement on the part of the Baron Carondelet was to send Don Manuel Gayoso to New-Madrid, below the

* The aggregate population of Upper Louisiana, at the period of the cession, (1804,) was about 10,120; of whom 3,768 were French, including a few Spanish families; 5,090 were Anglo-Americans, who had immigrated to the country after 1790.—*Annals of the West*, p. 543.

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mouth of the Ohio, to enter into negotiations with certain leading men from Kentucky, supposed to be favorable to a separation of the western states from the Union. In this mission he was associated with Thomas Powers, to whom Carondelet gave written instructions. He also wrote to Benjamin Sebastian, a judge of the Court of Appeals of Kentucky, who had been seduced by Governor Miro, and through him to judges Innis, Nicholas, and Murray. The three last named gentlemen declined co-operation; but Sebastian set out to meet the Spanish Commissioner, Gayoso, and proceeded with him to New-Orleans, and from thence came home by Philadelphia. He was subsequently impeached in Kentucky, and removed from office, and it was proved that he had received a pension from the Spanish government for several years, while holding the office of judge in that state.

Soon after the organization of the federal government under the new constitution, the President opened negotiations through Messrs. Carmichael and Short, the resident ministers at the Court of Madrid. They were instructed specially to negotiate respecting the south-western boundary of the United States, and for the cession of West Florida* and the island of Orleans, "including the city of New-Orleans, and the whole eastern bank of the river to the sea, which were to be obtained at any cost, provided the free navigation of the Mississippi could not be obtained without it."† Thus, from the commencement of Washington's administration, the project of purchasing New-Orleans and eastern Louisiana was entertained.

In the meantime, Spain having become embarrassed with her European wars, and alarmed at hostilities on the part of the western states against Louisiana, gave verbal intimation through her minister at Philadelphia, that negotiations might be successful if an envoy of a high grade was sent to Spain. The president lost no time by delay, and, in November, 1794, nominated Mr. Thomas Pinckney as minister plenipotentiary and envoy extraordinary at the Court of Madrid. Through his agency the treaty of 1795 was obtained, signed on the 20th of October, and ratified by the United States Senate the following March.

This treaty established the southern boundary between the United States and Florida on the thirty-first parallel of north latitude, with the middle of the main channel of the Mississippi for the western boundary, from its source to said parallel of

* West Florida meant the territory of Louisiana, east of the Mississippi, including Pensacola, and excluding the island of Orleans.

† Monette, vol. i., p. 503.

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latitude; and that the whole width of the river, from its source to the sea, should be free to the people of the United States. The king of Spain also stipulated to permit the people of the United States to use the port of New-Orleans as a place of deposit for their produce and merchandise, *for the term of three years.* Each party was to appoint a commissioner and surveyors to run and mark the southern boundary; and the troops and garrisons of each power were to be withdrawn to its own side of the boundary, and the people to be at liberty to retire with all their effects if they desired.

In the meanwhile, the State of Georgia claimed all the territory on her western frontier, extending to the Mississippi River on the west, and to the thirty-first degree of north latitude on the south. This claim embraced the Natchez district, and a large part of the present State of Mississippi, which had been in the boundary granted by Great Britain, in 1783. This was the country which Spain claimed as a part of West Florida, over which she held military jurisdiction for twelve years, and which, in the treaty of Madrid, she had reluctantly agreed to relinquish.

Though commissioners were appointed to run and mark the boundary, the provincial authorities of Louisiana seemed to regard the treaty on the part of Spain as a mere measure of policy, and, by evasion and delay, prevented its immediate execution, and even held the military post of Natchez. It was with much difficulty collision was prevented between the American and Spanish authorities; and it was not until the last of March, 1798, that the Spanish garrison evacuated fort Panmure, at Natchez, and proceeded to Baton Rouge.

Among the incidents deserving note, and which had some influence in alarming Spain for her possessions in Louisiana, was the project of a British invasion of New-Orleans from Canada, in 1797. At that time England was at war with Spain, and Mr. Blount, who had been governor of the "South-western Territory," and then a senator in Congress from Tennessee, proposed to the British authorities to lead an expedition from Canada, by the Illinois River, and take possession of New-Orleans. His correspondence was detected, and transmitted to the President of the United States, who communicated it to Congress. The offence committed was not then provided for by law, but the Senate, by a unanimous vote, expelled him from their body. This enterprise, though abortive, alarmed Spain, and taught her that her means of defence were by no means proportionate to the extent of the country, or the danger to which it was exposed, and, no doubt, contributed to bring about its retrocession to France.

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The cession of Louisiana to Spain, in 1762, was regarded in all the maritime and commercial cities of France as impolitic, and injurious to the interests of navigation in that kingdom; and one of the first objects of Napoleon, when appointed First Consul, was to renew with the Court of Madrid negotiations on that subject. On the first of October, 1800, a secret treaty was concluded at St. Ildephonso, of which we give the third article:

His Catholic Majesty promises and engages to retrocede to the French republic, six months after the full and entire execution of the above conditions and stipulations relative to His Royal Highness the Duke of Parma, the colony or province of Louisiana, with the same extent that it now has in the hands of Spain, and that it had when France possessed it, and such as it ought to be after the treaties subsequently entered into between Spain and other states.*

Another treaty at Madrid, in March, 1801, renewed the stipulations, and the first article contained an account in detail of the conditions on which the cession was made. One of the conditions was, that the reigning Duke of Parma should be put in possession of Tuscany, under the name of the Kingdom of Etruria. The conditions were not all fulfilled at the time specified, and the actual transfer was not made at the time intended. In the retrocession Spain inserted a condition, that should France again be disposed to cede the country, she should have preference. The Spanish government still considered itself master of the province so long as the terms of the cession remained unfulfilled.

In 1802, Don Salcedo was Governor of Louisiana, and Don Morales, Intendant. The latter officer, who possessed the royal prerogative, made proclamation and put an end to the deposit of produce and merchandise in New-Orleans. This measure spread consternation throughout the western states. Complaints and petitions poured into Congress, and the excitement became still more intense as soon as the people learned the news of the cession of Louisiana to France. According to that treaty, the province was to be delivered up to France "in its present state." This "present state," as the people thought, would exclude the Americans from the port of New-Orleans; and such was the feeling, that the tacit consent of the government would have caused an invasion and conquest of New-Orleans. Mr. Jefferson brought the subject before the House of Representatives, in two messages in December, 1802. In one he said, "The cession of the Spanish province of Louisiana to France, which took place in the course of the late war, will, if carried

* Marbois, p. 170.

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into effect, make a change in the aspect of our foreign relations." On the 22d of December, he again said, "that he was aware of the obligation to maintain in all cases the rights of the nation, and to employ for that purpose those just and honorable means which belong to the character of the United States."

At this period Mr. Robert R. Livingston was the minister of the United States at Paris, and, according to instructions from the President, for many months had attempted negotiations for New-Orleans. He did not confine himself to that port alone, but at one time proposed that France should cede so much of upper Louisiana as lay north of Arkansas River. On the 18th of April, 1802, Mr. Jefferson wrote to Mr. Livingston:—

> The cession of Louisiana and the Floridas, by Spain to France, works most sorely to the United States.
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> * * * * * * * * * * * * *
>
> The day that France takes possession of New-Orleans, fixes the sentence which is to restrain her forever within her low-water mark. It seals the union of two nations, who, in conjunction, can maintain exclusive possession of the ocean. From that moment we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation. We must turn all our attention to a maritime force, for which our resources place us on very high ground; and, having formed and connected together a power which may render reinforcement of her settlements here impossible to France, make the first cannon that shall be fired in Europe the signal for tearing up every settlement she may have made, and for holding the two continents of America in sequestration for the common purposes of the United British and American nations. This is not a state of things we desire. It is one which this measure, if adopted by France, forces on us as necessarily as any other cause, by the laws of nature, brings on it necessary effect.*

It was finally determined in cabinet council, that an envoy extraordinary should be sent to Paris to co-operate with Mr. Livingston in negotiating for New-Orleans. No thought was entertained by Mr. Jefferson, or his cabinet, of purchasing the whole province. The President held that the constitution had made "no provision for our holding foreign territory, still less for incorporating foreign nations into our union;" and in the event of obtaining any part of Louisiana by negotiation, he supposed an appeal must be made "to the nation for an additional article to the constitution, approving and confirming an act which the nation had not previously authorized."†

The choice of Mr. Jefferson fell on Colonel James Monroe, and he was nominated to the Senate on the 12th of January, 1803. The general instructions from James Madison, Secre-

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* Correspondence, in Jefferson's Works, vol. iii., p. 492.

† Correspondence of Jefferson with Judge Breckinridge, in "Works," vol. iii, p. 512,

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ry of State to Messrs. Livingston and Monroe, dated March d, propose the purchase of Eastern Louisiana and the Flori-as, including the island and city of New-Orleans.*

On the 12th of April, Mr. Monroe reached Paris, and on ne next day, M. Barbé Marbois, as the commissioner and onfidential agent of the First Consul, held a long discussion rith Mr. Livingston. This gentleman had been for some time member of the Cabinet and minister of the public treasury, nd he held this post during the negotiations for the cession f Louisiana. To him Napoleon confided the whole transac-ion, as the plenipotentiary on the part of the French republic. His pen drew the treaty, and his history, referred to in our in-roduction, and repeatedly quoted in this article, gives us that nsight into the motives of the First Consul, which is to be found nowhere else.

The crisis was an alarming one to France. The Court of St. James had learned the purport of the secret treaty of St. Ildephonso, by which Louisiana had been retroceded to France. The latter government was fitting out its fleet ostensibly for America. His Majesty, George III., became alarmed, and, in quick succession, sent messages to Parliament, and prompt action was taken to fit out the navy. Though nominally at peace, both France and England were preparing for war. Napoleon dreaded the maritime power of England, and said, as Marbois recorded it:

> The principles of a maritime supremacy are subversive of one of the noblest rights that nature, science and genius have secured to man; I mean the right of traversing every sea with as much liberty as the bird flies through the air; or of making use of the waves, winds, climates, and productions of the globe; of bringing near to one another, by a bold navigation, nations that have been separated since the creation; of carrying civilization into regions that are a prey to ignorance and barbarism.†

This is a noble sentiment, the practical realization of which the present period witnesses.

The apprehension was that Louisiana would fall into the possession of Great Britain. The discussions in the French Cabinet continued for several days. Marbois gave cogent reasons for cession. Other members, of whom Talleyrand was one, opposed it. The conversations are given in the history. This discussion occurred while Mr. Monroe was on his way to France, and it was decided by Napoleon to make an offer of the whole province immediately on his arrival, and so he instructed Marbois. The First Consul wanted money, and he foresaw the

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* American State Papers, Foreign Relations, vol. ii., 540—544.
† Marbois, p. 258.

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probability that Louisiana would be taken by a British fleet, and that the sale of the whole country to the United States would add to their national greatness, and make this government a formidable rival of England. At the close of the conference with his counsellors, Napoleon said to Marbois:—

Irresolution and deliberation are no longer in season; I renounce Louisiana. It is not only New-Orleans that I will cede; it is the whole country without reservation. I know the value of what I abandon, and I have sufficiently proved the importance that I attach to this province, since my first diplomatic act with Spain had for its object the recovery of it. I renounce it with the greatest regret. * * * * * *

If I should regulate my terms according to the value of those vast regions to the United States, the indemnity would have no limits. I will be moderate, in consideration of the necessity in which I am of making a sale. But keep this to yourself. I want fifty millions (of francs), and for less than that sum I will not treat; I would rather make a desperate attempt to keep those fine countries.

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Perhaps it will also be objected to me, that the Americans may be found too powerful for Europe in two or three centuries; but my foresight does not embrace such remote fears. Besides, we may hereafter expect rivalries among the members of the Union. The confederations that are called perpetual, only last until one of the contracting parties finds it to its interest to break them; and it is to prevent the danger, to which the colossal power of England exposes us, that I would provide a remedy.

Marbois, the minister, who gives this conversation, made no reply, and the First Consul continued,—

Mr. Monroe is on the point of arriving. To this minister, going two thousand leagues from his constituents, the President must have given, after defining the object of his mission, secret instructions, more extensive than the ostensible authorization of Congress, for the stipulations of the payments to be made. Neither this minister nor his colleague is prepared for a decision which goes infinitely beyond any thing that they ask of us. Begin by making them the overture, without any subterfuge. You will acquaint me from day to day, hour by hour, of your progress. The cabinet of London is informed of the measures adopted at Washington, but it can have no suspicion of those which I am now taking. Observe the greatest secrecy, and recommend it to the American ministers; they have not a less interest than yourself in conforming to this counsel. You will correspond with M. de Talleyrand, who alone knows my intentions.*

On the day of the occurrence of this conversation, the conferences between Messrs. Livingston and Marbois began, but the American minister had not the necessary power to act. He had resided about two years at Paris, and, according to his instructions, the objects were indemnities claimed by American merchants for spoliations on commerce, and the right to New-Orleans as a free port, or the purchase of the island of Orleans

* Marbois, pp. 310, 311.

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and the contiguous territory east of the Mississippi. He received with surprise and distrust the offer of Marbois to cede the whole province; and, after some general discussion, declined offering a larger sum than thirty millions of francs; about five and a half millions of dollars. At this crisis Mr. Monroe arrived at Paris, and as soon as the formalities of an introduction were over, he entered conjointly with Mr. Livingston upon the negotiations. A new era now commenced in diplomatic correspondence. Napoleon had instructed M. Marbois to conduct the negotiation with entire frankness. The plenipotentiaries had been long acquainted. Marbois had been Secretary of Legation, and then Charge d'Affaires in the United States from 1778 to 1785, and had married an American lady of Philadelphia. The affairs of our country and government had been long familiar to him. Mr. Monroe heard with surprise the proposition of Marbois to sell the whole country of Louisiana. This far exceeded the instructions from the President and his cabinet. Instead of the cession of New-Orleans and the contiguous territory to secure the free navigation of the Mississippi, a vast portion of North America was offered, the boundaries of which were ill defined, and on the northwest extended, probably, to the Pacific Ocean. There was no time for the American ministers to apply to their government for more ample instructions. They were compelled, from the circumstances in which they were placed, to take the responsibility of immediate action. To defer the negotiation would make Louisiana a colony of England, for the British government, determined on war with France, had a fleet then ready to cross the ocean and take possession of New-Orleans. When the English ministry became informed of the special mission of Mr. Monroe to France and its object, the proposition was confidentially made to Mr. King, the American Minister at the Court of St. James, to undertake the conquest of Louisiana, with the concurrence of the United States, and retrocede it to that government as soon as peace should be made with France. But the British ministry had no knowledge of the nature or the extent of the negotiations with Paris. The historian of the treaty says:—

As soon as the negotiation was entered on, the American ministers declared they were ready to treat on the footing of the cession of the entire colony; and they did not hesitate to take on themselves the responsibility of going beyond the sum which they had been authorized to offer. The draft of the principal treaty was communicated to them. They had prepared another, but consented to adopt, provisionally, as the basis of their conferences, that of the French negotiator, and they easily agreed on the declaration contained in the first article:—'The colony or province of Louisiana is ceded by France to the United States, with all its rights and appurtenances, as fully and in the same manner as they have been acquired

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by the French Republic, by virtue of the third article of the treaty concluded with His Catholic Majesty at St. Ildephonso, on the first of October, 1800.

The negotiations being finished, the treaty for the purchase of Louisiana was completed on the 30th of April, and the documents signed on the 3d of May. It was forwarded to Washington with as much dispatch as possible, where it arrived early in July. Marbois records:—

A sentiment, superior even to glory, seemed to animate the three ministers, and never, perhaps, did negotiators taste purer joy. As soon as they had signed the treaties, they arose and shook hands, when Livingston, expressing the general satisfaction, said:—"We have lived long, but this is the noblest work of our whole lives. The treaty which we have just signed has not been obtained by art or dictated by force; equally advantageous to the two contracting parties, it will change vast solitudes into flourishing districts. From this day the United States take their place among the powers of the first rank; the English lose all exclusive influence in the affairs of America. Thus, one of the principal causes of European rivalries and animosities is about to cease. However, if wars are inevitable, France will hereafter have, in the new world, a natural friend, that may increase in strength from year to year, and one which cannot fail to become powerful and respected in every sea. The United States will re-establish the maritime rights of all the world, which are now usurped by a single nation. These treaties will thus be a guarantee of peace and concord among commercial states. The instruments which we have just signed will cause no tears to be shed; they will prepare ages of happiness for innumerable generations of human creatures. The Mississippi and Missouri will see them succeed one another and multiply, truly worthy of the regard and care of Providence, in the bosom of equality, under just laws, freed from the errors of superstition and the scourges of bad governments.*

The following words, addressed to Marbois, gives us the reflections of Napoleon on the consummation of the treaty.

This accession of territory strengthens forever the power of the United States; and I have just given to England a maritime rival, that will sooner or later humble her pride.†

The treaty met with violent opposition from a portion of the party opposed to the administration of Mr. Jefferson, and they rallied in an attempt to defeat it. The President and the plenipotentiaries were assailed in the public journals, and, as usual under high party excitement, extravagant tales were told on both sides. We well recollect the party virulence, slanders and misrepresentations poured out from the village newspapers on the one side, and the mode of defence equally reprehensible adopted on the other. The Federalists, who opposed the treaty, imputed to France a disgraceful deception; that there was a secret concert, some deep laid scheme, to bring

* Marbois, pp. 310, 311. † Ibid, p. 312.

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the United States into an alliance, offensive and defensive, with France; that Spain was controlled by that government; and they affirmed that England was the bulwark of our liberty and religion. The pulpit was set in hostile array against the administration and the acquisition of Louisiana. At least such was the position taken by the "standing order" of New England, with few exceptions. The discourses on fast and thanksgiving days, teemed with notes of alarm at the ruin impending over the nation. The idea of purchasing Louisiana, was perverted into that of selling the United States to France.*

Amidst a series of complicated embarrassments, Mr. Jefferson convened congress, which met on the 17th of October, and laid the treaties (for there were three separate documents) with all the correspondence, before the Senate.† Both the nature of the contract, and the magnitude of the sum, opened a wide field of debate. The contract was for sixty millions of francs, ($11,000,000) in United States stock, to be sold in Europe, and twenty millions of francs, additional, to be paid by the government to our merchants for maritime spoliations.

The opposers of the treaty contended, that Congress had no power to annex, by treaty, new territory to the confederacy, as that right could only belong to the people of the United States; and that additional territory was not wanted, and its acquisition would prove disastrous to the country. But after a free debate, the Senate ratified the treaty on the 20th, by a vote of twenty-four to seven, and the president gave his approval the next day. The necessity of prompt action, compelled Mr. Jefferson to waive his constitutional scruples to the acquisition of foreign territory.

To the Hon. Levi Lincoln, of Massachusetts, he wrote from Monticello, August 30th, 1803:—

> On further consideration, as to the amendment to the constitution respecting Louisiana, I have thought it better, instead of enumerating the powers which congress may exercise, to give them the same powers they have to other portions of the Union generally.‡

All the documents were communicated to the House of Representatives, and after a short debate, the law to create the

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* We have several old sermons among our files of literary and religious curiosities, sustaining the accuracy of our memory, and illustrating the "spirit of that age." At that time Baptists, Methodists, and Episcopalians were unaccustomed to such topics of pulpit ministrations, but were, with few exceptions, friends to the existing administration.

† The reader will find these documents in the American State Papers, Foreign Relations, vol. ii, from pp. 506 to 583. The treaty, with other papers, is in Marbois' History, Appendix, pp. 403--422.

‡ Works, vol. iv., p. 1.

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stock and make the appropriations to carry into effect the treaty, was enacted.

The war between England and France commenced on the 22d of May, 1803, by the capture of some French merchant vessels; and on the same day Napoleon gave his signature to the ratification of the treaty of cession, without waiting for that of the United States. This was done to prevent England from making any attempt towards the conquest of the province, for from that date it belonged to the United States.

The next step was to make the formal and regular transfer from Spain to France, and from France to the United States; for the secret treaty of St. Ildephonso had not been carried into effect in Louisiana. And now another difficulty arose with Spain. The Marquis de la Casa Yrujo was the Spanish minister to the United States, and, in accordance with orders received from Madrid, he made a solemn protest against the ratification of the treaty, alleging that France had not fulfilled its contract with Spain. The objection was finally waived, and arrangements were made for the transfer. M. Laussat was the accredited plenipotentiary of the French republic, and on the 30th of November, he met the Spanish commissioners in the council chamber of New-Orleans, received in due form the keys of the city, and issued his proclamation to the people of Louisiana, informing them of the retrocession of the province to France, and by that government to the United States. At a signal given by the firing of cannon, the Spanish flag was lowered, and that of France raised. The French sovereignty lasted only twenty days, during which M. Laussat, as governor general, provided for the administration of justice only in summary and urgent cases.

General James Wilkinson, having command of the United States' troops, to which were attached several companies of volunteers and militia, on the 19th of December established his camp a short distance above New-Orleans; at the same time the Spanish troops embarked and sailed for Havana. On the 20th, discharges of artillery from the forts and shipping announced the farewell of the French officers. M. Laussat, with a numerous retinue, met General Wilkinson and Governor Claiborne, the American commissioners, in the City Hall, where he received them in due form. The treaty of cession, the respective powers of the commissioners, and the certificate of exchange of ratifications, were read. M. Laussat then pronounced these words:—

In conformity with the treaty, I put the United States in possession of Louisiana and its dependencies. The citizens and inhabitants who wish to

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remain here and obey the laws, are, from this moment, exonerated from the oath of fidelity to the French republic.

Mr. Claiborne, who was governor of the territory of Mississippi, on commencing the exercise of the powers of governor-general and intendant of the province of Louisiana, delivered a congratulary address to the people. The ceremony was closed with the exchange of flags, which was done by lowering the one and raising the other. When they met mid-way, they were held stationary a moment, while the artillery and trumpets celebrated the union. The American flag then rose to its full height, and while it floated in the air, the Americans present expressed their joy in a tremendous shout.*

The American government went into operation quietly, and the French and Spanish population soon became accustomed to the new order of things; and now, after a lapse of forty-eight years, no distinction appears except in family names. Thus in a persevering effort to gain the free navigation of the Mississippi, and the port of New-Orleans, by a series of unexpected providences, the United States gained the immense territories of Louisiana, and extended the boundaries of the rising nation to the Pacific Ocean.

The formal transfer of Upper Louisiana took place at St. Louis, on March 10th, 1804. Major Amos Stoddard, then a captain in the artillery service of the United States, and author of the valuable "Sketches" noticed at the head of this article, was constituted the agent of the French republic, for receiving from the Spanish authorities the possession of the province of Upper Louisiana. Mr. Primm says,

> When the transfer was completely effected—when, in the presence of the assembled population, the flag of the United States had replaced that of Spain—the tears and lamentations of the ancient inhabitants proved how much they were attached to the old government, and how much they dreaded the change which the treaty of cession had brought them.†

The "ancient inhabitants" were. however, entirely submissive to the new authority and its administration.

We have room only for a few statistics, showing the population, trade, resources and expenses of the colony near the period of its transfer.

In 1785, the census was taken by order of governor Galvez:

Population of *Lower Louisiana*, - - - - -	27,046
Upper Louisiana, District of St. Genevieve, - -	594
" " District of St. Louis, - - -	897
West Florida, - - - - - - - - -	3,477
of which the District of Natchez had 1,550. Grand total, ———	32,014

* Marbois, pp. 332—335.

† Discourse at the Celebration of St. Louis, February 15th, 1847.

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The number of white persons was - - - - - -	14,217
Free colored persons, - - - - - - - -	1,203
Slaves, - - - - - - - - - - - -	16,594

The expenses of the province for one year, civil, military, and ecclesiastical, were $537,285; of which sum $7,470 was the government pay to the church.

The United States' Consul at New-Orleans, from the best documents he could procure, exhibits the following result:

City of New-Orleans, - - - - - - - - -	8,056
From the Balize to the City, - - - - - -	2,388
All other parts of Louisiana below Arkansas, - -	33,311
Major Stoddard obtained the census of Upper Louisiana with as much accuracy as possible, for 1803. The aggregate population was about - - - - - -	10,120
Of this population, 3,760 were French, (including a few Spanish families;) 5,090 were Anglo-Americans, who had immigrated to the country after 1790; and 1,270 colored people, mostly slaves.	
Total population in the whole province, - -	53,875

At that period St. Louis contained about one hundred and eighty houses, which, as Major Stoddard calculates, allowing six persons to each house, would make the population one thousand and eighty.

The revenue of the government from various sources, including special funds, in 1802, amounted to - - - - - -	$843,043
Expenditures, - - - - - - - - - - - -	706,374
Balance in the Treasury, - - - - -	$136,669

Besides these expenditures, there were various salaries and other expenses, ordinary and extraordinary, amounting to $411,271.

The annual revenues of the city of New-Orleans were $19,278. The expenditures were about the same.

The annual products of the lower province consisted of 3,000 lbs. indigo, (rapidly declining;) 20,000 bales of cotton, at 300 lbs. each; 5,000 hhds. of sugar of 1,000 lbs. each; 5,000 casks of molasses, of 50 gals. each.

In the year 1802, 256 vessels of all descriptions entered the port of New-Orleans, of which 170 were American, 97 Spanish, and one French.

The estimated amount of produce shipped from New-Orleans in 1802, was forty thousand tons.

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Art. VI.—THE ULTIMATE SUPREMACY OF THE KINGDOM OF REDEMPTION.

The great work appointed to the Church of Christ here upon the earth, is the work of missions, in the service of the kingdom of redemption. This is kept before it, both by the prophecies of the past, and by the hopes of the future. It is a work whose importance and necessity no one can doubt, who does not doubt about the stability of the divine revelation. It is a work which calls for faith; even for that faith which overcometh the world, for to overcome the world is the work itself. And it is a faith which rests ultimately in the sure word of God, though it may receive exaltation and inspiration from other sources also. It may be heightened by the very vision of the city of the Great King, telling the towers thereof, marking her bulwarks, and considering her palaces. It may be animated by seeing how God has been in the midst of her that she should not be moved, known there as a refuge and a defence. It may be enlarged by the spectacle which history presents, that He has indeed caused his people to ride upon the high places of the earth, attending them with signs and with wonders. It may be made more living and active, when we read in the present providence of God his continued faithfulness to all his promises, as seen in the actual position of his church, in respect to the work it is appointed to accomplish.

The special subject which we propose to consider in the following article is this: Some of the subordinate grounds of our conviction, that the kingdom of Christ, the kingdom of redemption, is to be triumphant and supreme in the history of the human race. We say the *subordinate* grounds, for the first and last reason is, that the Lord hath so declared; only as we rest in Him, with a living belief, will all doubt cease, and intellectual conviction be enlivened by that faith whose vision is ever upward, and whose course is ever onward.

1. And the first of these subordinate arguments we derive from the very nature of the kingdom of Redemption. We believe that it will ultimately prevail, because it is so comprehensive and complete as a system.

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* This article was originally prepared as an address before a missionary association, in one of our colleges. It is here presented with slight, chiefly verbal, alterations.

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There is contained in the very nature of some things an augury of their final success. Some men have an inherent energy; they are born to command, and neither friends nor foes can keep them from their eminence. We cannot help believing that the best system is inherently mightier than a partial scheme. The higher has a native supremacy over the lower, and the highest over all. Days and years may be given to falsehood, but the truth will shape the centuries unto itself. Our rational nature leads us to rest in great truths, as we trust our bodies securely to the solid earth. Thus it is, even in the sphere of mere intellectual truth; and this same confidence is only heightened when we come to the domain of moral truth. The very necessities of our moral nature compel us to believe in the final supremacy of moral truth and moral laws. What is just and right must be, though unrighteousness be propped by all the buttresses of custom, and guarded by all the vigilance of selfishness. The most imposing system, even of abstract speculation, will die out before the incessant and imperative energy of moral principles, if it sets itself in opposition to them. No speculative system can long retain its influence, if, in its principles or inferences, it contravenes the dictates of man's moral nature. Moral laws are always urgent and always at work: what is highest in morals is not only supreme over what is lower in morals, but also over what may seem highest in intellect, if that be inconsistent with it.

And, going on in the same line, we say, still further, that supreme over both merely intellectual and merely moral truth, must be the principles and laws of that spiritual kingdom, of which Christ is the centre, whose realities are disclosed to us, not by nature, but by revelation. This has not merely a natural, but also a supernatural right to ultimate authority. Over all speculative, and over all ethical principles, which set themselves in opposition, the laws of such a spiritual kingdom must, from the nature of the case, attain ultimate control; although, from the nature of the case, this kingdom will attain this preeminence and vindicate its authority, not by annulling anything that is true to reason, nor by denying anything that is true in ethics, but by bringing all speculative and all moral truth into subordination to its more comprehensive principles, meeting wants which the intellect cannot satisfy, and solving problems for which bare ethics have no answer.

And this we take to be the real position of the truths that centre in the kingdom of Redemption. Here we find, in an absolute sense, the highest conceivable system of truth. The proudest system of philosophy cannot compete with this kingdom in completeness, in universality, and in possible efficiency.

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t is in its comprehensiveness that we see its essential grandeur, nd its fitness to universal dominion.

For, what is the work of Redemption? In what does it ssentially consist? In a restricted sense, this work may be onsidered as already completed in what Jesus Christ has done nd suffered for the human race. But in the wider, and equally egitimate sense, in which we here use the phrase, it consists n this,—the re-establishment, in a perpetual kingdom, begun ere and perfected hereafter, of that union between God and his creatures which was severed by the apostacy of our race. All religion involves the idea of a union between God and his creatures; the religion of redemption contemplates a restoration after a rupture, and, of course, it includes all the truths, influences and aims which are necessary to such a restitution, and is thus the most comprehensive and the highest possible system of truth.

That this is not an empty boast will appear, we suppose, from a consideration of the appropriate tests of the highest system of truth for the human race.

If any system tells us the highest truths upon the highest subjects; reveals the reconciling truths upon the most difficult subjects; is adapted to all, and especially to the permanent wants of man, holds out at the same time the highest and noblest ends before him, and has in itself living energies, which can apply these truths to these wants and for these ends; such a system may fairly be claimed as the highest conceivable system of truth.

And now, is this, or is this not, a fair account of the system of Redemption?

Does it contain the highest truths upon the highest subjects? It being a redemptive system, God is concerned in it, and therefore all the truths respecting God, whether made known by nature or by revelation, are embraced within this system. In redemption man is also vitally interested, and therefore all the truths respecting man, his nature, moral state and destiny, must be comprised within this system. God and man are both concerned in redemption, and, therefore, all the truths involved in the relations between God and man, whether natural, moral, or spiritual, must be included in this system. It is a redemption from *sin*, and hence comprises the knowledge of the law; it is a *redemption* from sin, and so includes the knowledge of grace; it is a redemption that comes through Jesus Christ, who fulfilled the law and made grace to abound; and to know Him is to know humanity and divinity united, and law and grace harmonized; is to be familiar with the grand truths of the Incarnation and the Atonement. The

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work of redemption in its progressive course and fullest reality, is the carrying out of what centres in the person of our Lord. It is a redemption which looks forward even to the consummation of all things; to the time when all the enemies of Christ shall be subdued, and all his redeemed ones made perfect; to the new heavens and the new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness; and the whole immeasurable extent and possible felicity of human destiny, are thus a necessary part of the kingdom of redemption. And hence, it is a system which comprises the grandest and most comprehensive elements, the essential things in respect to God and man; it contains the highest truths upon the highest subjects.

Equally, also, does it contain the reconciling truths upon the most difficult subjects; this is essential to it as a redemptive system, and it is another sign of its supremacy. The most difficult problems of investigation are those which arise in the attempt at reconciling truths and principles which seem to the superficial view to be at variance. It is easy to construct a system with one idea; it is more difficult to appreciate a system which embraces, apparently, antagonistic truths, and harmonizes them with each other. It is one of the glories of the system of redemption, that it is a grand reconciling system of truth; for it is neither a system of pure law, nor yet a system of bare grace: but, containing the essentials of both, it is more than both, a system of reconciliation, of atonement, in which the law is honored, while grace abounds. It is neither exclusively divine, nor exclusively human, but it is a system which centres in an Incarnation, where both humanity and divinity are united. Neither is it a system of sovereignty alone, nor yet a system of freedom alone, but both are essential to it; and they are so combined, that when under the full influence of the Holy Spirit, man realizes his highest moral freedom. Neither is the Deity kept abstract and remote from his works as in pure deism, and still less is he confounded with his works, as in the pantheistic fable; but God is set forth, as both transcendent above and immanent in all his works, sufficient unto himself, but ever living and present, especially in the economy of his grace. It is not a system which has to do with this world alone, nor yet one which has to do only with the future, for it is begun here and perfected in the new heavens and the new earth. It looks not to the body alone; it looks not to the spirit alone; there is a resurrection as well as a regeneration: in the spiritual world we are still to be clothed upon. It is not a system of contemplation only, nor one that is merely practical, but its highest contemplations are the most practical and living of truths. It does not demand

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faith to the exclusion of reason, it does not satisfy reason so that the necessity of faith is excluded; it unites the two in hymeneal bonds, so that faith reveals to reason the reconciling truths which reason alone could never have divined. And thus it is a reconciling system, from the nature of the case—the highest possible of systems, bringing together and harmonizing principles elsewhere only left in conflict. And one of the chief sources of intellectual objections to it is, that they are made from a partial view of its nature; that they are made by those who single out for attack some one of its comprehensive truths, as if that were the whole of it, not seeing how the system itself in other parts replies to the objection. To such attacks a grand reconciling system will ever be exposed.

And while it thus contains the highest truths about the highest subjects, and the reconciling truths upon the most difficult subjects, it is also a system adapted to all, and especially to the permanent wants of man. A system of sensualism may meet the wants of a mere sensualist; an abstract scheme may suit, for a time, the lover of speculation; a system of pure ethics satisfies our moral sense; but only a redemptive system is adapted to the wants of man, as sinful and immortal. We are so accustomed to it, that we hardly suspect how powerfully it acts upon us; how many virtually rely upon it, even while repelling it; how they borrow from it, even while opposing it; and how, if it were not here, we should feel the vacancy, and call, as men always have done, for "voices from the void deep-sounding," to "seize the enthusiastic ear." How adapted it is to human nature! You may come to a child with the story of the life and death of the blessed Saviour, and to a sage with the truths of the incarnation and the atonement, that centre in that life and that death. No truths, excepting the simplest moral precepts, have been spread so wide and shown such efficiency among all in every clime, as the truths which centre in the person of our Lord. It is also a kingdom adapted to enter into all our social relations, giving them stability and beauty. It has purified and elevated the family, the community, and the state. A Christian family, a Christian community, a Christian state: these are the real ideals of the human race. There is no part of human nature, and of human life, in which sin reigns, which the Christian system is not adapted to renovate and to purify. There is no enlightenment of the intellect, no legitimate sphere of inquisitive research, no progress in culture, no grace of life, which, to the eye of him who contemplates redemption aright, is not seen, not only to be harmonious with it, but also to be demanded by it. And not to such relations alone is it fitted.

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How persuasively an incarnate God appeals to all that is in our souls, even our sense of sin and of misery, and awakens the slumbering desire of salvation! How the cross of Christ speaks to us, telling us of our guilt, our doom, our pardon, our redemption! What has so moved men, and touched the deepest fountains of the human soul, as the thought of redeeming love? What has given men victory over the world, if it be not faith in Jesus Christ? And only a system which has both law and grace, both the incarnation and the atonement, both the promise of the life which now is and of that which is to come, can meet all, and especially the permanent wants of man, and gather to itself all the nations of the earth.

And in the great ends which this kingdom holds out before the human race, it is as unrivalled as it is in its adaptation to human wants. A revealed, redemptive system has here an unapproachable and solitary grandeur. Any system which takes its departure from man alone, and finds its principles only in human nature or human society, must always leave the immensity of eternity a blank to our vision; it can but draw a decent veil over the place of our sepulchres, or, at the very best, people the future with shadowy forms. Why was the world, why was the race made, whither tending, what the end of this ceaseless tide, ever pressing onward, and knowing not an ebb in all its course? What is there in that boundless eternity, which is still ever, ever before us? Were we made, and all men, only to live and die, and be no more? Was this world fitted up with such rare skill, and clothed upon with such divine beauty, only to be a place of sepulture for rational beings? Are human rights and welfare, bodily comforts, society, art, human government, and a knowing something about nature and nature's laws—are these all, all? Is this the end? Why then were we ever, ever made? This grand, solemn question is an unanswered question—unanswered for rational, moral, immortal sinful beings, unless the answer be found in the system of redemption.

And there it is answered. And suppose that answer were only given as a speculation by some wise, precasting man—that besides this world there was another, a blessed abode, filled with the light of the divine glory, for which some spiritual influence might prepare us, delivering us from guilt and condemnation, and allying us with God and all holy beings forever;—suppose all this were only a speculation, what man, who really felt the pressure of the inquiry, would not say—would that all this were true and real! it meets my inmost need!

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only it is too glad and glorious a vision for the sons of a sinful race to dare look forward unto!

And yet,—this is what is *revealed* to us as the end of our being, if we will but receive it in the gospel of the grace of God. This is what the system of redemption proposes as the possible end for each one and for all, to whom its glad tidings are proclaimed; an end in which the highest glory of God and the highest happiness of man may both concur. That end which human thought in its largest reach only sees as an ideal, that end to which the deepest human wants, both for this world and for another, are ever tending, is the very one which is held up in the kingdom of God as a sublime reality. And when from the greatness of the end we reason back to the grandeur of the system, then here, too, do we find a confirmation of our general position.

For thus, from the very nature of the system of redemption, as comprising the highest truths upon the highest subjects; as revealing the reconciling truths upon the most difficult subjects; as adapted to all the wants of man, and as holding out the highest and noblest ends before him, we infer the supremacy of it as a system,—especially when we add that it is not a mere system, but is also a kingdom,—not a set of abstract truths, but a real, extant economy, one in which all the truths are expressive of facts, and all the facts are living truths and spiritual powers; a kingdom which the Father, Son and Spirit, fill with their living presence, the beginning and the end of all. These are its living energies, by which all the truths of this kingdom are applied to all the wants of man, for the sake of bringing about the highest and most blessed ends.

And such a system, we say, has in its very nature, bears upon its imperial front, the insignia of final triumph. For the triumph of that system is only the triumph of what is itself highest and best.

We accustom ourselves to take too low and unscriptural views of the system of redemption. We limit it to our direct relation to God, instead of viewing it as including all the ways of God. We restrain it by the shibboleths of sects, and so lose the benefit of its catholicity. We see it through the eyes of some man, instead of reading its unveiled face in Scripture. We put it in opposition to science and philosophy, as if the God of nature and of grace were not the same; as if reason and revelation must not be harmonious. Some, for its sake, inveigh against all art, as if He who awakens our sense of beauty by his visible creation, would not have his creatures delight in all forms of beauty; and as if the historic canvas ought not to perpetuate the exploits of the saints and heroes of our earth. Others even invoke its aid against the de-

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mands of human freedom and rights, contributing to the idea already diffused with fatal venom, that popular rights and Christianity are at war with each other, forgetting the lessons of our own history, and unconscious of the providence of God. Some make all its truths course in the arid channels of formulas, which have lost their original definiteness, unmindful of that perpetually renovating power, which, as the race grows, changes the form, that the essence may be kept alive. And others still, by a yet more fatal blindness—some even, who are Protestants, according to the flesh, seem to imagine that the whole of authenticated grace has been enclosed within the purlieus of their sectarian catholicity; that the whole kingdom of God has been made to run within the narrow lines of a circumspect succession!

For such narrow and partial conceptions, which strive to identify the kingdom of God with the passions and parties of the hour, with a deficiency in science, philanthropy, and general culture; with arbitrary and mechanical conceptions of the course of divine grace; it is not the kingdom of God in Christ which is responsible. This is grander and wiser; it has borne better fruits, and fruits of the most varied character. It has proved its living power by its exhaustless fertility.

The life which at first is pent up in the heart of the seed, diffuses itself through its appointed forms into all parts of the tree, sustaining its strength and ministering to its glory. It is this same central life which gives its sturdiness to the heart of the tree, and its stateliness to its massive skeleton of trunk and of branches. It is the same life which stands revealed in the whole sweeping outline, as well as in the delicate tracery of the lines of grace and beauty that form the leaf without and within; it becomes conspicuous in the hues and lustre of the flowers; it is tasted in the richness of the ripened fruit. And he were but a botanist of meagre science, who, in studying its growth and transformations, should identify that life with excrescences on the limbs, or with the rigid loppings of some inexpert gardener. And that life which came down from heaven to be the life of the world,—which was as the mustard seed, and has become as the great tree,—which has its massive trunk and innumerable branches stretching along, identical with the growth of the nations,—which has borne its flowers in music, in painting, and in architecture, and whose ripened fruit has been the daily spiritual nutriment of thousands upon thousands, and which has all along made the fullest proof of its infinite fullness and variety; shall we, can we, in our rational and really Christian moments, identify it with anything that is provincial, narrow, and sectarian? Is not the kingdom of God something higher, better, and wiser?

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and if it were not, would it not lose one of the chief grounds on which we make the chief augury of its triumphant and supreme dominion?

Because it is so comprehensive and complete in its nature, we may infer that it will ultimately prevail. This was the first of the subordinate arguments for its triumph, which we proposed to consider. The very nature of the kingdom of redemption is such as to beget the confidence that it will endure and conquer.

2. Another source of argument, to sustain the same confidence in the success of the system of Redemption, may be legitimately derived from the actual historic progress of the gospel, as well as from its nature. Clouds do indeed hang over all history, and over the future they may seem impenetrable; but the light which made to itself a pathway through the thickness of the darkness of the past, may well be trusted in to disperse the already broken masses of the veil which is before us. If past infidelity has vainly tried to subvert the foundations of the church; if the Romanism of the middle ages could not hold it in its stern embrace; if it has grown in spite of, and even by means of the feuds of sects,—what rational fear is there for the future?

And this, at least, may be said on historic grounds; that if there be any such thing as understanding human history; if there be any real philosophy of history, based upon induction from its incontestable facts, this can only be found in what converges upon and diverges from the kingdom of God. If history be not an insoluble enigma, here is where the solution of the enigma is to be sought out. The history of the race is one of the grandest arguments for Christianity, to him who looks upon it with a large and open vision. We see not how any man, who thinks that this world is all, and that men have no real spiritual and religious interests, can read the records of his species without being confounded thereby. To talk about the theological era being the infancy of the race, and the era of positive materialistic philosophy being its aspiration and culmination, is to assume the tone of a prophet, ignoring both the past and the present. It is simply to *assume* that all spiritual truth, about which men have thought most profoundly, and for which they have lived most devoutly, is but the fantastic creation of a youthful imagination. It is to be positive in dogmatism, as well as positive in materialism. It is to be dogmatic against, at least, half the facts of human history, and to beg the whole question. The Christian philosophy of history is the only philosophy which is not dogmatic and narrow, and which proceeds on the true inductive principle of getting

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first at all the facts and principles, and then making the legitimate inferences from them.

Our limits of course forbid our entering into the philosophy of human history, any farther than to state the most general grounds for the inference we would derive from it. Not all that has been will be, but that will probably continue to be, that will probably triumph in the end which has been victorious in the past, provided it has sufficient resources, and provided the general circumstances of its action remain the same. Kingdoms have indeed risen to a great height and then fallen, and this has ever been the law with them. But why have they fallen? and can an analogy be drawn from any of them, as to the probable waning of the kingdom of Christ? All the reasons we know for their downfall, are also reasons against the application of the analogy. States have fallen, because they have been unfaithful to the principles on which they were established, or because men have outgrown these principles. Greece fell, because the ideas of democracy and of visible beauty could not satisfy mankind, but, being unchecked, caused a relapse into vice. Rome fell, because the idea of a temporal, imperial, universal power, is as monstrous as it is gigantic. Modern monarchies reel and totter, because more is the general good than is the good even of hereditary authority. Nations and kingdoms have fallen, because they have been unjust, and because their foundations have been built upon what is material, and have had no spiritual props.

But, besides these dying nationalities, there has been also in the world another kingdom, which has grown with the growth of all modern states, and with their downfall has grown also. From their very ruins it has taken the materials to build its own walls more firm. It began with what men are wont to esteem the most insignificant of influences. A few apostles from a despised nation went forth into a world given over to sense and to idolatry, and announced the advent of a new kingdom, and men in countless numbers came and bowed before the tidings. The natural yielded to the supernatural. They proclaimed that the kingdoms of this world were to become the kingdom of our Lord, and this prophecy, so daring and so visionary, has been in a course of constant fulfilment even until now. Not one nation then having an historic influence now remains, but that kingdom continues wide-spread and more influential with each revolving century. It, too, has changed in its external politics, putting itself with consummate generalship, now into the form of dispersed communities, moving easily among despotic states; again, into a solid phalanx, that it might present a compact

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resistance to imperial encroachments; or, again, into various battalions, to meet its various enemies at all points;—thus, whatever other inference we may draw, warranting a conclusion as to the ceaseless energy and immense fertility and spiritual might of a kingdom which has preserved its essential identity under such varieties of external organization. In its historical course it has subdued, one after another, the nations to itself, in a geographic career, from the Asiatic Orient to the European Occident; from the southern banks of Europe to its northern shores; and from the Occident of the old world to the Occident of the new; and in the new, from its eastern to its western ocean. The old Roman Empire in the East bears witness to the might of this kingdom, for the old Roman Empire of the East yielded to its sway ere it corrupted it by its effeminacy. The old Roman Empire of the West testifies to the might of this kingdom; for, in the old Roman Empire of the West, the "successor of the apostles" sat upon the throne of the Cæsars. The revived imperial power in Northern Europe in the middle ages, testifies to the might of this kingdom, for it was both founded upon it, and in vain did it do battle against it. This kingdom has been at the very basis of the greatness and energy of the nations of Middle and Northern Europe; it has had its hearth in the British isles; it has eulogized and blessed our Western shores. It reformed the whole civilization of the old world, it moulded the civilization of the modern world; it constitutes the civilization of the new world, and it has given all the civilization they have to the uncivilized tribes that skirt these all around. There is no such consent of nations, kingdoms and tongues, to any other moral, social and religious influence, as there is to the might and right of Christianity.

And in its course it has also been obstructed by foes as mighty and subtle as we can suppose will ever strive to thwart its purposes. "It is, indeed," said Beza to the king of Navarre, "the province of the church to suffer blows, not to strike them; but may it please your majesty to recollect that the church is an anvil which has worn out many a hammer." And what weapon formed against her has prospered? What the hatred of the stern Jew could not crush in its infancy, what the whole civil Roman power could only bless by its persecutions, what the Greek and Eclectic philosophies could not surpass in speculation, what could disenthrall itself from the spiritual despotism of the superincumbent hierarchy of the middle ages, what a materialistic philosphy coped with only to be routed, what the natural sciences have been obliged to flee from, taking refuge in pantheism, and before which a pan-

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theistic philosophy, the subtlest the human mind ever devised, has been compelled to retreat, taking refuge again in materialism, and disowning the spirituality of which at first it boasted:—a kingdom, which has met such enemies face to face in its onward course and still has kept onward;—it need not surely fear what man can do unto it, even though it be again more subtly assailed by a system which shall combine the essentials of pantheism with the seduction of materialism, and ally itself with an extreme democracy, and make the re-organization of society in its natural aspects and relations alone to be the sum and substance of human destiny. That system which has thriven in spite of despotism, and thriven in spite of internal corruption, and thriven in spite of deism, materialism and pantheism, may be pronounced able to thrive in spite of these new tactics of its enemies, and to thrive in the only way it can against such a foe, and that is, by showing that right, justice and benevolence are not only its heritage, were not only first fully brought into the affairs of men through its influence, but are also essential principles of its present action. And to say nothing of that divine power which is pledged to it, the inherent superiority of a system which embraces the spiritual as well as the temporal interests of the race, contains an augury of its final victory. For that which is the very blossom and fruit of all human utopias is but a subordinate scene, an initial act in the sublime unfolding of the kingdom of God.

If, then, anything true and real can be learned from human history; if permanence, and permanence in spite of obstacles; if victory, and victory over the mightiest foes; if a proved adaptation to all circumstances and principles, reaching beyond all outward circumstances and changes, can give any assurance of divine vitality and of ultimate success in that which thus lives, endures and conquers, then is it a rational influence, from the historic source of argument also, that the kingdom of God will be triumphant and supreme in the history of the human race. And though all the resources of its enemies be combined together in one grand attempt at an independent and complete system, yet, being all combined, victory here is victory everywhere.

3. And the argument thus derivable from the actual progress and victories of the kingdom of God, may be still further confirmed by considering the special mode of that progress, and the position which the church of Christ now occupies in the affairs of the world, in consequence of the speciality in its mode of progress.

This is an independent ground of inference. If a general would circumvent his enemies, more skill is needed to ad-

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vance aright, than merely to advance. Fortresses left in the rear, manned by foes, will perpetually harass him, and the farther he advances, the more dangerous becomes his position. And when the conflict itself comes, we look not at numbers alone, but at position—at the wise selection of the field—at the arrangement of the troops. Waterloo was seen and known, by the victorious general, years before the battle. The plan of the late Mexican campaign is said to have been all arranged before an army touched its shores.

And such, we say, has been the mode of the progress of the kingdom of God, and such is its present position, that we may confide in it for the future. It is to redeem, and to redeem by conflicts, and it has come to a position in which it is prepared for the conflicts.

That this is so, might appear in part from the peculiarities of its internal growth in the knowledge of the substance and essential truths of the divine revelation. All the great truths of that revelation have been, so to speak, reproduced in the life and thought of the church from age to age. They have been successively discussed, and have thus entered, as they only could do, through thorough discussion, into the thoughts of the race as living nutriment. And we receive the heritage of these long strifes, in a wider and purer knowledge of the gospel, and are thus better taught how to distinguish between what is essential and what is non-essential, and are thus prepared to place foremost, in the very front of the contest, the grand and central facts of the Christian system. And most striking is it here to note, how the stress of controversy has gone back from the external forms to the spiritual principles—from the bare letter to the essence of the Bible—from the abstract formulas to the living truths themselves; in short, how men have been driven back and back, or rather carried forward and forward, rallying, finally, around Christ the Head, and contending most earnestly for the truths that are realized in his sacred Person; for it is around him, and near him, and for him, that the battle is to be waged; here, as has been well said, "is the only place where all is to be won, or all lost."

No less significant is also the fact, that the progress of the kingdom of God has been marked by an increased knowledge of its real nature as a spiritual kingdom, and a growing reliance upon its intrinsic power, which needs not the despotism of any state or church to hold it up. How long the conflict before this point was reached! And how full of healthful augury wherever it has been reached! How timid is all Europe still at the thought of severing the bondage of Christ's

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Church! How unwilling to let Christianity stand in its own simple native majesty! And how free it is in this land of ours—the heritage of those forefathers whose name all times shall bless, and whom, if we can name to disparage, may we forget our manhood and our freedom both! for then we had forfeited them both! (The old Romans, in their utmost degeneracy, never came so low as to despise the simple and stern virtues of their ancestors.) How free the church in this land of ours—the grandest freedom which this land enjoys—more than all our civil liberty! How we can afford to be tolerant to the exclusive! How we can welcome those of another faith, which is the downfall of our own, if we be not faithful to our own! How we can bear to hear the sons of the stranger decry our altars, and cast contempt upon our churches, and disown our ministry; and see our very statesmen pay them a political obeisance, such as they do not pay to any born and bred unto our manners; and hear them praise our freedom because it leaves them free, while they decry that spiritual Christianity which is at the basis of the institutions that give them shelter, refuge, their daily bread, and the very exercise of their intolerant worship! How we can welcome them to a participation in that civil and religious freedom which our faithful fathers wrested from the fathers of their faith, striving even unto blood! How we can do and bear all this, because we know that the kingdom of God is a spiritual kingdom, and that only where men are free, can it be realized in all the fullness of its divine blessings. And this knowledge of its self-supporting power is a real advance, pregnant with promise, and necessary to its completion.

Nor is this all in its specific mode of progress which bears on the same result. Though it is a spiritual kingdom, it is not spiritual in the sense that its realization is restricted to internal states of mind, or banished to a future realm of glory. Far from this is the sense of the spirituality of the gospel of Christ. It is spiritual in the sense of being a kingdom which works from within outward, which is above what is natural and material, and therefore brings all that is natural and material into subordination to its living principles. And one conspicuous fact in its course has been the application of its fundamental principles, the principles of justice and of love, at each stadium change in its course, sharper and deeper to all the institutions of society and all the relations of life. It is here we see an indubitable sign of its power and real progress. To all that is unjust it is essentially opposed; with all that is right it is essentially allied. It is jealous for all real human rights; it is jealous against all human wrongs. There is no

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conceivable reform which is just to all, and which flows from the principle of real benevolence, which is not in harmony with the genius of Christianity. It has been a reforming and purifying agency; it has been an elevating agency to all classes. This has distinguished it; this is increasingly distinguishing it; and that wisdom is but folly which, to stay the progress of infidelity, would also stay the progress of justice and of love; for this progress is one of the mighty signs of the coming of the kingdom of God.

And, once more, it is worthy of more than the superficial consideration we can give to it, that the vanguard in the later progress of the Christian faith has been led on by that portion of the church which is most fully imbued with a sense of the spirituality of Christ's kingdom, and with the spirit of reform; by that branch technically known as the Calvinistic, but more wisely designated in the usage of the continent of Europe, as the Reformed branch of the Protestant Church. It is a matter of undeniable fact, not sufficiently insisted upon in the German and Anglican Church histories, that the aggressive and progressive part of modern church history belongs to this portion of the church of Christ, in its various branches and subdivisions. And it has those special characteristics which fit it for this position.

By no accident of fortune has this church been placed in the midst of the free and advancing nations of the earth. It has rather made them free; it has made them to advance. In its principles and its polity it is fitted for conquest, and fitted also to wear victory without nurturing ecclesiastical assumptions or ecclesiastical pride. It is a fitting church for an aggressive church, for it trains up its members for conflict by its doctrinal thoroughness, and for life by its practical efficiency. It relies more than any other upon the direct sovereignty of Jehovah; more than any other it has been zealous for all civil rights; and it can thus use its freedom wisely, because it feels its duties to God so strongly. Its old theory of the covenants is probably the true original of the doctrine of the social compact, though perhaps neither the one nor the other is the best expression of what is fundamental either in the church or in the state.*

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* It is most probable that our American Declaration of Independence, not only in its spirit but also in its form, is to be traced to the Scottish and Irish churches of this Confession. The Mecklenburg Declaration, the probable original, was drawn up by Dr. Brevard, of Scotch and Irish descent. Our Declaration has the same order of statement as is generally observed in the Scotch leagues, bonds, and covenants. The former has the same spirit in politics that the latter have in religion. This is the view of Hon. G. C. Verplanck and of Dr. Smyth, of S. C.

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With the severest of doctrinal systems, it encourages also the greatest individual freedom in the working out of the truth. It combines the very firmest faith in objective truth with the constant insisting upon the necessity of a subjective, living experience. Central in its theology, as is no other system, is the person and work of Christ, between whom and the believer no rite nor priest may stand; for all believers are kings and priests unto God. The headship of Christ is the only headship which, as a church, it knows. While, as a thoughful writer well tells us, "while it was the special office of Lutheranism to protest against all Judaism in the Church, it has been the special office of the Reformed Church to protest against all Paganism;" and that is a more subtle error, all making an idol of any thing which belongs to the external part of the church of Christ.* Another writer defines its contrasted characteristics with equal justice, when he says, "the Catholic Church is the Church of priests; the Lutheran of theologians, and the Reformed Church is the church of the believing congregation.† The first talks most of the Church, the second most of the speculative aspects of religion; the Reformed Church dwells most fondly upon the plan of Redemption." And the first history of Redemption, since the closing of the Canon, was written in our mother tongue, and not in our mother, but in our own land, in our American New-England! And it is this church, too, which has grasped the principle of benevolence in its full extent of meaning, and applied it also with the greatest efficiency—led to this by the very nature of the Kingdom of Redemption. Nor ought we to forget, that of all the Churches, it is the Reformed Church which has been most earnest and constant in seeking after union among the divided sects, and in seeking it generally on broad and catholic grounds. It was Luther, who at the Conference of Marburg, refused the hand of Zuingle. It was Calvin who wrote by day and by night to unite the Churches of Switzerland. The Church of England, when Puritan, did not eject its ministers for non-conformity. And only that church can be thoroughly in earnest for Christian union, which believes that the church can stand without the secular power, and that its essential union is to be internal and spiritual.

That in the front of the church's present progress, and in the midst of its most arduous contests, those communions should be placed which have these special characteristics, and which, along

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* Professor Herzog, of Lausanne, in his estimate of Zuingle, in Tholuck's Literarische Anzeiger.

† Dr. J. P. Lange, Professor of Theology in Zurich, in a treatise on the peculiarities of the doctrinal system of the Reformed Church, Zurich, 1841.

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with these, also carry out most signally those other traits that betoken the growth of the church towards its completion. That this same branch of the church is also so fully imbued with the great truths which centre in the person of Christ, allowing nothing to come between it and its head, that it has the strongest sense of the spirituality and self-sustaining power of the kingdom of God; and that it is also the one in which the principles of that kingdom are applied, most sharply and directly, to all the relations of life. When we consider this, and that also, being thus prepared, it is placed where, from the character of the people, the contest must be freest and closest; must be settled on the field of open discussion, and settled in a real practical way; looking chiefly at what approves itself as best for the whole interests of a people;—when we thus combine these points together, we are not far from the inference, that in the mode in which the progress of the church has been actually achieved, and in its present position, there are evidences of the guidance of a wise leader, who, having led it thus far prosperously, will not leave it to discomfiture. It is in the very position of that great general, who, having all things ready, said of his enemy: "If he attacks me, I shall be delighted; if he leaves the attack to me, I shall not fail him. I long for a battle," for it is a conflict which is before the church. "The spirit of the nations," it has been said, "seems forever to have lost its repose." There must be a conflict, and there cannot be repose, until He, whose right it is, shall come and reign. There cannot be repose, and there must be conflict, until justice and love shall bless this world of ours. There must be conflict, and there cannot be repose, until the enemies of the Lord are put under his feet. There cannot be repose, and there must be conflict, until the word revealed in prophecy and in promise, shall be fulfilled in its reality and power, and the kingdom of the Lord shall cover the earth, even as the waters cover the depths of the sea.

And to this end point also other signs which may be read in the general position of the Christian church just now, throughout the world. In what age has it been so auspicious? Within the last half century, how has it girded on its armor, and gone forth as the sun from its chambers, and rejoicing, as a strong man to run a race. Its Bible is read by almost all the nations in their mother tongues. All the Churches have their missions. Men are stirred, as never before, at the thought of evangelizing the world. What was once impulse and hope alone, is now conviction and purpose! Light gleams from Afric's shores; China is opened to the word. Constantinople, the gateway between the East and West, re-

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ceives again a purer gospel. The feet of missionaries, and not crusaders, tread in the precincts of the sepulchre where our Lord lay. The castes of India relax their iron hold. To the Jews the gospel is again preached. The isles of the sea rejoice with an unusual joy. Their new-born churches send also their offerings back to aid the work of missions. Their slight gifts shall make our offerings greater; treasures and men shall be given to the Lord, who has blessed our labors and poured out his Spirit upon us. The past is great, but greater shall be that future whose signs are already upon us—that great, that blessed day of the Lord our God. In order that it might come, such a day as this must needs be its forerunner—a day of preparation, of diffusion, of physical and moral progress, of general philanthropy, of eagerness to act together, of democratic watchfulness. That Christ might take full possession of the human race, just such a state of things would seem to be necessary, as actually exists. And, therefore, can we feel slight sympathy with those who look on all these marks of our century only with distrust? Ignorance, and a stagnant society, and indifference to human rights and welfare cannot, cannot be more favorable to the kingdom of Christ, than are intelligence, freedom, practical energy, and a broad philanthropy.

And now, merely to draw our general argument to a point of decision, we add the simple position that, while the church of Christ has in itself such auguries and promises of victory, there is nothing else, no one great central controlling influence, in whose favor such an array of presumptions, nor a tithe thereof, can be shown to exist, or even imagined. To what is the world tending? What will be its consummation? Watchman, what of the night? The morning cometh, and whom will it usher in? What one central orb is advancing, dispersing the clouds, and lighting up the horizon with its advancing beams? What one, excepting the Sun of Righteousness, with healing in his wings?

This is a serious and a decisive question. What institution, what system is there that has, or has had, or can expect to have, the influence of the Kingdom of Redemption? What other so diffused? What other that has been from the beginning until now? What one ever advancing? What other gradually penetrating society deeper and deeper? What one around which so many true hearts rally? What other with such a past, such a present, and which may therefore look forward to such a future? To ask the question is to find the answer: not one—it cannot be named, it has not a being, it is a utopia, and the kingdom of Christ is a grand, thus far victorious, and an historic reality. And this simple fact is a great

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fact, and holds in its firm grasp the position with which we conclude our argument, that the destiny of the race must be garnered up in that system of redemption, in whose wonderful and comprehensive nature, in whose victorious and unparalleled progress, in whose mode of progress and present position and influence we descry, if in any thing this can be descried, the conspicuous evidence, to which there is no analogy elsewhere, that it is to be triumphant and supreme in the history of the human race. This we must believe, or else believe that sin is mightier than holiness.

We have thus endeavored to present some of the subordinate arguments for that belief in the success of the gospel which rests ultimately and most peacefully in the promise and purpose of Him who alone rules and knows the times and the seasons, and who holdeth the nations in the hollow of his hand. And it is an inspiring vision, such a consummation of the events of time. We have not entered into the question of times and of seasons, which we read by conjecture, even when we read with seeming confidence. We have not asked which party is to constitute the church of the future. Enough for us to know, that that church will contribute most to the future, which shall be most filled with the spirit of God's dear Son—which lives for Him first, and for Him last, and for Him always. Enough for us to know, that though we see not the junctures and processes of future times, they shall all issue in that time when the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and all nations shall flow unto it. Enough for us, standing on the sure word of God as our rock, to feel our confidence strengthened, as we see the nature and position of that rock, its foundations struck deeper than are the depths of the raging seas, and its summit emerging above all the foaming of their billows. Enough for us, that the very course of the kingdom of God, century after century—that the very mode of its growth and its present attitude, add confirmation to that word which never has failed, and which points us to the new heavens and the new earth, as the end for which the world was made.

Infinitely glorious must be that kingdom upon which Divine wisdom and power have been at work through these six thousand years of time, and which is to manifest in the most radiant form the majesty of the Divine wisdom and the depths of the Divine love. For the Kingdom of Redemption is that one grand work which will mirror before even the Divine mind the very height and depth, the length and breadth of that love which passes our knowledge, and of that wisdom which is unsearchable.

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ART. VII.—THE TEMPORAL POWER OF THE POPES; OR, POPERY AS A POLITICO-ECCLESIASTICAL INSTITUTION.

1. *Outlines of a History of the Court of Rome, and of the Temporal Power of the Popes.* Translated from the French. Philadelphia. 1837.

2. *A History of Popery: containing an Account of the Origin, Growth, and Progress of the Papal Power; its Political Influence in the European States' System, and its effects upon the Progress of Civilization.* London. 1838.

THE idea of a comprehensive history of popery includes an account of the whole subject, *first* as a system of belief, and *second* as a system of policy. The former is the history of popery as an opinion, the latter as an institution. The one seems to be more appropriately the province of the theologian, for it treats of religious doctrines; the other of the secular historian, for it treats of the rise, the character, and the progress of a political government; and he who would write it as a whole, should be historian and theologian both. The history of popery as an opinion, is a history of its gradual departures from the teachings of Christ and his apostles, in matters of religious faith; its history as an institution, is a history of its usurpations, as an earthly kingdom, with its long line of temporal sovereigns, claiming to be Vicars of Christ upon earth, and at the same time, by their claims to earthly dominion and kingship, showing themselves to be traitors to the authority of HIM who said, "My kingdom is not of this world."

The volumes, whose titles are placed at the head of this article, and both of which were published anonymously, are upon the latter branch of this subject. The first is the production of a French Roman Catholic, the other of an English Protestant; yet both agree in considering the temporal power of the popes as a usurpation, contrary to the teachings of Christ, repugnant to the welfare of nations, and hostile to the liberties of the world.

The English work is emphatically a book for the times, and is one of the best of the numerous works which the papal agitation in England for the last quarter of a century has produced. The author, though disposed at times to yield more to the claims of Rome, than an ardent Protestant will admit, is yet, as might be expected, an unbeliever, not only in the temporal, but also in the spiritual supremacy of the popes. "The

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claim to spiritual supremacy," says he, "was unfounded; the claim to temporal dominion was monstrous; both were supported by the most pernicious means; and perhaps we may add, that by such alone could they be supported."

The French writer, on the other hand, avows his belief in "the supremacy of the popes in things purely spiritual, and the claims of the Roman Catholic Church to determine authoritatively all matters of faith." His work was originally entitled, with great modesty, "*Essai historique sur la puissance temporelle des Papes et sur l'abus qu'ils ont fait de leur ministere spirituel;*" and his object in composing it was to prove that "the temporal power of the Roman pontiffs originated in fraud and usurpation; that its influence upon their pastoral ministry has been to mar and degrade it; that its continuance is dangerous to the peace and liberties of Europe; and that its constant influence and effects are to retard the advancement of civilization and knowledge." Although this work was, for obvious reasons, published anonymously, its author has been ascertained to be M. Daunou, who composed it between the years 1798 and 1801, and during the interregnum in the papal government of Rome, occasioned by the victories of Napoleon Bonaparte; it however remained in manuscript till the publication of the first French edition in 1810. According to M. Dupin-ainé, the author of the *Bibliotheque Choisie*, who designates the work, "ouvrage historique du premier ordre," M. Daunou composed it under the peculiar advantage, arising from the fact, that "the archives of the Vatican, which had been removed from Rome to Paris by Napoleon, were entrusted to his custody, by order of the government, and subject to his inspection."

Many of the facts recorded by M. Daunou may be found in Gibbon, Sismondi and Hallam. But, as is well remarked in the preface to the English translation, "Gibbon was an infidel, and his work, in many places, exhibits evidence of the influence of his unhappy bias." Sismondi, too, in his History of the Fall of the Roman Empire, mingles, like Gibbon, though without his infidelity, facts which especially concern the Roman Court, with the general history of the period of which he writes; and the plan of Hallam's work did not admit of so much expansion as the subject requires, although he made a noble contribution towards the history of papal domination in Europe, in his admirable chapter entitled, "History of Ecclesiastical Power during the Middle Ages."* The fact, too, that these authors entertained opinions adverse to the spiritual supremacy of the popes, while M. Daunou differs from them on

* Hallam's View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages, Chap. vii.

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this point, gives additional weight to the statements of the latter, when they are found to agree in matters of fact or opinion. The same may be remarked in relation to the recent History of Popery, the title of which we have placed under that of the work of M. Daunou. It is exceedingly difficult, if not altogether impossible, for a historian entirely to avoid some degree of bias from his theological opinions, in the statement of matters of fact. The probability is always greater, therefore, that a more accurate idea of the true facts of history will be obtained by reading, in connection, candid historians entertaining different theological views, and regarding the subject from different and opposite stand-points.

Recommending, therefore, to the student of history, that he should peruse the two above-named works in connection with each other, if he would obtain a correct view of popery as a political system, we shall proceed to give a brief sketch of the *origin and progress of the temporal power of the popes*, or of *popery as a politico-ecclesiastical system.*

To treat the subject as its importance deserves, especially at so critical a period in the history of America as the present, when popery is doing its utmost to regain the power on the new continent which it has lost on the old, would require a volume. Yet, in the compass of the present brief article, we hope to adduce evidence enough to demonstrate that popery is, and ever has been, in its character, a political, far more than a religious system;—its popes despots, rather than apostles, valuing their temporal, more highly than their spiritual power, except, as in ages of darkness, they could employ the thunders of the latter to add to the strength of the former;—its prelates ambassadors of their temporal sovereign, the pope,—not like the apostle Paul, ambassadors for Christ, beseeching men, in Christ's stead, to be reconciled to God;—its priests, soldiers of the pope, rather than soldiers of Christ;—and that the objects sought by the whole combined hierarchy are far more *political* than *religious*—to enslave the minds of their vassals, and to chain them, bound and blindfolded, to the car in which they hope to ride to political ascendency and supremacy, rather than to improve their morals, to sanctify their hearts, or to save their souls.

The pope, notwithstanding his power has recently received a terrible shock, is, at this hour, a temporal prince. He ranks, and he has for centuries ranked, among the most despotic of the crowned sovereigns of Europe. He professes to be the Vicar of Christ: but Christ, when on earth, refused to be made an earthly king, and solemnly declared, in the presence of friends and foes, "My kingdom is not of this world."

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He avows himself the successor of St. Peter, but it is not pretended that Peter ever obtained or desired an earthly sovereignty. Had such an offer been made to that holy man, after the ascension of his Lord, he would have rejected it with abhorrence; he would have called to mind the agonies which Jesus endured in Gethsemane and Calvary, and shrunk, with holy tenderness, from the idea of wearing a kingly crown, when his blessed Master, in establishing his spiritual kingdom, was content to be nailed to a rugged cross. Could St. Peter have gazed down the vista of futurity, at the dazzling crown which should glitter upon the brows of the unworthy men who, in coming ages, would insult his memory by calling themselves his successors, he would have turned away with a bleeding heart and weeping eyes, and exclaimed, "Give me the cross of bitter agony, with my loving Saviour, rather than the crown of earthly dominion, with his betrayers and his enemies!" Suffering, however intense, in company with Jesus, that holy apostle would have deemed far preferable to a crown, however glittering, in company with those who thus crucify the Saviour afresh by their haughty assumptions and their worldly pride; who thus unite a worldly, political sovereignty, with a caricature of Christ's spiritual religion; and then abuse the name of Christ, by applying to the incongruous and hateful mixture, the name of Christianity. If it is true, then, that the pope is now a temporal sovereign, and since it is not pretended that either Christ, while on earth, or Peter, or any Christian bishop or pastor, for several centuries after Peter's martyrdom, either wore an earthly crown, or claimed or exercised an earthly sovereignty, it becomes an interesting inquiry—at what period were these assumptions made? and what were the successive steps by which the popes rose to the height of temporal dominion to which they attained in the dark ages, when popery was in its glory—when they swayed the sceptre of dominion over monarchs and emperors, and reigned despots of the world?

The spiritual religion of Jesus was never designed for alliance with the governments and dignities of earth. It was only when the "mystery of iniquity," which finally ripened into the politico-ecclesiastical system of popery, was actively working in the time of Constantine, at the commencement of the fourth century, that this unholy alliance was formed; and it is only because, in some nations of modern Christendom, the reformation from popery is incomplete, that, in those countries, this unholy alliance continues. Political union with the state is foreign to the genius of Protestantism; and it will yet, ere long, be shaken off, as an incubus and a curse, in

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every Protestant land, as it has long since been shaken off in the land of Washington, and, more recently, by thousands of self-sacrificing champions of spiritual Christianity in the lands of Wallace and of Tell. Although this church and state union first commenced in the age of Constantine, yet it was not till the lapse of more than four centuries after the death of the first Christian emperor, that the popes of Rome broke loose from the government of Constantine's successors, established for themselves an earthly kingdom, and thus united, in their own persons, the temporal and the spiritual sovereignty.

Amidst the darkness of the middle ages, however, when popery was in its glory, it was almost universally believed, upon the authority of forged documents, promulgated and sanctioned by the popes, that Constantine himself, when he removed the seat of empire from Rome to Constantinople, in 328, had bequeathed to the bishops of Rome the perpetual sovereignty of Rome and Italy. The base and clumsy forgery by which this belief was established, is known in history as "the donation of Constantine," and appeared first in the eighth century, about the same time as the forgeries styled "The Decretals of Isidore," with which it is sometimes confounded, though entirely distinct.* The object of the "decretals" was to establish the ecclesiastical supremacy; that of the "donation," the temporal sovereignty of the popes of Rome. The genuineness of these famous documents is now no longer contended for, even by papists. The base forgery was exposed by Laurentius Valla, in the year 1440, and yet it is a singular proof of the tenacity with which Rome clung to these pillars upon which her temporal and spiritual sovereignty had rested for six centuries, that Wickliff was condemned in the Council of Constance for denying their authority; and so late as the year 1476, several Christians were burnt at Strasburg for presuming to doubt their authenticity; though, at the present day, no popish priest will dare to risk his reputation by denying that they are base and notorious forgeries. Yet it is a noteworthy fact, that the fabric erected upon these now universally acknowledged impostures remains standing, after the

* Even that shrewd and able opponent of popery, "Kirwan," or the Rev. Dr. Murray, falls into this historical error in the following sentence: "But how came the pope a temporal prince? Who has not heard of the Decretals of Isidore? This forged and false legend narrates, that in reward for his healing from leprosy and his regeneration by baptism by the bishop of Rome, Constantine resigned to Sylvester and his successors in office, the free and perpetual sovereignty of Rome, Italy, and the Western provinces."—*Decline of Popery*, by Rev. N. Murray, D.D., page 10.

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foundation upon which it rested has crumbled away. In the words of the eloquent historian of the Roman Empire—"The popes themselves have indulged a smile at the credulity of the vulgar, but a false and obsolete title still sanctifies their reign; and by the same fortune which has attended the Decretals and the Sybilline oracles, the edifice has subsisted after the foundations have been undermined."

The forged "Decretals" consisted of a large collection of pretended epistles of Clemens, Anacletus, Euaristus, and other early bishops of Rome. Their design was to prove to the multitude, that in the first ages of Christianity, these bishops were possessed of the same spiritual majesty and authority as was claimed by the popes in a later age. They were published with great ostentation and parade, with the name prefixed of Isidore, bishop of Seville; and the world was taught to believe, that instead of forgeries, they were authentic documents, which had been merely collected and arranged by that prelate.

The author of the forgery, called "the Donation of Constantine," is unknown. It was first introduced to the world towards the close of the eighth century, by an epistle of pope Hadrian I., who endeavors to excite the liberality of the great Charlemagne towards the See of Peter, by alluding to this magnificent donation of a temporal principality by the illustrious Constantine. The character of this barefaced imposture will be best understood, by the following quotation from the document itself. The consideration which is said to have merited this magnificent recompense, was a pretended cure effected by Sylvester, bishop of Rome, in healing the emperor of the leprosy, and then administering to him the rite of baptism. The following language is put into the mouth of the royal penitent:—"We attribute to the chair of St. Peter ALL THE IMPERIAL DIGNITY, GLORY, AND POWER. ——— Moreover, we give to Sylvester, and to his successors, our palace of Lateran, incontestably one of the finest palaces on earth; we give him *our crown*, *our mitre*, *our diadem*, and all our imperial vestments; we resign to him the imperial dignity. ——— WE GIVE AS A FREE GIFT TO THE HOLY PONTIFF, THE CITY OF ROME, and all the western cities of Italy, as well as the western cities of the other countries. To make room for him, we ABDICATE OUR SOVEREIGNTY over all these provinces; and we withdraw from Rome, transferring the seat of our empire to Byzantium, since IT IS NOT JUST THAT A TERRESTRIAL EMPEROR SHALL RETAIN ANY POWER WHERE GOD HAS PLACED THE HEAD OF RELIGION." Such were the flagrant impostures by which the usurped power of the popes was confirmed and established a thousand years ago.

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Notwithstanding this absurd legend, it is capable of proof, if proof were needed, that so far from Constantine having made any such grant, the bishops of Rome, for four centuries after the death of Constantine, like those of other cities of the empire, quietly submitted to the jurisdiction of the civil authorities, little imagining that future successors of St. Peter the fisherman, would arrogate to themselves the splendor and authority of the crowned monarchs of an earthly kingdom.

It was not till the middle of the eighth century, that the first symptoms appeared of the temporal sovereignty of the popes. In 727, pope Gregory II., notwithstanding the fury of the contest between him and Leo, relative to images, acknowledges his allegiance to the emperors, in a letter addressed to the Duke of Venice, imploring his assistance against the Lombards, who had taken Ravenna, in order to bring that city "under the imperial domination; so that we may," says the pope, "remain inviolably attached to the service of our masters, Leo and Constantine, the great emperors."* In another letter this same pope says—"A pontiff has not the right to decree crowns; his eyes should not penetrate the palaces of kings; it does not belong to him to meddle with political affairs, any more than it does to a prince to teach religious doctrine."† We shall soon see how different this doctrine was from that maintained by his namesake, Gregory VII., three centuries later.

The immediate occasion of the temporal power of the popes was as follows: Pepin, the celebrated mayor of the palace to the king of France, wishing to dethrone the feeble Childeric, the last king of the Merovingian dynasty, and to obtain in name, as he already possessed in fact, the sovereign power of the kingdom, proposed to pope Zachary, in 751, a celebrated case of conscience, in order to sanction, by the authority of the pope, his contemplated usurpation. The question was, "who best deserved the name of king, he who possessed the title without the power, or he who had the power without the title?" Zachary, who could not afford to lose so favorable an opportunity of securing the favor of the powerful Pepin, gave just such an answer as the usurper expected. Childeric was dethroned—Pepin became king, and was solemnly crowned and anointed in the name of Zachary, by Boniface, the legate of the pope. Such services were too valuable to be accepted without a befitting reward. Aistulphus, the king of the Lombards, had long been the scourge of Rome and the popes.

* Baronius's Annals, tom. xii., p. 343, quoted by Daunou.

† Pontifex introspiciendi in palatia potestatem non habet, &c.—*Greg. II., Epist. ad Leonem.*

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He had seized upon the exarchate of Ravenna, and laughed to scorn the admonitions of the pope to restore it to its lawful sovereign, the emperor. In the meantime, pope Stephen, the successor of Zachary, who had taken a journey to France, for the special purpose of renewing, with great solemnity, the coronation of Pepin, had exacted a promise from that king that he would visit Italy, wrest the exarchate from the hands of the Lombard conqueror, not for the purpose of restoring it to its rightful sovereign, the emperor, but to bestow it as a temporal sovereignty upon the successors of St. Peter. Pepin kept his promise. Aistulphus was subdued. The province he had wrested from the emperor was retaken, and bestowed upon the See of Rome, in the words of the treaty, "to be for ever held and possessed by the most holy pope Stephen and his successors in the apostolic See of St. Peter." And thus, in the year 756, the mitre of the popes was united with the crown, and the self-styled successors of St. Peter the fisherman were raised to the station of earthly sovereigns, and took rank among the kings of the earth.

One of the missives which pope Stephen dispatched to the tardy Pepin, to hasten the fulfillment of his promise, has been preserved in the *Codex Carolinus*, and is valuable as a literary curiosity, and as a specimen of the pious frauds to which Rome has ever resorted, in order to accomplish her purposes. This was no other than a letter which the pope professed to have received from St. Peter in heaven—whether by steamboat, railroad, or telegraph, history does not inform us—beseeching the immediate interposition of Pepin and his army to succor Rome and the pope against the incursions of the wicked Lombards. Fortunately, a copy of this celestial epistle, forwarded to its destination through the hands of the infallible post-master, pope Stephen, has been preserved. The superscription of this singular production is as follows: "*Simon Peter, a servant and apostle of Jesus Christ*, to the three most excellent kings, Pepin, Charles, and Carloman; to all the holy bishops, abbots, presbyters and monks; to all the dukes, counts, commanders of the French army, and to the whole people of France: Grace unto you, and peace be multiplied; I AM THE APOSTLE PETER to whom it was said, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock,'" &c.

But space would fail to record all the plots and intrigues by which the popes of Rome succeeded, little by little, in enlarging their temporal dominions, and confirming their temporal power. Instead of an humble minister of Christ, like Peter, the pope had already become an intriguing worldly politician, chiefly anxious, like most of the sovereigns of that age, for increase of

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power, and for his own personal aggrandizement. The *political* had already become far more prominent than the *religious* element in the system of popery. The fleece was cared for, rather than the flock; and if the popes, with their pampered priesthood, could but enjoy their ill-gotten power without molestation, the people might be cheerfully left to live uncared for in this world, and to take their chance for the next.

It was not, however, till the reign of the notorious Hildebrand, or Gregory VII., in the eleventh century, that the political designs of the papacy were fully developed, and the lofty assumptions of the popes reached the climax of their extravagance. The design of this haughty and ambitious prelate was, unquestionably, to establish an absolute and universal monarchy, of which Rome was to be the capital and the pope the head, and to which all the kingdoms of the earth were to be subject. Had he lived long enough to accomplish his object, he intended to establish an annual assembly of bishops at Rome, before whom the contests which should arise among emperors and kings should be adjudicated, and the fate of nations should be decided. The principles by which his actions were governed, are contained in his celebrated maxims, known by the name of the dictates of Hildebrand. Among these dictates, are the following: "That the pope alone has a right to wear imperial ornaments—That he has the right to depose emperors—That he can absolve subjects from their allegiance to bad princes—That he can be judged by no man—That his sentence no man can annul, but that he may annul the decrees of all,—and that all princes are bound to kiss his feet, and his only."

The whole career of Hildebrand is a commentary upon these maxims, and a proof that he intended to carry them into effect in a literal sense, and to the utmost possible extent; and had his success been commensurate with his wishes, all the kingdoms of Europe—perhaps all the nations of the earth—would have been at the present day subject and tributary to the See of Rome, and their princes and presidents and governors, nothing more than the obedient vassals and slaves of the now imbecile old man, who still calls himself the successor of St. Peter, and the Vicar of Christ upon earth.

It was through the influence of Hildebrand, while yet but a cardinal, that William, the Norman conqueror, was encouraged, in the year 1066, to invade the island of Great Britain. The claims of England to national independence had long given offence to the cardinal-monk, and he eagerly embraced the opportunity of establishing the papal supremacy in that nation, by giving the sanction of the church to William, upon the ground of an oath unwittingly sworn by Harold upon a chest

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of sacred relics, and a real or pretended promise of Edward the Confessor. At the instigation of Hildebrand, the claims of the Norman duke were solemnly recognised by a papal Council, and a consecrated standard, together with a ring, said to contain a hair from the head of St. Peter, sent to him. England was conquered; the Saxon race of kings gave place to the Normans; and the papal influence was extended, and Peterpence collected in Britain.

When Hildebrand became pope, he laid claim to the sovereignty of all the kingdoms of Europe, as having once belonged to St. Peter, whose right was inalienable. Four days after his election, he addressed a letter to the Christians engaged in driving the Saracens from Spain, claiming that country as having belonged to St. Peter when the Saracens invaded it, and requiring the kings and princes of the Peninsula to pay the tribute they owed him, as their sovereign lord. In France, he ordered his legates to exact at least a penny a year from every house, as a token of their subjection to St. Peter and his See.

The well-known contest between Hildebrand and Henry IV. of Germany, is a remarkable illustration of the pride and the power of the popes at this time. How vast must have been the success of this lordly pontiff, in his aims for political preeminence and supremacy, when a powerful emperor, trembling at his terrible frown, would cross the Alps in the middle of winter, to seek his forgiveness; stand barefoot and fasting, for three days, before the gate of his palace; and then, upon his admission to his presence, kneel before him, kiss his foot, and humbly sue for absolution from the sentence of deposition which the imperious pontiff had pronounced! What progress must Gregory VII. have made in the establishment of his maxims of universal dominion, when, after such a scene, he could boast in his letters to the different nations of the earth, that it was his "duty to pull down the pride of kings!"

In 1198, Innocent III. succeeded to the chair of St. Peter, a pontiff who carried out to their full extent the tyrannical maxims of Gregory VII., in his treatment of the kingdoms and sovereigns of Europe. The following are a few of the despotic acts by which pope Innocent vindicated for himself the character of a genuine disciple and successor of Hildebrand. The day after his consecration, he forced the magistrates of Rome to take that oath of allegiance to him as their lawful sovereign, which they had heretofore taken to the Emperor. In 1204, pope Innocent crowned with his own hand Peter II. of Arragon, who had travelled from Spain to Rome for that purpose; but before placing the crown on his head, exacted from him the following extraordinary oath:—"I, Peter, king of the

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Arragonians, profess and promise to be ever faithful and obedient to my lord pope Innocent, to his Catholic successors, and the Roman Church, and faithfully to preserve my kingdom in his obedience, defending the Catholic faith, and persecuting heretical pravity.—So help me God, and these his holy gospels." The king then returned with the pope to the church of St. Peter, laid his crown and sceptre upon the altar, received a sword from the pope, and bound himself and his successors to pay a yearly tribute to the pope of two hundred and fifty pieces of gold. In the year 1209, upon the death of Philip, a competitor with Otho in the empire, the pope solemnly crowned Otho in the Church of St. Peter, after exacting from the emperor an oath, intended to settle for ever the long dispute between the empire and the popes. In this oath the emperor used the following language:—"I promise to honor and obey pope Innocent, as my predecessors have honored and obeyed him. I promise to extirpate all heresies; to restore to the Roman Church all her possessions, whether granted by my predecessors, or by others, and inviolately to maintain all the rights and privileges enjoyed by the apostolic see in the kingdom of Sicily."

But perhaps the most atrocious act of spiritual despotism which signalized the reign of pope Innocent III., was his treatment of the imbecile, but unfortunate, king John of England. Weak and contemptible as John was, he yet had the courage to refuse, as primate of the kingdom, a creature of the pope, named cardinal Langton; and when threatened with the thunders of the Vatican for his obstinacy, he retaliated by threatening to stop the supply of Peter-pence, which from the time of William the Conquerer had flowed in a rich stream from England to Rome. In 1208, Innocent laid all the dominions of John under an interdict. Three years later, he issued a decree of excommunication and deposition, and sent over his insolent legate, Pandulph, who published the sentence against king John, proclaiming with a loud voice, that his subjects were absolved from their oaths of allegiance; that the king was degraded from his royal dignity, and that neither he nor any of his posterity should ever reign in England! King John still refused to submit, till the pope, in his character of sovereign dispenser of the kingdoms of the earth, appointed—to hurl John from his throne—king Philip of France, a sovereign who, a few years before, had himself tasted the terrors of papal thunder and interdict, but was now an obedient vassal of the pope. As a reward for this service, Innocent promised Philip the pardon of all his sins, and the possession of the rich kingdom from which John was to be driven. At length, the be-

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wildered and trembling monarch was subdued. A sentence of excommunication had been issued, not only against John himself, but against all who should obey him or fight on his behalf. With such a fate hanging over them, John well knew that, in so superstitious an age, he could not depend even upon the aid of his own army. The fear of the carnal weapons of Philip, therefore, accomplished what the spiritual thunders of the pope had hitherto failed to effect. Langton was received as primate. The king, on his knees before the pope's legate, humbly offered a deed of his kingdom, which Pandulph received and kept for five days; he agreed to receive back the British islands as fiefs of the holy see, and to pay an annual tribute of a thousand marks as an acknowledgment of his subjection to the pope, and then presented to Pandulph the first instalment of his tribute; which the legate, as a sign of the completeness of his triumph over the unfortunate king, threw down on the ground and trampled under his feet.

From the death of pope Innocent, in 1246, the overgrown power of the popes began to wane. Many of the sovereigns and nations of Europe awoke as from a dream, and were astonished at the strength and the weight of the chains which papal tyranny had forged around them.

Boniface VIII., who ascended the papal throne in 1294, was the last of the popes who dared to brave the indignation of the world, by attempting to enforce, in his dealings with kings and nations, the odious and tyrannical maxims of Hildebrand; and his insane attempts to effect this object were carried to a length that amounted almost to a frenzy. In one of his bulls, he proclaims to the world, in the following terms, that both the spiritual and the temporal swords are in the power of the Church: "The spiritual sword," says he, "is to be used *by* the Church, the temporal sword *for* the Church; the one in the hand of the priest, the other in the hands of kings and soldiers. The temporal sword and authority must be subject to the spiritual power. Moreover, we solemnly declare and pronounce it a necessary article of faith, that every human being is subject to the pope of Rome." In another bull he commands all persons, of whatever rank, to appear, when cited, before his tribunal at Rome: "Since such," says he, "is our pleasure, who, by Divine permission, rule the world." In another of his bulls, entitled, from its initial words, "*Clericis laicos*," he forbids all lay tribunals to try or punish priests, whatever crimes they might commit; and he excommunicates all kings who should levy taxes upon priests, and all priests who should pay them.

In England, the people had grown wiser since the days of

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John; and king Edward I. ordered his judges to try no causes in which priests were the complainants; but to judge every suit brought *against* them, upon the ground that those who refused to contribute to the support of the state, had no claim to its protection; thus setting at defiance the presumptuous mandates of the pope, and, with impunity, daring the spiritual thunders by which, a century before, the trembling John had been well nigh crushed. The ecclesiastics soon perceived that Edward was made of sterner stuff than John. The priests submitted to the king; and, brought to their senses by this cogent expedient, they paid their taxes without further compulsion. The resistance of Philip the Fair of France to the bulls of the pope, was no less energetic than that of Edward of England. The French king dared to drive ignominiously, from court, the bishop of Pamiers, a rebellious French subject, whom Boniface had appointed as his legate. The pope deeming this treatment of his representative an unpardonable crime, summoned the French bishops to meet at Rome, to consult upon the doom to be pronounced upon their king, and even invited Philip himself to be present. But the days of Hildebrand were past, and Philip was a different man from Henry IV. He replied to this insolent summons by hurling defiance at the pope, and refused either to attend himself, or to allow his bishops to leave the kingdom.

An answer which Philip gave to a bull of the pope, during one of his quarrels, affords a striking proof of the decline of papal power, in a little over two centuries from the time of Gregory VII., and in less than one from the time of Innocent III. In the bull of the pope, which had been abridged by the royal chancellor, and hence is called "the little bull," the king is addressed in the following peremptory terms: "Boniface, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to Philip, king of the Franks. Fear God and keep his commandments. We desire you to know that you are subject to us in temporal as well as in spiritual affairs; that the appointment to benefices and prebends belongs not to you; that if you have kept benefices vacant, the profits must be reserved for the legal successors; and if you have bestowed any benefice, we declare the appointment invalid, and revoke it if executed. Those who oppose this judgment shall be deemed heretics." To this document, after publicly committing it to the flames, king Philip published the following equally laconic reply: "Philip, by the grace of God, king of the French, to Boniface, claiming to be pope, little or no greeting. May it please your sublime stupidity to learn, that we are subject to no person in temporal affairs; that the bestowing of fiefs and benefices

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belongs to us by right of our crown; that the disposal of the revenues of vacant sees is part of our prerogative; that our decrees, in this respect, are valid, both for the past and for the future; and that we will support, with all our might, those on whom we have bestowed, or shall bestow, benefices. Those who oppose this judgment shall be deemed fools or idiots."

Soon the king was summoned to appear in person at Rome, to answer for the sacrilege of having burned a bull of the pope; and upon his refusal, the thunders of excommunication were hurled at his head. These fulminations, however, so far as their intended political effect was concerned, fell powerless at his feet; for he was sustained in this struggle by the States-General of his kingdom, embracing the nobles, the commons, and the clergy. Philip, in his turn, preferred an accusation to the states of his realm against Boniface, charging him with the most detestable and unnatural crimes. The pope replied to these charges as well as he could, and then secretly prepared a bull of the same kind as Innocent had fulminated against king John: deposing him from his throne, absolving his subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and cursing his posterity to the fourth generation. The pope delayed the issuing of this terrible bull, in order to add to its solemnity, till the festival of the nativity of the Virgin Mary, on the 8th of September, 1303; in the meantime, quietly awaiting the day of vengeance in the city of Anagni, in Italy. On the eve of the sacred festival, the pope had retired to his chamber, doubtless revolving in his mind his plans of vengeance for the following day; when suddenly a tumult was heard in the palace, and Boniface was thunderstruck by cries of "Long live king Philip! Death to Boniface!" and suddenly found himself arrested by Nogaret, the royal advocate of France, whom Philip had secretly dispatched to Italy for this purpose, and who, together with some members of the Colonna family, whom the pope had cruelly persecuted, and about three hundred cavaliers, rushed into the palace and made Boniface their prisoner, intending to send him to France, till a general Council could be summoned to decide on the charges against him. Three days afterwards, however, the pope was rescued by the people of Anagni and the neighboring peasants; the liberated pope returned hastily to Rome: but rage, vexation, and disappointed ambition soon brought on a fever, which terminated his life.

The design of Boniface, thus fearfully terminated, was to establish, throughout Europe, that universal papal monarchy and spiritual despotism which Hildebrand had projected. The attempt was a bold one, but it came a century too late. The nations of the earth were waking up. Outraged humanity

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arose to vindicate its plundered rights, and Boniface fell in the conflict, terminating by his death that terrible period of 230 years—from 1073 to 1303, from Hildebrand to Boniface—which may fitly be termed the despotic age of popery. The desperate efforts of Boniface to protract the period of papal domination, are like the struggles of a wounded giant. Much as we detest the system he sought to establish, we can scarce help regarding with a fearful admiration the almost Satanic courage and obstinacy which he displayed to the last. His death reminds us of the daring ferocity of some wild beasts of which natural history tells, that meet their death with eyes glaring fury upon their pursuers, and champing in their gory mouths the very iron of the spear which has wrought their death.

The death of Boniface VIII. marks an important era in the political history of popery. In his attempts to send the arrow of despotism to the heart of the nations, he had strung the bow till it broke; and his successor, Benedict XI., though a protegé and friend of Boniface, avowed his acknowledgment of the catastrophe by absolving, unsolicited, the king of France from his excommunication, reinstating the Colonna family in their dignities and possessions, and annulling all the proceedings of his predecessor against the kingdom of Philip, and his subjects, whether ecclesiastics or laymen.

From the age of Boniface, the political power of the papacy has steadily and rapidly declined. The removal of the papal court from Rome to Avignon, in France, during a large part of the fourteenth century, and which has been called the "seventy years captivity," tended to hasten this decay, which was still more accelerated by the Great Western Schism, which immediately followed, during which, rival popes, for forty years, amused themselves and the world by hurling the thunders of excommunication and anathema at each other's heads, and which was only terminated by the deposition of two popes and the election of a third at the Council of Constance, in 1417.

From the commencement of the papal sovereignty in the eighth century, up to the age of Hildebrand, or of Innocent, the progress of popery, as a political system, was like that of a young Hercules, with strength enough, even in his cradle, to strangle his assailants—from infancy to boyhood, from adolescence to manhood and giant strength. The attempt of Boniface to wield the power of a Gregory VII., was like the son of Alcmena arraying himself in the poisoned tunic of the Centaur. From that hour the giant strength of popery was paralyzed; the might of the Romish Hercules had departed; and monarchs and nations no longer trembled at the sight of

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his club. Henceforward, we behold this politico-ecclesiastical monster—half king, half priest—shaking upon a tottering throne, under the sturdy blows of some bold and fearless reformer, or of some puissant monarch, disgusted with his tyranny and pride; and yet striving, by efforts which may be compared to the convulsive death throes of an expiring giant, to crush all assailants, and to hold the nations of the earth in the chains of spiritual and political thraldom.

When contemplating such acts of spiritual despotism as those which have been related of Gregory VII. and Innocent III., we cannot avoid contrasting the amazing power and almost universal supremacy of the papacy in the twelfth century, with its comparative feebleness in the nineteenth. Compared with the popery of the middle ages, that of the present day is a pigmy compared to a giant. Then the pope could hurl the mightiest monarchs from their thrones; now he can only retain his own, by hiring an army of dastardly Frenchmen to keep under the spirit of liberty which would otherwise burst forth, drive him again and finally from his tottering throne, and deliver his oppressed, priest-governed, and priest-ridden subjects from his unwelcome and hateful rule. "A calm, comprehensive study of ecclesiastical history," says the eloquent Hallam, "is perhaps the best antidote to extravagant apprehensions. Those who know what Rome has once been, are best able to appreciate what she is; those who have seen the thunderbolt in the hands of the Gregories and the Innocents, will hardly be intimidated at the sallies of decrepitude, the impotent dart of Priam amid the crackling ruins of Troy."*

Not that Rome has abated one iota of her claims. Her principles remain unchanged; and the assumed infallibility of the Church forbids the possibility of change. To avow that that is wrong which she once deemed to be right—which was enacted by her Councils and performed by her popes—would be an acknowledgment of error utterly irreconcilable with the idea of an Infallible Church. It is not, therefore, the want of will, but of power, which forbids the imbecile and contemptible pontiffs of the nineteenth century, like Hildebrand or Innocent, to place rebellious nations under interdict, and to drive heretical or contumacious monarchs or rulers from their seats of power. We may rest assured that "giant Pope" looks with no satisfied eye upon the rulers and nations who repudiate his pretensions, and treat his mandates and his bulls against freedom, the Bible, and the press, with the contempt and scorn which they merit. There was a day when he would have

* Hallam's Middle Ages, Chap. vii, p. 318.

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made them suffer for their temerity. But, alas! as the glorious Bedford dreamer tells us,—"the old giant has now grown so crazy and stiff in his joints, that he can do little more than sit in his cave's mouth, grinning at pilgrims as they go by, and biting his nails because he cannot come at them."

It would betray a total ignorance of the genius of the papal system, to suppose, however, that the Romish Church has ever renounced the doctrines which were employed by a Gregory and a Boniface to justify their usurpations over the rights of rulers and of nations. No, no! such renunciation is impossible. Popery is unchangeable. If the popes ever claimed to be lords of the world, and that every nation and every human being should be subject to their sway, then they would make that claim still, and enforce it too, if only they had the power. If this doctrine was ever believed and enforced, it is believed by the popes themselves, and by their faithful subjects and servants, as firmly now as ever; for in the words of Charles Butler, one of Rome's ablest advocates,—"It is most true that Roman Catholics believe the doctrines of their Church to be unchangeable; and that it is a tenet of their creed, that what their faith ever has been, such it was from the beginning, *such it is now*, and *such it ever will be*." Not a single doctrine that ever she promulgated has been retracted; not a single right that ever she claimed has been renounced. The right of the popes to persecute heretics, to depose sovereigns, to trample upon law, and to rule over the nations with a rod of iron, is still believed as firmly as ever; for, in the words of a papal writer,—"the pope can do all things, without the laws, over the laws, and against the laws,"—*omnia potest, extra jus, supra jus, et contra jus;* although, for prudential and obvious reasons, this right is held in abeyance, to be reclaimed and exercised whenever, and wherever, time and circumstances will permit.

The unyielding tenacity with which, for the five centuries that have elapsed since Boniface VIII., the popes have continued to cling to the doctrine of their universal sovereignty, together with the gradual decline of their power to tyrannize over the nations, is shown by the history of every pope from Boniface to Pius IX. Our limited space will only permit us to prove this assertion, by the brief mention of five or six historical facts, occurring at different and at distant intervals during this period.

Shortly after the Council of Constance, in the fifteenth century, and more than a hundred years after Boniface VIII., pope Martin V., in his dispatches to a foreign court, called himself "the Lord of the earth, successor of St. Peter, the anointed of the Lord, the Master of the universe, the Father of kings, the

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light of the world"—*Dominus in terris, successor Petri, Christus Domini, Dominus Universi, Regum Pater, orbis Lumen!* In 1550, more than a century later, pope Julius III. issued a coin on which was stamped his own image, and the words,—*Gens et regnum quod mihi non paruerit, peribit*—"The nation and kingdom that will not serve me, shall perish." In 1570, Pius V. issued a bull of excommunication and deposition against Queen Elizabeth, from the throne of England, in which that pope claims to be "Prince over all people and all kingdoms, to pluck up, destroy, scatter, consume, plant, and to build," and declares the queen "to be deprived of her pretended title to the kingdom, and her subjects for ever absolved from their oaths of allegiance and obedience." This bold attempt, however, to interfere with the political affairs of England, came too late. The bull had, by this time, lost his horns; and his loud but impotent bellowings caused infinite amusement to the descendants of those who, three centuries before, had quailed at the stamping of his hoofs.

Towards the close of the seventeenth century, Innocent XI. sent bull after bull into France, to reclaim his ancient rights, and to reduce the refractory king and nobles to obedience. In reply to them, the French ecclesiastics assembled in 1682, by the king's order, and decreed, as the doctrine of the Gallican Church, that "neither St. Peter nor his successors have received from God any power to intermeddle in civil or temporal matters, and that the popes have no authority to depose sovereigns or to absolve their subjects from their oaths of allegiance and obedience;" while the pope could do no more than reprimand the French bishops for thus abandoning the cause of the Church, and employ men of learning to confute the doctrine they had avowed. So late as 1717, Pope Clement XI. attempted to exercise the ancient tyranny over the kingdom of Sicily; to depose its monarch, and to lay the island under an interdict. By this time, however, papal decrees were comparatively harmless, and papal interdicts had ceased to terrify the nations. The king treated the interdict with contempt, and banished the papal emissaries, who had dared to interfere with his political rights, or to sow the seeds of rebellion in his kingdom.

In 1809, Pius VII. attempted to arrest the triumphant career of Napoleon Bonaparte, by fulminating against that mighty conqueror a bull of excommunication; but even while thus wielding the weapons of Gregory or Innocent, he was compelled to confess his weakness, by directing that those who posted copies of this edict about the walls of Rome, should do it as hastily and secretly as possible, lest their lives might pay the penalty of his temerity and rashness. The following month,

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that is, on the 6th of July, 1809, the pope himself was arrested and carried as a prisoner to France; and it was not till 1814, when victory had deserted the standards of Napoleon, that the feeble pontiff returned to Rome, to re-establish the ancient sovereignty of the papacy, and to renew its interference with the natural and political rights of the nations. Even so late as the year 1833, Pope Gregory XVI. attempted to use the rusty weapons of his ancient namesake, in a bull issued against Don Pedro of Portugal, in which he says, "We do absolutely reprobate all decrees of the government of Lisbon, made to the detriment of the Church and her priests, and we declare them null and of no effect."

The view which we have thus taken of the rise and progress of the temporal power of the popes and of popery, as a politico-ecclesiastical institution, has, necessarily, been cursory and brief, yet sufficient to demonstrate the fact that popery is far more a political than a religious institution, and that the principal aim of its bishops and priests, in every land where it gains an entrance, is to obtain political ascendency, and to control, as far as possible, the political institutions of the country. It is a mistake, which only the most lamentable ignorance can account for, to suppose that popery has ceased to be a political system, because the popes have been compelled to part with a large share of their political power. They have changed their tactics, not their pretensions. Give them but the chance, they will be grasping and despotic as ever. Taking warning by former failures, they dare not appeal, as anciently, to force, but to intrigue, cajolery, and persuasion; they administer sugar-plums rather than gun-bullets, *bonbons* rather than *bomb-shells;* unless occasionally, perhaps, when, as in the recent contest of Pius IX. with his rebellious Roman subjects, they can secure the aid of foreign bayonets, and send them *bonbons* of a different kind.* The bishops and priests of popery will now adapt themselves to the prejudices of the masses, but only to control them the more effectually, and to bind them the more securely. In North America they will profess to repudiate the idea of the union of church and state, and clamor for the largest liberty and the most universal suffrage, only that they may exert a more extended influence in using for their purposes the votes of the foreign masses they control; while in South America, they will maintain the utmost rigors of intolerance,

* During the recent siege of the city of Rome, by the French soldiery, who had been sent to restore the pope to his deserted throne, the besieged Romans picked up the cannon-balls and bomb-shells which had been discharged into the city, and labelled them, "sugar plums (*bonbons*) which pope Pius IX. sends to his beloved children."

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look upon the masses only as born to be vassals and slaves to themselves, and trample under foot the flag of the civil government, in token of the subserviency of the state to the church.* In England and Ireland they will advocate the voluntary system, and marvel at the want of liberality which leads the people to complain of renewed papal aggressions, and to refuse to hug the chains which the pope is endeavoring to throw around them; and then, in Spain or in Italy, they will clamor for the Inquisition, and scout the very idea of freedom of worship in the capital of the dominions of the pope.

Jesuitism, ever too true to its nature, will deny or disguise the political designs of the papacy. Jesuit bishops will profess, in a republican land, the warmest attachment to republicanism, and then travel all the way to Rome for the purpose of avowing themselves subjects of the pope, and taking an oath inconsistent with all republicanism—a solemn oath of allegiance to a foreign prince, in which they swear upon the holy gospels, as Bishop Hughes has just done, "to be faithful and obedient to our Lord, pope Pius IX.," to defend and keep the Roman papacy, and the royalty of St. Peter, and "to the utmost, to persecute and oppose all heretics, schismatics, and rebels to our said Lord the pope."† What, we ask, can be more self-evident than that a Romish bishop, in America, must be either a perjurer or a traitor? If he is faithful to his foreign sovereign, the pope, according to his oath, he is a traitor; if faithful to the country which shelters him, he is a perjurer. Is it denied that Roman Catholics believe themselves to be *bona fide* sub-

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* This remark is confirmed by the following extract from a recent letter of Dr. Foote of the Buffalo Commercial Advertiser, describing a papal procession, on Corpus Christi day, at Bogota, South America. "It is less than a year," says Dr. Foote, "since we were a personal witness of a striking illustration in a sister republic, of the Church's claim of superiority over the civil power. It was on Corpus Christi day, one of the grand festivals of the Church. The procession on the occasion was one of the most picturesque that could be imagined. It was composed of the archbishop and other high dignitaries of the Church, followed by a crowd of priests and friars, all arrayed in the garbs of their order, some of them rich and gorgeous, and all of them quaint and picturesque; of children, beautiful as cherubs, on cars scattering roses; of images of the Virgin and the Child, the Apostles and Saints, resplendent with gold and precious stones, borne under rich canopies on men's shoulders; of the president and high officers of the state and army, troops of lancers and foot soldiers, military bands, &c. Slowly and stately the procession moved to the music of solemn chants, or the strains of the band, until it reached nearly the centre of the Calle Real, the principal street of the city, and here, in the presence of the president and the highest civil authorities, *the flag of the republic was lowered to the pavement; and to typify the supremacy of the Church, the archbishop walked over it, stepping on its folds.*"

† "Hereticos, schismaticos, et rebelles, eidem domino nostro vel successoribus prædictis *pro posse persequar et oppugnabo.*"—*Bishop's Oath.*

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jects of the pope, what then are we to understand by the words uttered by this same Bishop Hughes, some two years ago, in his discourse upon the position of Pius IX. at that time? "If necessary," says he, "the Church has resources. There is no sovereign on earth that counts so many subjects as Pius IX. Two hundred millions of men cherish him in their hearts. Sooner than we should see him subject to any sovereign, or president, or petty prince, or king, we should have recourse to the old institution, and Peter-pence, from every point of the compass, would constitute a treasury to raise him above that subjection, even though he should occupy an island in the Mediterranean Sea, a single square mile in extent." In the same discourse Bishop Hughes asserts, in language which would not discredit the age of Hildebrand or of Innocent, that the popes are "above emperors, above kings, above presidents, above all human power." And of course, we may add, if this doctrine is true, then the man who uttered it, and every other subject of the pope, owes a higher and more sacred allegiance to the pope of Rome, than to any other government or power upon earth.

Nothing is more evident, then, than that popery is essentially a political system. Its pope is a political sovereign; its cardinals are political princes; its bishops political emissaries of their sovereign at Rome; and its priests political agents, ever intriguing to accomplish their objects by political means; and, in this country, controlling, at will, the votes of the Roman Catholic masses, at the beck of "his Lordship" of Philadelphia, "his Grace" of New-York, or his sovereign "Holiness" at Rome. Political power is essential to the very existence of popery, and never can it prosper and flourish long in any country, unless sheltered under the wing of political influence. Let the prelates and the priests of Rome, in the United States, be only deprived of the political ascendency which superstition gives them over the masses subject to their sway; let the iniquitous tribunal of the confessional be abolished, so that Roman Catholic votes shall be given as freely and intelligently as are Protestant votes, and that the Romish clergy shall exercise no more influence over the polls than the Methodist, the Presbyterian, the Lutheran, or the Baptist clergy; so that fawning editors and politicians shall no longer be tempted to court these foreign ecclesiastics for the sake of the subscriptions or the votes they command; let the political tie be sundered which binds the Romish priesthood to their royal master at Rome, so that this foreign potentate shall no longer have the command of this great papal army in America, by appointing bishops to their sees,

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and requiring them to return to the royal presence every few years, to render to their sovereign an account of their stewardship, and to renew their allegiance by genuflexions and prostrations and footkissings, of more than oriental debasement; let this political espionage and authority at home, and this political alliance and subjection abroad, be abolished, and popery, in this hitherto free republic, would be unable to survive the shock; it would lose the very element of its power, and after a few spasmodic struggles, would perish like a headless trunk that had undergone the discipline of the guillotine.

There is one consoling lesson taught us by the historical review we have taken, with the mention of which we shall close this article. That lesson is this: *popery flourishes best in the dark, and the present is an age of light.* The object of the invention of the doctrines of the dark ages, such as purgatory, indulgences, and transubstantiation, was the exaltation of priestly dignity and wealth, and the attainment of political power. The world has grown wiser since that midnight of the world—wise enough to detect and to abhor these designing impostures; and, let the priests of Rome strive as they may, never will they succeed in turning the dial of the world seven centuries backward, to those ages of ignorance and darkness. It is now too late in the day to employ the miserable dogma of transubstantiation, for instance, as it was employed in the dark ages, as an engine of priestly exaltation and rule. Now that the press is at work, and knowledge is abroad, even a pope would hardly dare to reiterate the horribly blasphemous language of pope Urban, when he said, "the hands of the pontiff are raised to an eminence granted to none of the angels of creating God, the Creator of all things." Or if any should dare, in the nineteenth century, to reiterate such heaven-daring profanity, he would excite only contempt for the presumption, and horror for the blasphemy. An age of darkness might endure that a priestly confessor to the Queen of Spain should rebuke the opposition of a statesman to his views, by saying, "You should respect the man who every day has your God in his hands, and your queen at his feet;" but those ages of darkness are past, to return no more.

With such an array of facts before us, as those we have contemplated, are we told that popery is friendly to civilization and intellectual advancement. The whole history of the world refutes the flagrant and outrageous falsehood. And what though Orestes A. Brownson may amuse himself and his hearers, as he has in his winter lectures for a year or two past, by contrasting the civilization and refinement of papal countries, such

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as Mexico, Italy or Spain, with the moral and intellectual darkness of such countries as Protestant New-England, New York, or Pennsylvania; or the civilization of the tenth century, when popery was in its glory, with the barbarity of the nineteenth, when popery is in its dotage! So long as America enjoys what popery would deny her, the freedom of the press, of conscience, and of private judgment, the lie may safely be left to refute itself. There is little danger of such a libel upon all history being believed in the nineteenth century, except by the most ignorant and deluded; for even the Protestant schoolboy, when told that popery promotes civilization, will listen to the strange assertion with a look of intelligent archness, and smile of wondering incredulity, which tells you he knows better; as he would to one who should relate the story of Sinbad the sailor as a positive fact.

Seriously, to attempt the refutation of such an assertion, would be to libel the common sense of the people, for it would imply that we seriously supposed they were ignorant and weak enough to believe it. Besides, the task of refutation might prove a work of supererogation, at least so far as the versatile lecturer is concerned; for who could tell but that ere the task was done, Mr. Brownson, who, it has been truly said, has been "everything by turns and nothing long," might add another change to those he has heretofore made; and since he has already gone the rounds of nearly all the sects and parties of Christendom, and could, therefore, scarcely turn another somerset, without landing in the mosque of the Turk, or at the feet of the Grand Lama; why then, of course, he would turn round, as he often has before, and refute himself.

So far is it from being true that popery is the herald of civilization; there is no greater enemy of genuine civilization, of freedom, or of light; and if there is one truth in history more prominent than all others, it is this—a truth written in burning characters upon the dark back-ground of the world's midnight, evident as the lines of forked lightning upon a dark and cloudy sky—ignorance and darkness are the native element of popery. Its most flourishing days were in the midnight of the world. The greatest blow that anti-Christian system ever received, was the revival of letters and the invention of Printing. The golden age of popery was the iron age of the world, and its universal reign would be the iron age restored!

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Art. VIII.—NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

The Life of John Randolph of Roanoke. By Hugh A. Garland. In two volumes. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1850.

These volumes are full of interest to one who takes pleasure in reviewing the political history of the country. The author is too discursive and rambling in his narrative, and is not always entirely correct in his conclusions, or even in his statements; but he manages to introduce to the reader's attention nearly every public question which became a subject of general interest, from the adoption of the Federal Constitution in 1789, to the death of Mr. Randolph in 1833. His spirit is too much that of the partisan in all his political reasonings, and too much that of his apologist, and even the idolator in many of his personal narratives. Yet, with all these drawbacks, the work is both interesting and instructive, and its large sale testifies how wide-spread and permanent is the singular reputation of John Randolph. No other American statesman, in his day, has possessed so formidable a power of invective, or wielded an influence in Congress that was so much dreaded in debate, by those against whom it was directed. He seldom originated important measures, and has left, in the permanent legislation of his country, scarcely a single memorial of his genius. He was not strongly bound to any party, but in every administration he was, almost invariably, in the opposition, and was accustomed to pour out upon its prominent measures, of whatever character, the vials of his bitterest invective. He was, however, singularly attached to the institutions, both political and social, of his native state; and his character as a statesman was, in a great degree, formed by the early associations to which he was accustomed in his own Virginia. He disliked and underrated the industrial activity and commercial enterprise of New-England and New-York, and thought nothing delightful and nothing truly respectable in social life, that did not resemble the ancient plantations of the James River, and of the neighboring counties of the Old Dominion.

His mind was largely endowed, though, as is well known, his sensibilities were so morbid, that at several different periods of his life, they plunged him into the gloom and hallucinations of absolute insanity. It was undoubtedly true, as he was accustomed to say of himself, that his career was one long struggle with disease; but the struggle was heroically maintained, though often in circumstances and in states of mind which, as they are narrated, awaken the deepest sympathy of the reader.

No portion of the work has interested us more than that which opens to us glimpses of his religious history, and gives us intimations of the anxious questions which his eager and restless spirit was accustomed to put to itself concerning its own immortal destiny. He had been taught the precepts of the gospel in early childhood, by a mother whose memory he delighted to cherish with pious veneration, to the end of his life. He was also fortunate in sharing the friendship of two gentlemen, since of eminent public standing, whose faithful warnings and counsels made a deep impression upon his sensitive moral nature. These were the Hon. Francis S. Key, long the District Attorney of the District of Columbia, and the Rev. William Meade, now the venerable bishop of the Episcopal Church in Virginia. His letters to these gentlemen awaken a profound and peculiar interest. They reveal a religious experience which seemed to involve the deepest elements of his being, and which, as was hoped both by himself and his friends, led him, at length, to

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Him who alone cleanseth from sin. His religious character, however, like his intellectual, save at occasional intervals, was clouded with the shades which arose from the morbid melancholy and distrust that seemed inherent in his very nature.

As we have already intimated, we cannot approve the manner in which the author has chosen to tell the story he attempted to narrate. He nowhere appears to advantage, and is usually positive, superficial, and blustering when he has occasion to refer to the measures of the government, or to the men to whom he has been opposed in recent politics. These volumes, however, it should be remembered, are all that we shall probably ever have relating to the famous statesman and orator of Roanoke, and, on this account, they possess a high value, and will undoubtedly win for themselves a permanent place in the biographical literature of the day. We only regret that a subject so unique did not fall into hands more faithful in historical narrative, and more skilled and practiced in the portraiture of character.

The History of the United States of America. From the adoption of the Federal Constitution to the end of the Sixteenth Congress. By RICHARD HILDRETH. In three volumes. New-York: Harper and Brothers. Vols. I. & II., 8vo. pp. 704, 686.

It has often been observed as a fact strikingly illustrative of the bitterness of party spirit and the instability of popular opinion, that the chief historic men of our country, who won universal applause during the period of the Revolution, became, in a quarter of a century, the objects of implacable jealousy and hatred to portions of their countrymen. The period of the Revolution was a period of common danger, and the pressure from without occasioned harmony of counsels and labours within our own borders. But danger passed away, and new motives and feelings swayed the breasts of public men. Differences of opinion on various theoretical and practical matters began to show themselves, and the lust of power and station came in to give acrimony to discussion. Parties were formed, and the bitterness which ruled them seemed to be in proportion to the previous concord. Men, but a few years earlier lauded as patriots, were now denounced as traitors; the very men who then had put their necks in jeopardy for their country's deliverance from oppression, were now denounced as ready to surrender back to tyranny on the one hand, or anarchy on the other, every precious right. Views like these characterised the whole range of political discussion, and poisoned social and domestic peace from the district of Maine to the apocryphal Southwest.

The traces of these political ruptures are not yet effaced. Substantially the same questions, which were then raised, have come down to us as a political inheritance, and politicians trace their pedigree to those times with as careful scrutiny and as warm pride as old families trace their ancestral lines. It becomes, therefore, a difficult matter for the historian, to utter the true voice of history concerning that period. Like other men he enters into present discussions, and these tinge his views of the past. The period in question is not yet sufficiently remote, if, indeed, it ever will be, to be viewed with the eye of an unimpassioned spectator; and he whose purposes of fair dealing are strongest, will need to guard his heart against the biases of education and prejudice, and of party interests and connections.

We think Mr. Hildreth has performed a most valuable service in the right direction. He has the requisites of honesty and independence, and seems both to have weighed details with care, and to have combined them with judgment. We greatly needed such a work. The points at issue between the old Federalists and Republicans are obscured in the public mind by the

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glosses of present discussions, and it is only just to the actors of those times to turn back and look at those points as they did themselves. Mr. Hildreth seems to us, from the incomplete examination which we have been able to give to the volumes now issued, to have been eminently successful in furnishing to his readers the means of fair judgments. He has reproduced the period, to which his history relates, with great clearness and completeness. He is unsparing in his comments, and the reader may think with him or not as he pleases; but he is full and candid as to facts, and, we think, may be trusted with confidence. His style is clear and forcible, and the impressions he makes are distinct and permanent. His volumes cover comparatively unappropriated ground, and are indispensable to the intelligent reader. He has not written the philosophy of our history, but he has given the reader the facts on which he may weave his own philosophy. Rhetoric and embellishment he especially eschews, as suitable only for fourth of July orations, and poor for those. The volumes are handsomely printed, and are uniform with the first series, which embraces our revolutionary and colonial history.

The Aias of Sophocles; with Critical and Explanatory Notes. Cambridge. Published by John Bartlett, Bookseller to the University. 1851.

If the publication of this elegant volume of a Greek play is called for to any such extent as can remunerate the publisher, we may be entitled to form the most gratifying conclusions touching the present condition of the study of Greek literature among us. It is a book of 342 pages, admirably printed on fine, clear paper, with a broad margin and beautiful type, both the Greek and the English,—containing the text, illustrated by extended notes,—of one of the tragedies of Sophocles, which, though one of the noblest of them all, is far from being universally read in American Colleges, and, indeed, is not read in all the colleges of New-England. Both the publisher and editor certainly deserve the thanks of the lovers of Sophocles and of the Greek Drama, for bringing before them, in such a beautiful and attractive form, a work which they have too often been obliged to meet in the company of bad paper, type, and printing. The text of this edition is chiefly Brunck's, but the various readings adopted by editors from other manuscripts than those of Brunck are mentioned, and frequently discussed. A large part of the notes (which constitute four-fifths of the book) consists of a skillful and scholar-like collation of the notes of the more distinguished English and German commentators, such as Brunck, Elmsley, Porson, and Hermann, Lobeck, Wunder, and others. It was the object of the editor to clothe in an intelligible English form, and to arrange and combine in one book, the results of the labors of these distinguished scholars. This task, by no means easy, and not altogether agreeable, he seems to have accomplished in a very happy manner; its literary execution is excellent; and we have been struck with the condensed brevity and with the elegant precision with which he has set forth and balanced against each other, numerous and varying opinions and discussions of difficult passages. Still we could not but entertain some apprehension, in reading some of these notes, respecting the practical uses of such laborious, though ever so well executed *resumes* of the labors of the various commentators of Sophocles. For college students they are quite unsuitable, as they would only confuse their minds, and effectually preclude their reaching the sense of the author. On the other hand, the Professors of Greek, though they would gladly have at hand such a work, yet in their preparations for their classes, or in their

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private reading, prefer to go to the original sources, and make up their opinions for themselves. Notes of this character are, therefore, unpractical as instruments of education; and they have not the highest value, if regarded as strictly philological. But the notes in this volume are not exclusively of this character. Notwithstanding the disclaimer of the editor in his preface, it seems to us that he has done something more than merely "to throw open the labors of the great names already mentioned." The grammatical notes, and the references to approved grammars, such as Buttmann and Krüger, are well designed for the instruction of the student; and the illustrations of various passages by parallel passages from English poets, will contribute greatly to promote his literary culture. We have read with great interest some of those literary notes which illustrate the action and the characters of the piece; especially the beautiful delineation of the character of Teemessa, (v. 915,) and the view presented (v. 822) of the difficult artistic question touching the conclusion of the tragedy.

The name of the editor of this volume does not appear. We are given to understand, from the preface, that it is the work of an English scholar, recently resident in Cambridge. The work is dedicated to Hon. Edward Everett; and in the preface reference is made, "in the most emphatic and grateful terms, to the inestimable aid received in the progress of the work" from "the Eliot Professor of Greek in Harvard University."

Christian Melodies: A Selection of Hymns and Tunes, designed for Social and Private Worship in the Lecture-Room and the Family. Edited by GEORGE B. CHEEVER, D.D., and G. E. SWEETSER. New-York: A. S. Barnes & Co.

This selection embraces about four hundred hymns, with upwards of eighty different tunes of various metres, suitable to be sung in social worship or around the family altar at the hour of domestic devotion. Many of the hymns will be recognized as the familiar songs of many a pious generation that is gone; while a few will be welcomed as strangers worthy to be placed in their goodly company. The design of having hymns and tunes united in the same book is certainly a judicious one, and favorable to accuracy and good taste in the exercise of singing. The manner in which the design is carried into execution in the volume before us, evinces alike the literary judgment and the Christian carefulness of the accomplished clergymen who have superintended the work.

Letters to my Pupils; with Narrative and Biographical Sketches. By Mrs. L. H. SIGOURNEY. New-York: Carter & Brothers. 1851. 18mo. Pp. 341.

A volume full of beautiful sentiments and pictures of character, and executed with the same delicacy of taste which belongs to all the productions of its amiable and most respected author. It is made up of two parts, of which the first comprises letters addressed by Mrs. Sigourney to her numerous and now widely-scattered pupils; and the second is made up of brief sketches of those who have passed from among the living since they ceased to be her pupils at Hartford. Both the letters and the sketches are tributes of affection for the living and the dead, which evince the most delicate and truthful sentiment in the teacher, and will be welcomed with eager interest by her surviving pupils, and her numerous other friends in all parts of the land.

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Midnight Harmonies; or Thoughts for the Season of Solitude and Sorrow. By Octavius Winslow, M.A. New-York: Carter & Brothers. 1851. 18mo. Pp. 249.

This is a collection of thoughts, generally in prose, on a series of subjects well chosen for the meditations of one, who, like the author at the period of its composition, is watching in solitude and sorrow around the couch of suffering, and is called upon to administer consolation to the afflicted, or what is not less difficult, to apply the balm to his own wounded heart.

Lectures on the Lord's Prayer. By William R. Williams. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1851.

The treatises which have been written on the Lord's Prayer, as Dr. Williams remarks in his modest, but learned, preface, "would form of themselves no inconsiderable library." They have appeared in the language of nearly every Christian country, and been associated with nearly every system of theology—but the divine prayer itself has lost none of its inexhaustible freshness, and teaches new lessons of piety, and suggests, in each succeeding age, new reflections to the mind of the devout student of its all-comprehensive and sublime petitions.

We have been especially reminded of this truth, as we have read these beautiful and touching lectures. They make us feel as if we had never before studied this prayer aright—as if we had repeated it all our lives without taking into our minds a tithe of its significance, or rising in any other than the most imperfect degree, to the heights of rapt devotion to which it leads. We close the volume with something far deeper than a mere feeling of interest and delight. We are pervaded with a sentiment of awful reverence for the divine thoughts which are uttered in the prayer, and of profound gratitude to the writer, who, in these lectures, has unfolded so much of its hidden significance, and wrought its sublime and ennobling petitions into so many of the hopes and events, the duties and relationships of the human soul. No work of deeper interest or of greater spiritual power, has lately been added to our religious literature. Its spirit is as catholic as the prayer on which it comments; the Christian reader, of any denomination, will find in it a fountain of instruction and of spiritual culture such as is seldom to be met with away from the Bible itself.

The Popular Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature. Condensed from the larger work. By John Kitto, D. D., F. S. A., &c., &c. Assisted by Rev. James Taylor, D. D., of Glasgow. Illustrated by numerous engravings. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1851. pp. 800. 8vo.

The original Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature is nearly twice the size of the present volume. The material is here condensed to eight hundred octavo pages, under the supervision of Dr. Kitto himself, and contains, it is believed, all that the ordinary student could desire in illustration of the literature and antiquities of the Bible. It is compiled from a great variety of sources, all of them of the highest and most recent authority, and has received special contributions from a large number of eminent historical and biblical scholars on both sides of the Atlantic. It thus presents, in a single volume, and at a price which places it within the reach of nearly all who may desire it, a vast amount of accurate and interesting information touching the most important subjects of Scripture history. We welcome its publication in this country with peculiar pleasure; for we regard it as likely to be emi-

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nently useful in promoting a more thorough and intelligent study of the Holy Scriptures. To clergymen—especially those whose libraries are of limited extent—to teachers in Sunday schools—to parents who would throw interest around their domestic readings of the Bible—to all who desire better to understand the word of God—we confidently recommend this volume as one which will render them invaluable assistance, both in their attempts to improve themselves and to become useful to others.

Cyclopœdia of Anecdotes of Literature and the Fine Arts. By KAZLITT ARVINE, A. M., author of the "Cyclopædia of Moral and Religious Anecdotes." Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1851.

We had no expectation of finding a Cyclopædia of Anecdotes so interesting a book. The collection is made with untiring industry, and, as it seems to us, with great good judgment and taste, and embraces a vast amount of such information as every one might wish to possess relating to Literature and the Fine Arts. This species of knowledge is becoming every day more and more valuable and important in the present state of society. The volume meets a want which is widely felt among all classes of people.

Louisiana; its Colonial History and Romance. By CHARLES GAYARRE. New-York: Harper and Brothers. 1851. 8vo. Pp. 546.

We have been disappointed, on a careful perusal of this work. The "Romance," in its title-page, from some brief notices, we supposed to be a series of legends and traditions, interwoven with a few fragments of real history, such as are to be found in most of the "histories" and "sketches" of that notable country, but a short period past called the "Far West." The book is, indeed, as the author denominates his first lecture, "THE POETRY, OR THE ROMANCE OF THE HISTORY OF LOUISIANA." But it is the poetry of style, and the romance of facts with which the gifted author has sought to beguile the attention of the reader. In the preface to the first series, (for the work is a compilation of popular lectures,) dated March 1, 1848, the author says,

"Last year, as circumstance or accident would have it, I was invited by the managers of the People's Lyceum to deliver a lecture before the society. The invitation was flattering, but came in a most inopportune moment. The legislature was then in session, and, as Secretary of State, my duties and my daily relations with the members of that honorable body were such as to allow me very little leisure. I could not decline, however, the honor conferred upon me; and with a mind engrossed by other subjects, and a hurried pen, I wrote the first lecture, which is now introduced as the leading one in the volume."

The author, notwithstanding his "hurried pen" in the composition of his first lecture, has given ample proofs of careful investigation of the facts pertaining to the early history of his native state. In search of health, he had previously spent several years in France, where, as an antidote to *ennui*, he explored carefully the archives of Paris relating to Louisiana, and gathered many facts from the family records and traditions of the early explorers. These materials, clothed in rich and somewhat gorgeous imagery, he has employed with success in the work. The incidents and characteristics of Ibberville, Bienville, Maurepas, Pontchartrain, Crozat, Father Montigny, Father Davion, Cadillac, St. Dennis, John Law, with his enormous bank-bubble, D'Artaguette, Grondel, and a host of other pioneers in Louisiana, furnish a rich series of original sketches in biography. The origin, cus-

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toms, numbers, traditions, laws, and destruction of the Natchez, are delineated with the skill of an artist. The eight lectures which fill the volume carry forward the history and romance of Louisiana to 1742. We hope the author will offer the public another volume or two from his romantic pen.

The typographical execution, with large type, does credit to the press of the Harpers.

League of the Ho-de-no-sau-nee, or Iroquois. By LEWIS H. MORGAN. Rochester: Sage and Brother. 8vo. Pp. 477.

It is a gratifying fact that the present generation is likely to gain some knowledge of the aborigines of our country, besides that which has been usually taught in the nurseries, or even that which has been derived from authentic history in the narratives of Indian wars. Little indeed has been commonly known of the Indians as to their real character, their political condition, their domestic life, their occupations in time of peace, their religion and worship. But a new era is dawning. A new relish for antiquities seems to be springing up among us, and several writers have made Indian life a patient and faithful study. The book before us relates to the remarkable nations known as the Iroquois. It illustrates their political and social condition, and shows a degree of civilization to have prevailed among them far higher than has generally been supposed. It embraces the structure and history of the League which made them famous in war, and which certainly was a remarkable federation, indicating great political sagacity and practical skill. The account of the religion and religious rites of the Iroquois given in the volume, is exceedingly interesting.

To what extent the book is to be regarded as authority, we are not able to determine. The author was thrown among the Iroquois in early life, and was adopted as a Seneca. Much of what he has collected is gathered from national traditions. His book is written in a style full of spirit and life, though not always condensed, or without needless repetitions. It indicates a considerably broad, if not a highly finished, culture, and certainly is one of the most attractive works which has lately fallen into our hands. It should be added, that the volume itself is an elegant one—a substantial octavo, on clear type and paper, and containing numerous portraits and illustrative cuts. It reflects great credit upon the publishers.

Memoirs of William Wordsworth, Poet Laureate, D. C. L. By CHRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH, D. D., Canon of Westminster. Edited by HENRY REED. Two volumes. Vol. II. Boston: Ticknor, Reed & Fields.

The concluding volume of these memoirs gives a higher idea of Wordsworth's activity, with reference to public and political questions, than would be suggested by its predecessor. We have here his opinions on the most important topics of legislation agitated during the last half century in England. Many of his views are striking, and their expression betokens great earnestness and sobriety of thought. It is needless to say, that his ideas of Church Establishments, and other subjects brought to view in his correspondence, seem to us radically erroneous. They are based on postulates which we cannot concede, but which he reasons upon as if they were axioms. But the opinions of such a man are interesting, not so much for their intrinsic weight, as for the light they throw upon his personal character, and upon the designed tendencies of his verse. On the whole, though in parts heavy, and, from the plan on which they are constructed, necessarily

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addressing almost exclusively, those familiar with Wordsworth's poetry, these memoirs must be esteemed a highly valuable addition to literary biography.

We find in this volume one or two passages which, if they had been sooner accessible, would have saved us some labor in the discussion of Wordsworth's poetry, in our last number. It appears from his own testimony that he did not profess to write sacred poetry. On the contrary, he doubted if it were not presumptuous for uninspired men to attempt that style of composition; but he "considered it to be the mission of all poets, and he regarded it as his own vocation, to endeavor to elevate the mind to sacred things. He did not feel authorized or qualified," continues his biographer, "by his profession to conduct others into the inner shrine within the veil, but he endeavored to prepare their minds to worship with more devotion in the outer court of the natural world, and thus to fit themselves for admission into the sanctuary, under the guidance of revealed religion." It is to be regretted, that, by his representations of this "outer court," he did much to make the mind content with its attractions, and to induce forgetfulness that there is any higher sanctuary. On this point the poet himself remarks:—

"For my own part, I have been averse to frequent mention of the mysteries of Christian faith; not from a want of a due sense of their momentous nature, but the contrary. Besides general reasons for diffidence in treating subjects of holy writ, I have some special ones. I might err in points of faith, and I should not deem my mistakes less to be deprecated because they were expressed in metre. Even Milton, in my humble judgment, has erred, and grievously; and what poet could hope to atone for his [mis] apprehensions in the way in which that mighty mind has done?" And a friend, who conversed with him on the subject, says that Wordsworth, after repeating these views, added, "the earnest protest that his works, as well as those of any other poet, should not be considered as developing all the influences which his own heart recognized, but rather those which he considered himself able, as an artist, to display to advantage, and which he thought most applicable to the wants, and *admitted by the usages of the world at large*."

The words we have italicised imply a limitation of the poet's aims, that cannot be deemed characteristic of a distinctively religious poet. We have only to add, that while these quotations abundantly confirm the view we have felt compelled to take of his productions, the motives they seem to disclose tend to neutralize, in a measure, the unfavorable inferences that his course, unexplained, might provoke.

Life and Manners from the Autobiography of an English Opium Eater. By THOMAS DE QUINCEY. Boston: Ticknor, Reed and Fields. 1851.

This is the fifth volume in the series of De Quincey's writings, and the first of the autobiography of that extraordinary and most interesting man. We have read it with great pleasure, as it indicates the progress of his life and the formation of his character, under the several heads of "Early Days," "Residence in London and in Ireland," "The Irish Rebellion," "Residence at Oxford," and "The Study of German Literature." These and a few kindred topics form the nuclei around which the leading events of his life, and the forming agencies of his character, are made to gather. They constitute together a story of singular dramatic interest and power. The volume, like those which have preceded it, is handsomely prepared, and will be cordially welcomed by all who appreciate the department of polite literature to which Mr. De Quincey has delighted to contribute.

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Nouvellettes of the Musicians. By Mrs. E. F. Ellet, Author of "The Women of the American Revolution." New-York: Cornish, Lamport & Co. St. Louis: McCartney and Lamport.

This is a beautiful volume, containing eighteen *nouvellettes*, or little sketches of the lives and characters of eminent musicians. Of the tales it contains, six or seven are original; the others are translated either from the German or the French. They portray the characters of most of the great professors in the several branches of musical art, and embody many of the most interesting incidents recorded in their lives. Handel, Tartini, Mozart, Beethoven, Bellini, Tamburini, and many others, are made to rise before us to dazzle us with the brilliancy of their genius, and astonish us by their wonderful performances of art. The book is adorned with many well executed heads of the great musicians, and is bound in highly ornamental style. It is prepared by Mrs. Ellet, the well known author of "The Women of the Revolution," and with its handsome binding and beautiful engravings, it cannot fail to make its way alike to the centre table of the parlor, and the choice shelf of the library.

Christ's Second Coming: Will it be Premillennial? By Rev. David Brown, A. M., St. James's Free Church, Glasgow. New-York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

This work relates to a question which seems periodically to return to the Christian church, and to divide the opinions and sympathies of its members. When and in what manner the second advent of Christ to the earth will take place, are inquiries on which revelation throws just light enough to make the minds of men eager to frame some theory which shall satisfy the deep yearnings of their curiosity. Hence we find in different ages of the church, that speculations upon this subject have been the chosen occupation of many of the ablest and most excellent writers who have contributed to theological literature. Chiliasm, Millenarianism, Second Adventism, and at last, Millerism, are among the most familiar of the names which have been assigned to the various theories which have had their origin in these speculations. They all, in one form or another, maintain that Christ's second coming will be long before the end of the world, and while the human race is still going on as it now is. These theories, which, indeed, in their general character, are one and the same, and which, in the work before us, are grouped under the general name of *Premillennialism*, Mr. Brown has subjected to the tests of divine revelation. The doctrines which he opposes are fairly stated and ably answered in the first part of the work. In the second part, he sets forth and advocates the theory which is now most generally entertained in all portions of the Christian church, that the second advent will not be till the kingdom of Christ has become universal on the earth, and the world is prepared for the final consummation of all created things. In the third part, the author considers the objections which have been supposed to lie against this view, and replies to them with great fulness and fairness. The work, which contains about 500 pages, appears to us to present a complete view of the subject to which it relates, and will be found exceedingly useful both to those who are in doubt themselves, and to those who desire to satisfy the honest questionings, and to remove the pernicious errors of others concerning the second advent of Christ.

The Authority of God; or the True Barrier against Romish and Infidel Aggression. Four Discourses, by Rev. J. H. Merle D'Aubigne, D.D., President of the Theological Institute, Geneva. Author's complete Edition. New-York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1851. 12mo. Pp. 305.

The publication of this little work, relating as it does to the questions which lie at the foundation of all true Christian faith, cannot fail to be

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timely. The four discourses which it contains were preached in Geneva during the last year, two of them to the Evangelical Congregation with which Dr. Merle is connected; one before the General Assembly of the Evangelical Society, and one before the students and friends of the Theological College. They are designed to set forth the authority of Scripture, as resting: 1. On the testimony of God. 2. On the testimony of men. 3. On the testimony of history. 4. On the testimony of theology. They have been revised by the author, and are here prefaced by a well-written introduction, explaining their origin and the importance of the questions to which they relate. The work is marked by many of the best qualities which usually distinguish both the style and the thought of its eminent author.

Expository Discourses on the First Epistle of the Apostle Peter. By JOHN BROWN, D.D., Senior Minister of the United Presbyterian Congregation, Broughton Place, Edinburgh, and Professor of Exegetical Theology to the United Presbyterian Church. 1 vol. 8vo. New-York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

It is now about two hundred years since the "Practical Commentary on the first Epistle General of St. Peter," by Archbishop Leighton, was first published. To the present generation that beautiful and most excellent work is comparatively little known—certainly far less than its high merits deserve. In the volume before us, however, we are most happy to find a work of kindred character—conceived in the same high appreciation of the writings of the earnest-minded apostle, and executed with a corresponding delicacy, discrimination, and practical effect. Unlike the Commentary of Leighton, this work is drawn out into twenty-four Discourses relating to the several topics under which the teachings of the Epistle are arranged, and each discourse contains both an exegetical analysis, and a practical elucidation and application of the passage to which it relates. The discourses are preceded by a carefully prepared translation of the Epistle, and followed by a general index, and all together make a volume of nearly eight hundred pages. The work, which is a fruit of the author's own labors as a parish minister, is well suited to many different classes of readers. To the scholar and the Christian minister, it will convey many useful suggestions and striking views of the apostle's teachings; while to the less instructed reader, and especially to the head of the family who would read holy lessons to his household, it will furnish invaluable aid, and shed comfort and peace over every circle in which it forms a part of the daily exercises of religious instruction.

A Wreath around the Cross; or Scripture Truths illustrated. By Rev. A. MORTON BROWN, author of "The Leader of the Lollards," &c., with a preface by JOHN ANGELL JAMES. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1851.

This handsome little volume is devoted to the commendation of the Cross, with all its associations, to the attention of the reader. The book is highly spoken of in an introduction briefly and simply written, and setting forth its character and merits. Such a work is always timely, but especially so now, when the Cross is regarded as an ornament—as a holy relic—or as anything but the foundation of human hopes. We commend the volume to the attention of our readers.

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Arnold's First Latin Book; remodelled and rewritten, and adapted to the Ollendorf Method of Instruction. By ALBERT HARKNESS, Senior Master in Providence High School. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1851.

This volume, we think, is worthy of an honorable rank among the numerous classical text books which have been published by Messrs. Appleton & Co. Mr. Harkness is an experienced and skillful instructor, and has modified the works of Mr. T. K. Arnold in such a manner as to render it far better suited to the wants of the young scholar. As is remarked in the preface, Mr. Arnold's books, when first introduced into the schools of this country, were a great improvement on any which had preceded them. Experience, however, has proved that they require to be simplified. This has been done in the volume of Mr. Harkness, who has availed himself of the labors of several other authors. We have no doubt that the book will be found eminently useful in the teaching of Latin.

Nathalie: A Tale. By JULIA KAVANAGH, Author of "Women in France," "Madeleine," etc. New-York: D. Appleton and Company. 1851.

A tale of unusual interest and power. Its apparent design, as stated in the brief preface, is simply to portray two characters of entirely opposite qualities and temperaments; but it really draws aside the veil from the moral machinery of human nature, and presents its workings with marvellous interest and effect. The scene of the story is laid in Normandy, and one of the leading contrasts on which its action is made to turn, is that which generally exists between the temperament of the north, and the temperament of the south. The two are placed side by side, and are made to walk together along the pathway of life, and to illustrate the impulses and cautions—the passion and the reason—by which they are respectively actuated. Of Julia Kavanagh we know nothing, save what is contained in the work before us, but this of itself is certainly no mean proof of genius.

Plymouth and the Pilgrims; or Incidents of Adventure in the History of the First Settlers. By JOSEPH BANVARD. Boston: Gould and Lincoln, 1851. 18mo.

This is the first of a series of twelve or more volumes of consecutive American history which Mr. Banvard is engaged in preparing for the press, and which are to be issued by Messrs. Gould and Lincoln. The conception of such a series is a most fortunate and useful one, and, if faithfully executed, will do more than has yet been done towards making the stirring events of American history familiar to the American mind. The volumes are designed for popular reading, and are especially suited to interest the young. In the one now before us, the incidents are very happily selected, and the narrative is simply and faithfully told. We commend it with great confidence to all who would learn for themselves, or who would teach to their children, the wonderful history of Plymouth and the Pilgrims.

Lays of the Kirk and Covenant. By Mrs. A. STUART MONTEATH. New-York: Carter & Brothers. 1851. 12mo. Pp. 245.

A collection of thirteen poetical pieces—some of them of heroic spirit and stirring melody—on scenes and incidents in the history of Scotland in the times of her greatest trials. The several pieces are illustrated by wood-cuts, some of which are beautifully executed. Among the most elaborate and

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finished of the poems in the volume, are those entitled "The Signing of the Covenant," "The Martyrs of Wiglin," and "The Cameronian Dream," all which breathe the spirit of a heroic age.

Posthumous Poems of William Motherwell. Now first collected. Boston: Ticknor, Reed and Fields. 1851.

Motherwell died at Glasgow, in 1835. Several editions of his poetical works have been published in this country since that period, which have been received with marked favor. This collection of his Posthumous Poems has been made under the sanction and with the advice of his friend and poetical ally, Mr. William Kennedy, and the volume is prefaced with some beautiful stanzas, written by him after a visit to the grave of Motherwell, in 1847. The poems it contains are characterized by the same qualities as are those with which the public are already familiar. They indicate the same versatility of genius, the same gentleness and pathos, the same energy and intensity of passion which have been so much admired in the best of his poetical works.

An Allegorical Dialogue, between a Professed Messenger from Heaven and an Old Man, on the assumption by the messenger, that Immersion is an essential condition of Salvation. By Rev. LEBBEUS ARMSTRONG. New-York: published by the author. 1851. 12mo. pp. 408.

A work perfectly in the spirit of Dr. Featley's "Dippers Dipt, or the Anabaptists Ducked and Plunged over Head and Eares, at a Disputation in Southwark." It was our design to compare the two somewhat in detail, for the special edification of those divines, grave and honored among us, who have yielded to the importunity of an "Old Man," and lent the sanction of their names to a book which misrepresents and traduces a denomination of Christians; but we have concluded that we could make better use of our pages. The book is characterized by neither learning nor religion, neither truth nor charity, neither wit nor logic.

Among the works intended to be noticed in the July number of the Review, but unavoidably postponed, were the following from the press of TICKNOR, REED & FIELDS. It is needless to say, that the style in which they appear is uniformly tasteful and elegant.—*The House of the Seven Gables. A Romance.* By NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE. 12mo. pp. 344. This is a story which savors somewhat of the olden time in New-England history, though with all its antique allusions, it runs marvellously into the fancies and interests of the present age. The story is admirably told, and invested with an interest which is not surpassed, if indeed it is equalled, in any other of the author's works. The moral which he aims to illustrate is, in his own words, "that the wrong-doing of one generation lives into the successive ones, and divesting itself of every temporary advantage, becomes a pure and uncontrollable mischief;" a truth of the highest importance, whether it be set forth in the moral essay or the thrilling romance.—WARRENIANA; *with Notes Critical and Explanatory.* By the Editor of a Quarterly Review. 12mo., pp. 192. A most sprightly and amusing book, in the style of the celebrated "Rejected Addresses," of James and Horace Smith. "Warreniana" is nothing less than a collection of encomiums and puffs, in prose and verse, on Mr. Warren's famous London blacking, purporting to have been written by the great masters of contemporary literature both in England and America, and edited by William Gifford, lately the manager of the London Quarterly Review. Its imitations are unusually successful,

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and its wit is of the spiciest and most genuine kind. To most readers it will be entirely new, and will not fail to be appreciated by all who have a taste for this species of literature.—*The Solitary of Juan Fernandez; or the Real Robinson Crusoe.* By the author of "Picciola." Translated from the French by ANNE T. WILBUR. 12mo., pp. 141. A story by no means equal in its universal interest and world-wide power to the real Robinson Crusoe, yet one of deep and touching pathos, which none will read without being subdued by the spell which it weaves over the mind. —*English Songs and other Small Poems.* By BARRY CORNWALL. A new and enlarged edition. 12mo., pp. 387. The assumed name of Barry Cornwall has become so identified with some of the best songs and other sentimental poems in our literature, that the author's real name is now never mentioned or inquired for. The beautiful volume before us is the most complete collection of these delightful poems which has ever been made on either side of the Atlantic. In addition to the songs, many of which are so familiar at the firesides and in the social circles both of England and America, we have several dramatic pieces never before published, the whole spread out on a page so beautiful as almost to give new significance to the poetic images and pictures which they enshrine. A volume more highly finished has seldom proceeded even from the accurate and elegant press of these tasteful publishers.

We have received from the press of Messrs. TICKNOR, REED AND FIELDS, just as the present number is about to be issued, the following, printed and prepared with the elegance and care, which always characterize the publications of this enterprising house.—*Literary Reminiscences, from the Autobiography of an English Opium Eater.* By Thomas De Quincey. In two volumes. Boston, 1851. The first of these volumes contains the following topics: Literary Novitiate, Sir H. Davy, Mr. Godwin, Mrs. Grant, Recollections of Charles Lamb, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, William Wordsworth. The second volume has papers on Wordsworth and Southey, Southey, Wordsworth, and Coleridge, Recollections of Grasmere, The Saracen's Head, The Lakes, Charles Loyd, Walking Student and Edward Irving, Talfourd, The London Magazine, and some other minor topics. They are among the most attractive and interesting of the series of De Quincey's writings.

THE AMERICAN BAPTIST PUBLICATION SOCIETY issues in rapid succession its well-chosen and useful volumes. Bunyan's *Directing Works*, "especially designed to guide the Christian believer in the path of Christian holiness," embrace his Christian Behaviour; A Holy Life the Beauty of Christianity; The Fear of God; An Exhortation to Unity and Peace; and a Caution to Watch against Sin. With one exception, these treatises are supposed to be generally unknown in this country. Together they form a handsome 12mo. volume. Several small volumes have been issued, one a *Manual for Sunday-School Celebrations*, by Rev. EDGAR M. LEVY; another entitled *The Way to Christ, and the Walk in Christ*, by Rev. G. W. ANDERSON, of Lewisburg University, Pa.; and a third containing Dr. Gill's famous tract, *Infant Baptism a part and pillar of Popery*, re-written and expanded under the strong and glowing pen of the Rev. G. B. IDE, D. D. We have received likewise, *Bereaved Mothers*, *Henry Curran*, and the *American Baptist Almanac* for 1852.

THE AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY has issued an abridged edition of the Memoirs of Mary Lundie Duncan.

An Exposition of the Apocalypse, in a series of discourses. By THOMAS WICKES. New-York: M. W. Dodd. 1851. 12mo. pp. 437.

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English Literature in the Nineteenth Century: on the plan of the author's "Compendium of English Literature," and supplementary to it. Designed for colleges and advanced classes in schools, as well as for private reading. By CHARLES D. CLEVELAND. Philadelphia: E. C. & J. Biddle. 1851. 12mo. pp. 746.

A Scripture Manual, alphabetically and systematically arranged, designed to facilitate the finding of Proof Texts. By CHARLES SIMMONS. New-York: M. W. Dodd. 1851. 12mo. pp. 750.

A work strongly recommended by the best names, and specially by Dr. Spring, who has written an introduction to it. The present is the sixth edition.

ART. IX.—INTELLIGENCE.

LIFE OF DR. JUDSON.—We observe, with regret, that a work purporting to be a Memoir of Adoniram Judson, has recently made its appearance in the book market, from a publishing-house in the interior of this state. It is hardly necessary to say, that no memoir of Dr. Judson, worthy of the name, or entitled to confidence, can by any possibility be written without the papers preserved in his family, and those which are lodged in the Mission-rooms in Boston. The compiler of this volume had no access to such papers. His only means of information were such as are open to the public in the Missionary Magazine, and in the lives of other Missionaries. To the stock of common information, he can add nothing. Without the pleasure of his acquaintance, we have been accustomed to hold in high respect the author of this "Memoir," (who, from his apologetic preface, seems to have engaged in this work reluctantly, and from a sort of business compulsion;) but he must allow us to say, that no merits of compilation can make up for the deficiency of materials under which he labored, and that in every just sense his book is a failure. Nor is this the only, or the chief reason of our regret at its publication. The injury which it may inflict on the widow and the fatherless, is the occasion of this allusion. Dr. Judson, after giving his life, his patrimony and his incidental earnings, to the amount of thousands of dollars, to the cause of Missions, died, leaving to his widow and several fatherless children, his good name and deeds, as their chief inheritance. They must depend largely for their support on the sale of an adequate memoir, the preparation of which has for a long time engaged the attention of the Missionary Committee, and of Mrs. Judson. Whatever interferes with the sale of such a memoir takes so much from their prospective resources. Of all these facts the public were early apprized, that there might be no invasion of rights so sacred, by the getting up of unauthorized and necessarily imperfect works like the one here alluded to. These facts, we are told, were specially laid before the publishers of this volume as soon as their purpose was announced, but without effect. Their offer to give a portion of the profits to the bereaved family, which is found in the preface to the book, relieves not at all the injury, but rather makes it the more apparent. It wears amazingly the look of an attempt to buy the public peace by a seeming generosity, when really it is but restoring to that family a part of that which was all their own. We think it impossible that Mrs. Judson will allow herself to receive a farthing from such a source.

Mrs. Judson will soon land upon our shores, and no time will be lost in completing and issuing a memoir which will be authentic, which will embody all available information, and meet the reasonable demands of the Christian world. The present issue will then be found to be but the play of Hamlet, with the part of Hamlet left out.

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American Baptist Missionary Union.—Hon. George N. Briggs, LL. D., of Mass., *President*; Hon. Ira Harris, LL. D., of N. Y., *Chairman of the Board of Managers*; Rev. Solomon Peck, D. D., *Corresponding Secretary for the Foreign Department*; Rev. Edward Bright, Jr., *Corresponding Secretary for the Home Department*; Richard E. Eddy, Esq., *Treasurer*.

The receipts from all sources for the year ending March 31, 1851, were $120,826 35. Of this amount $14,750 were from the American and Foreign Bible Society; $1,000 from the American Bible Union; $3,000 from the American Tract Society; and $4,000 from the United States Government, for the civilization of the Indians.

There are connected with the Union 18 Missions, embracing 77 stations and 164 out-stations; 119 missionaries and assistants, of whom 54 are preachers; 192 native preachers and other assistants; 154 churches, with more than 12,700 members; 1,563 baptized during the past year; 93 schools, with 2,100 pupils; 5 printing establishments, at which 6,131,300 pages have been printed during the past year.

American Baptist Home Mission Society.—Hon. Isaac Davis, LL. D., of Mass., *President*; Rev. Benjamin M. Hill, *Corresponding Secretary*; Charles J. Martin, Esq., *Treasurer*.

The receipts for the year ending April 1, 1851, including a balance of $4,965 16 from the previous year, were $37,085 50. The past year 140 Missionaries and Agents were employed in 11 states, besides those in Oregon, New-Mexico, Minnesota, Canada West and Grand Ligne. The Missionaries have supplied 386 stations.

American and Foreign Bible Society.—Rev. B. T. Welch, D. D., *President*; Rev. S. S. Cutting, *Corresponding Secretary*; N. C. Platt, Esq., *Treasurer*.

The receipts for the past year were $45,373 41; more than $4,000 over any preceding year. Foreign appropriations over $23,000; of which $14,750 were to aid the American Baptist Missionary Union in its Scripture operations in Burmah, Assam, Siam, Teloogoo, China, Germany and France; to Dr. Sutton, for Orissa, $1,000; to the Rev. J. G. Oncken, for Germany, $6,511 76; to Rev. T. T. Devan, for France, $521 51; to Grand Ligne Mission, for Canada, $217 50.

American Baptist Publication Society.—Rev. Joseph H. Kennard, *President*; Rev. Thomas S. Malcom, *Corresponding Secretary*; Rev. J. Newton Brown, *Editorial Secretary*; Rev. B. R. Loxley, *Depository Agent and Assistant Treasurer*. W. W. Keen, *Treasurer*.

The receipts for the year ending March 15, 1851, were $40,597 71, of which $18,098 were book-sales, $5,803 Building Fund, &c. During the year, 16 new publications were stereotyped or printed; 27 colporteur missionaries were employed in seven states, Canada and Oregon. The number of publications on the Society's list is 292, of which 89 are bound volumes.

Southern Baptist Convention.—Rev. R. B. C. Howell, D. D., *President*.

Foreign Mission Board.—Rev. R. B. C. Howell, D. D., *President*; Rev. James B. Taylor, *Corresponding Secretary*; Archibald Thomas, *Treasurer*.

The receipts, (including a balance of $4,181 39 from the previous year) for the year ending April 30, 1851, were $25,970 40. The Missions of the Board are in China and Africa. In *China* the stations are at Canton and Shanghai, with 7 preachers and 9 assistant Missionaries and native assistants; total, 16. In *Africa* there are 7 Missionaries, with 13 assistants, teachers and interpreters, all but one of whom are colored men. Total, 20.

Domestic Mission Board.—Rev. James H. De Votie, *President*; Rev. Russell Holman, *Corresponding Secretary*; W. Hornbuckle, Esq., *Treasurer*. The receipts for the year ending April 1, 1851, were $13,922 85; nearly 4,000 more than the preceding year. The disbursements were $10,916 85. Fifty Ministers have labored as Missionaries and Agents.

Bible Board.—Rev. Samuel Baker, *President*; Rev. Wm. Buck, *Corresponding Secretary*; J. H. Shepherd, *Treasurer*. This Board was organized at Nashville last May.

Mr. Edward H. Fletcher proposes to issue, if sufficient encouragement is

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given by early subscription, the works of Andrew Fuller, in form and style similar to Bohn's English edition. The works will be issued in numbers, and will form, when complete, one large volume, royal 8vo. The prices proposed are reasonable, and should secure the wide circulation of the writings of the great theologian. Mr. Fletcher will issue likewise in a 12mo. volume, a memoir of that excellent Minister of Christ, the late Alfred Bennett, by the Rev. A. Harvey.

MR. G. P. PUTNAM is about to issue: *The Home Book of the Picturesque*, or American Scenery, Art and Literature; a very costly and elegant work.—*The Home Book of Beauty*, by Mrs. Kirkland.—*The Memorial*, a Souvenir of Genius and Virtue, by Mary E. Howitt.—*Hand Book of Literature and the Fine Arts*, by George Ripley and Bayard Taylor.—*Hand Book of Biography*, by Parke Godwin.—*Hand Book of the Useful Arts*, by Dr. Antisell.—*Hand Book of Science*, by Prof. St. John.—*Elements of Geology*, by Prof. St. John.—*Sketches of Travel in Nicaragua*, by E. G. Squier.—*The Men of Manhattan*, by Fenimore Cooper.—*The Shield*. A Narrative, by Miss Cooper, Author of Rural Hours.—*Four Years in an English University*, by C. A. Bristed.—*George Washington*. A Biography. By Washington Irving.

HARPER AND BROTHERS have in press: *Mrs. Hale's Female Biography*. Royal 8vo. Illustrations.—*Forest Life and Forest Trees*, by J. S. Springer. 12mo. Illustrations.—*Abbott's Young Christian Series*. 3 vols., 12 mo. Illustrated. *Lectures on Civilization*, by G. P. R. James, Esq.—*Chambers's Life and Works of Burns*. 4 vols., 12mo.—*Hildreth's United States*. The sixth and concluding volume.—*Tusculanæ Disputationes*. Edited by Dr. Anthon.—*The Comedies of Terence*. Edited by Dr. Anthon.—*Yonge's English-Greek Lexicon*. Edited by Prof. Drisler.—*A New Work on California*.—*A New French Dictionary*.—*Elements of Geology*, by Prof. Gray.

Mr. L. Colby has just issued "*The Epistle of Paul to the Philippians, Practically Explained, by Dr. Augustus Neander*." Translated from the German, by Mrs. H. T. Conant. This small volume, which we have before announced, will be received with pleasure by the Christian public. It was the first of a series of popular commentaries, which the learned author designed to present to the world,—a series soon brought to a close by his lamented death. The accomplished translator, Mrs. Conant, is the wife of the Rev. Dr. Conant, of the Rochester Theological Seminary. That her work is well done, will hardly admit of question. The volume embraces 140 pages, 12mo, and is elegantly printed.

Ticknor, Reed & Fields have in press, and will soon publish, a new Poem by Mr. Longfellow, entitled *The Golden Legend*. It is the longest of his poetical works, and makes a volume of about three hundred and fifty pages.

Messrs. Gould & Lincoln have the following works in press:—*Young American Abroad, or Vacation in Europe:* embodying the results of a tour through Great Britain, France, Holland, Belgium and Switzerland; with plates.—*The Excellent Woman, as described in the Book of Proverbs*; illustrated, with an Introduction by Rev. WILLIAM B. SPRAGUE, D. D. 12mo. cloth.—*The Natural History of the Human Species*; its Typical Form and Primeval Distribution; with illustrations. By CHARLES HAMILTON SMYTH, President of the Devon and Cornwall Natural History Society, &c.; with an introduction, containing an abstract of the views of Blumenbach, Prichard, Bachman, Agassiz, and other writers of repute on the subject, by Samuel Kneeland, jr. M. D.—*The Christian Daily Treasury*; a Religious Exercise for every day in the year; by E. Temple. 12mo.—*The Novelties of the New World*; an account of the Adventures and Discoveries of the First Explorers of North America, by Joseph Banvard, being the second volume of the author's series of American History.

DR. JOHN LINGARD, the Roman Catholic historian of England, died on the 18th July, at Hornby, near Lancaster, in the eighty-second year of his age. He was born at Hornby in 1769, and sent at an early age to the Roman Catholic seminary at Douay, where he imbibed those principles of religion, which he adhered to throughout his long life, and which color every page of his writings. He was distinguished while at Douay for his parts and application, but made no public endeavor for reputation as an author, before the year 1806. In

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that year he printed at Newcastle-on-Tyne—where he was living as a priest—his "Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church;" a work which Southey pronounced to be not more full of erudition than of Catholic sophistry and misrepresentation. This was followed by his great work, "The History of England from the First Invasion of the Romans to the year 1673," printed in 1819--25, in 6 volumes quarto; the 5th and last edition of this work, with the author's corrections, was published in 1849--50, in 10 octavo volumes.—[*Lond. Athenæum.*

The late Dr. Lingard has left his valuable library to St. Cuthbert's College, Ushaw.

The first part of a curious work has just been published in Paris, a catalogue of the manuscripts and autographs stolen from the public libraries of France. Abstractions have doubtless been made to feed the productive public sales of autographs, which, during the last fourteen years, have been not fewer than ninety-five, comprising 58,000 pieces. As an illustration of the want of surveillance in these libraries, it is stated in a letter addressed by Monsieur W. Libri, the distinguished Italian bibliographer, to the Chairman of the Select Committee on Public Libraries, that 50,000 volumes have been estimated to have been taken from the "Bibliotheque Nationale" of Paris.

An article in the Quarterly Review, enumerates the letters of Horace Walpole which have already seen the light, at 2,600. Recollecting, says the reviewer, how comparatively few of the already published letters are addressed to the persons with whom we know he much delighted to correspond, we are led to hope that we are not even yet *au fond du sac.*

A meeting of authors and publishers was held July 1, to consider the present aspect of the copyright question. Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton presided, and made the opening speech. He said that the recent decision of Lord Campbell ruined all prospect of international copyright with France and America, for foreigners would not buy what they could get for nothing. The effect on literature would be disastrous. In America, where they get the works of Macaulay for nothing, they are ceasing, he said, to produce any solid works of their own. Cooper and Irving belong to a past generation, and with the exception of Mr. Prescott, none are rising to take their place. A resolution was passed, on the motion of Mr. Bohn, the publisher, to the effect that the decision of Lord Campbell must prove prejudicial to the interests of British literature, because it removes the main inducement for foreign states to consent to an international copyright.

The First Printed Bible.—The first edition of the Bible in print, was published at Mayence (or Mentz) in 1455, by John Guttenberg, the inventor of printing, and John Faust, an opulent citizen in partnership with Guttenberg. It is a volume of very great interest as a rare typographical curiosity, from the fact that it was not only the first Bible, but the first book ever printed. A copy of this edition of the Bible was discovered and brought to light by De Bure, the bibliographer in the library of Cardinal Mazarin; hence it is called the Mazarin Bible. It consists of two huge folio volumes, printed in double columns, with a very large clear Gothic or German character,—and contains 1282 pages. Only twenty copies are known to be extant, one of which is in this country. It was purchased at the sale of the library of Mr. Wilkes, in London, in March, 1847, by Mr. George P. Putnam, for Mr. James Lenox, of New-York, in whose valuable library it now reposes. The price was £500, which, including freight and charges, makes about $2,600.

The University of Berlin was founded in 1810. Upwards of two thousand persons of various literary pursuits are now collected within its walls; and its library, or rather the Royal Library, of 420,000 volumes, is one of the finest in the world. Among its professors are Hengstenberg, Nitsch, and Swezten, professors of Theology; Rose and Mitscherlich, Chemists; Encke. Astronomer; Raumer and Ranke, Historians; Ritter, the celebrated Geographer; and Boeckh, who is considered the first Philologian now living. Dr. Lehnert, the successor of Dr. Neander, is very popular.

Henry G. Bohn, of Covent Garden, London, has just issued in one volume, royal octavo, a *Classical Catalogue,* comprising all the principal editions of

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Greek and Latin Classics, Translations, Commentaries, &c. It will be of great convenience to students.

William Bond, Esq., the talented Cambridge Astronomer, has been unanimously elected a correspondent of the French Academy of Sciences for the department of Astronomy. He was a competitor, with sixteen others, from England, Germany, &c., for the honor.

The New-Hampshire Gazette, published in Portsmouth, is said to be the oldest newspaper in New-England. It is now in its ninety-seventh year. The Coos Democrat says of it, that the first number was worked off upon a sheet of coarse cap paper, by Daniel Fowle, and his negro man Primus, containing 4 pages, each 10½ inches long, by a little less than 8 inches broad.

James L. Kingsley, LL. D., Professor of Latin in Yale College, at the recent commencement resigned the position as an officer of the College, which he had held for fifty years. The Corporation released him from the duties of instructor, but appointed him professor Emeritus, and requested him to write a history of the Institution from its foundation in 1700.

Ecclesiastical Record.

DEATHS.

Amos R. Wells, Glenn's Falls, N. Y., June 9, aged 56.

Wm. S Knapp, Canaan, N. Y., July 29, aged 39.

William T. Biddle, New-York, Sept., 16, aged 27.

Kazlitt Arvine, Worcester, Mass.

ORDINATIONS.

E. A. Cummings, Amherst, Mass., May 8.

Amasa Heath, Mannsville, N. Y., June 24.

John Fisher, Williamson, N. Y., July 9.

George E. Tucker, Providence, R. I., July 15.

L. F. Ames, Ashville, July 24.

William T. Biddle, New-York City, Aug. 12.

Warren Randolph, Pawtucket, R. I., Aug. 24.

Lester Williams, Jr., Russell, Mass., Aug. 20.

L. J. Crutcher, Nashville, Tenn., Aug. 24.

Wm. Spellman, Stonington, Conn., June 3.

Mark R. Watkinson, Philadelphia, June 10.

John E. Barnes, Duncansville, Pa., June 18.

Henry B. Whittington, Colchester, Ct., June 24.

A. F. Spalding, Montreal, March 21.*

Alexander Hamilton, New-Haven, Ct., Aug 31.

F. H. Kreuger, New-York, Sept. 4.

Edward Jones, Martinsville, Ohio, September 4.

CHURCHES CONSTITUTED.

Johnsburg, N. Y., July 16.

Dorrville (Westerly,) R. I., Aug. 23.

Scott, Wayne Co., Pa., Aug. 6.

DEDICATIONS.

Hancock, Mass., July 30.

Yonkers, N Y., Aug. 27.

Dorrville, (Westerly) R. I., Aug. 23.

Feltonville, Mass., Aug. 14.

Tiverton, R. I., Aug. 13.

* Not *dead* as in the July number.

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